facing Title the fifth Vol.



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THE HISTORY OF ENGLAND, AS WELL Eccleſiaſtical as Civil.

BY

Mr. DE RAPIN THOYRAS.

VOL. V.

CONTAINING

I. The Reigns of the Three KINGS of the *Houſe* of *Lancaſter*, HENRY IV, HENRY V, and HENRY VI.

II. A DISSERTATION on the *Maid of Orleans*.

Done into *ENGLISH* from the *FRENCH*, with large and uſeful NOTES mark'd with an *, by

N. TINDAL, *A. M. Vicar of* Great Waltham *in* Eſſex.

Illuſtrated with the Heads of the KINGS, *curiouſly engrav'd on Copper-Plates, by Mr.* Vertue.

LONDON, *Printed for* JAMES *and* JOHN KNAPTON, *at the* Crown *in St.* Paul's *Church-Yard*. 1728.

MVSEVM
BRITAN
NICVM

THE HISTORY of *ENGLAND.*

BOOK XI.

The Reigns of HENRY IV, *and* HENRY V. *containing the Space of Twenty-two Years and Ten Months.*

SECT. I.

13. HENRY IV, *Sirnamed of* BULLINGBROKE.

HENRY Duke of *Lancaſter*, ſirnamed of *Bullingbroke* the Place of his Birth, having been proclaimed the 30th of *September*, took that very Day the Reins of the Government. As the Parliament then aſſembled had been called in *Richard*'s Name, and as their Authority ceaſed upon his being depoſed, *Henry*'s firſt Care was to call another.

1399. HENRY IV. *continues the ſame Parliament called by* Richard.

1399. ther. To proceed according to Cuſtom, the *Repreſentatives* muſt have been choſen anew. But *Henry* did not think fit to run the Risk of having a Parliament leſs favourable than that which had ſo heartily eſpouſed his Cauſe. He was contented, therefore, with empowering the ſame *Repreſentatives* to make, with the *Houſe of Lords*, a new Parliament under his Authority. I ſhall not take upon me to decide whether this Proceeding was not ſomewhat irregular, or whether it was authoriſed by any former *Precedent*. Be this as it will, after a few Days Interruption, the ſame Parliament met again on the 6th of *October*, as if it had been called by the new King.

The Earl of March *retires to* Wigmore.

Mean Time *Edmund Mortimer* Earl of *March*, conſidering that it would be no leſs dangerous than fruitleſs, at ſuch a Juncture, to aſſert his juſt Right to the Crown, retired to his Lordſhip of *Wigmore*, near the Borders of *Wales*. The more inconteſtable his Claim was, the more Reaſon he had to dread the new King's Jealouſy. So that giving way to the Torrent which he could not ſtem, he reſolved to live in Retirement, without ſhowing the leaſt Signs of Ambition, or the leaſt Uneaſineſs at the Injuſtice done him. He had no other way left to ſecure his Quiet, and even his Life, againſt the Suſpicions of a Prince whoſe Intereſt it was to deſtroy him. There was but too great Probability that the new King would lay hold on the firſt Occaſion that offered, to free himſelf from the Uneaſineſs which ſuch a Rival might create in him.

The Archbiſhop harangues the Parliament in Praiſe of the new King.

The Parliament being aſſembled, in the manner above mentioned, *Thomas Arundel* Archbiſhop of *Canterbury* made a long Speech tending to inſpire a high Opinion of the Advantages which the late *Revolution* was to procure the Kingdom. He enlarged chiefly on the Irregularities of the late Reign, and aſſured, that the new Sovereign propoſed to govern after a very different manner, and to preſerve to All their *Rights* and *Liberties*. This Prelate had been baniſhed the Realm in the late Reign, and *Roger Walden*, who had been appointed in his Room, had acted hitherto as Archbiſhop. But as *Arundel* had not been *canonically* depoſed, the Parliament in their firſt *Seſſion* had ordered

dered that he ſhould reſume his Dignity, eſpecially as the other had not yet obtained the Pope's Confirmation. The Archbiſhop's Speech, and ſome preliminary *Formalities*, were the only Things remarkable in the firſt *Seſſion* of the new Parliament, which was adjourned to the 14th of *October*. This Adjournment was neceſſary in order to prepare for the *Coronation*, which was to be on the 13th. 1399.

During this Interval the King filled ſeveral Poſts, which were either vacant, or poſſeſſed by Perſons he did not like. *Henry Percy* Earl of *Northumberland*, and *Ralph Nevil* Earl of *Weſtmoreland*, had given too great Marks of their Zeal for the King, by joining him at *Ravenſpur* preſently after his Landing, not to have a ſhare in his Favours. *Henry* willing to ſhow his Gratitude, conferred on the Firſt the Office of *High Conſtable*, and on the other that of *Earl-Marſhal*. A few Days after he gave a Grant to the Earl of *Northumberland* of the *Iſle of Man*, ſituated between *Scotland* and *Ireland*, with the Privilege of carrying at the Coronation, the Sword called *Lancaſter*, on the King's left Hand *. This was the ſame Sword the King had on when he landed at *Ravenſpur*. *The King fills the vacant Poſts; rewards the Earls of* Northumberland *and* Weſtmoreland. Act. Pub. VIII. 89, 90, 95.

After *Henry* had thus requited the Obligations he lay under to theſe two Lords, whom he looked upon as the firmeſt Friends to his Intereſt and Perſon, he made *Thomas of Lancaſter* his ſecond Son *High-Steward*. It was abſolutely neceſſary to fill this Poſt before the Coronation, becauſe to the *High-Steward*'s Court all muſt apply who have any Service to do in that Ceremony, in order to be maintained in their Rights. But as the Prince was but ten Years old, the King gave him for Deputy *Thomas Percy* Earl of *Worceſter*, Brother to the Earl of *Northumberland*. Thomas *his ſecond Son made* High-Steward. ibid.

On the 13th of *October*, *Edward the Confeſſor*'s Day, *Henry* was crowned with all the uſual Formalities, being then thirty three Years of Age. He was anointed with a certain Oil which was pretended to be brought by the *Bleſſed Virgin* to St. *Thomas* of *Canterbury* whilſt he was in *France*. The *Vial* which held this precious Oil was fallen *The King is crowned and anointed with an extraordinary Oil.*

* He was to hold the *Iſle of Man* by that Office.

1399. into the Hands of an *Hermite* who presented it to *Henry* Duke of *Lancaster* Grandson of *Henry* III, with this Prophecy, *That the Kings which should be anointed with that sacred Oil, should be true Champions of the Church.* The Duke of *Lancaster* gave it afterwards to the famous Prince of *Wales*, Son of *Edward* III, who was resolved to be anointed with it when he should be crowned. After the Death of that Prince, the *Vial* which was of Stone, having on the Top a *Gold-Eagle* set with Diamonds, was laid up among the Jewels without any one's minding it. *Richard* II his Son having found it some time before his last Voyage to *Ireland*, designed to be crowned again on purpose to be anointed with the Holy Oil in the *Vial*. But the Archbishop of *Canterbury* opposed it, by representing to him that the *Unction* of Kings ought not to be repeated. At length the *Vial* was come to the Hands of *Henry*, who either out of Devotion, or because it came from the Duke of *Lancaster* his Grandfather by the Mother's Side, was pleased to be anointed with it at his Coronation. But if we examine the Reigns of that Prince, and several of his Successors who were anointed with the same Oil, we shall not find that the *good Hermite*'s Prophecy was ever accomplished.

Henry refuses to own he holds the Crown of the People.

I have already remarked, in the Reign of *Richard* II, that when, after the deposing of that Prince, *Henry* claimed the Crown, he affected to make use of obscure Expressions. His Aim was to make the People believe, that there was some Foundation in the Right he pretended to derive from the old *House of Lancaster*, of which he was Heir by his Mother. But this Pretext which might then have some Effect upon such as were willing to shut their Eyes, was too gross to deceive any longer. It was therefore necessary for the new King to find out some plausible Title which might justify the Nation's Choice of him. There was none more lawful than the Service he had lately done the *State*. But he judged it dangerous to build his Right upon such a Foundation. When the Business was to receive the Crown, he was very willing to own the Parliament's Power to confer it on him. But when once it was placed

placed on his Head, he was afraid that from that Principle it would be inferred, that they who had given him the Crown, had a Power to take it away. So that he was on this Occaſion at a great Loſs. It was requiſite that the People ſhould be ſatisfied that the Parliament had lawfully depoſed *Richard*, and that their Authority was ſuperiour to the King's. On the other Hand, there was a Neceſſity of letting them know, that in placing *Henry* on the Throne, the very ſame Parliament had not acted by way of Authority, and that they could not diſpenſe with owning him for King. In a Word, there was occaſion to acknowledge in the Parliament an unlimitted Power with reſpect to *Richard*'s Depoſing, and to decline their Authority in the late Election. Theſe two Things ſeemed inconſiſtent. But when a Man has Power on his Side, he does not trouble himſelf ſo much about finding good Reaſons, as about blinding the Eyes of the Publick with Appearances. *Henry*, perſwaded that at this Juncture, no one would have the Boldneſs to contradict him, reſolved to let his Subjects know that he did not intend to derive his Right from their bare Conſent. On his Coronation-Day he publiſhed a *Proclamation*, declaring that he had mounted the Throne, *Firſt*, By Right of Conqueſt: *Secondly*, By Virtue of *Richard*'s Reſignation to him, and his having appointed him for Succeſſor: *Laſtly*, as he was the next Male-Heir of the late King. By this means he excluded the only lawful Title he had, namely, the general Conſent of the People, in order to build his Claim upon three Foundations, the Weakneſs of which was viſible to all. In the firſt Place, how could he pretend to a Right of Conqueſt? He entered the Kingdom but with fourſcore Men, who in all Appearance were for the moſt Part *Engliſh*. Beſides his having ſo good Succeſs was entirely owing to the Concurrence of all *England*, and conſequently he could not ſay he had conquered the Kingdom. In the next Place, it was not true that *Richard* had reſigned the Crown to him. We took notice in the Reign of that Prince, that *Henry* himſelf as well as his Friends did not think it proper. He was only obliged to make an *abſolute* Reſignation, leaſt it ſhould

1399.

The King's Proclamation to ſhow his Title to the Crown.

appear

1399. appear too much constrained, in Case he did it in favour of a Prince to whom he was then actually a Prisoner. Moreover, supposing *Richard* had appointed *Henry* for his Successor, how could a King, deposed on the Score of Tyranny and Inability, be allowed a Right to chuse the Person who should succeed him, especially as the Nomination was contrary to the Laws of the Land. Lastly, It was still less true that *Henry* was the next Heir of *Richard*, unless the *Salick-Law* had taken Place in *England* as well as in *France*, and the Descendants of the Women were debarred the Succession. It is true indeed, that in the third Title alledged by the King, there was a Sort of *Equivocation* capable of deceiving. He was Cousin-German of the late King, and consequently a nearer Relation than the Earl of *March*, who was one Degree farther removed. But it did not follow by any means that he was the next Heir, since with respect to the Succession, it was to the *lineal Descent* that Regard was to be had, and not to the nearest of Kin. Thus after the Death of *Edward* III it was *Richard* his Grandson that succeeded him, though he was one Degree farther removed than his Uncles. Again, supposing that this Rule had not been inviolably kept to, *Henry* could not say he was the nearest Relation of *Richard*. He was *first Cousin*: But the Duke of *York* who was *Uncle*, had no less Right than he. So that on which side soever they viewed the pretended Title of *Henry*, it could not but appear ill-grounded. The only Claim he could have produced with any Colour, was the Consent of the People. But he would not make use of that for the Reasons above-mentioned.

Act. Pub. VIII. 91. The same Day the King issued his *Proclamation*, he created *Henry* his eldest Son, aged thirteen Years, *Duke of Cornwal*, *Prince of Wales*, and *Earl of Chester*. But he added not to these Titles that of *Duke of Aquitain*, as some pretend.

The Parliament meets. The Solemnity of the Coronation being over, the Parliament met next Day being the 14th of *October*. The Importance of the *Acts* which were passed this *Session*, obliges me to give a particular Account of them, it being absolutely necessary for the Sequel of this History.

In

In the firſt Place, was paſſed an *Act of Indemnity*, to ſcreen thoſe who during the late Troubles had taken up Arms in Defence of the King, *then* Duke of *Lancaſter*. This *Act* was abſolutely neceſſary, ſince the Laws condemned without Diſtinction thoſe that oppoſed the Government eſtabliſhed, the which was preciſely the Caſe of ſuch as had aſſiſted the King, and of the King himſelf. 1399. *Acts of Parliament*

After this *Act* was paſſed, the Parliament examined whatever had been done in the late Reign, to ſtretch the *Prerogative-Royal* beyond its due Bounds. They applied themſelves chiefly to the Proceedings of the Parliament begun at *Weſtminſter* in 1397, and continued on at *Shrewsbury* in 1398. All the Acts paſſed, as well with regard to the three Lords unjuſtly condemned, as to the exorbitant Privileges granted to the King, being ſo manifeſtly deſtructive of the Nation's Liberties, were unanimouſly repealed. At the ſame Time were revived and confirmed the *Statutes* of the Parliament of 1388, which the *Shrewsbury* Parliament had annulled. It was thought likewiſe abſolutely neceſſary to paſs a particular *Act* againſt the Pope's *Bull* which ratified the *Statutes* of *Shrewsbury*. This *Bull*, whereby *Richard* II pretended to give the greater Force to *Acts of Parliament*, was founded on a Principle too oppoſite to the Rights of the People to be ſuffered to ſubſiſt. And indeed the Pope's Power to confirm *Acts of Parliament* could not be acknowledged, without aſcribing to him a Right of *Sovereignty* upon *England*. For this Reaſon the Parliament declared in the *Act*, that the Kingdom of *England* was independent of all Foreign Powers, particularly of the Court of *Rome*, and that the Pope had no Right to interpoſe in the *Civil* Government of the Realm. *The Parliament examines the Proceedings of the former one.*

The *Shrewsbury* Parliament having deſigned to extend the *Royal Authority* as much as poſſible, had in ſuch a manner multiplied the Caſes of *High-Treaſon*, that none, but ſuch as acknowledged in the Sovereign an unlimitted Power, could poſſibly avoid incurring the Guilt of Treaſon. To redreſs ſo dangerous a *Grievance*, which tended to the making the King abſolute Maſter of the Lives and Fortunes of his Subjects, the Parliament revived a *Statute*, made to that Purpoſe

Purpoſe in the Reign of *Edward* III, and confined *treaſonable* Offences to the Articles mentioned in that *Act*.

Richard's *Adviſers and Favourites are inquired after.*

After the *Rights* and *Privileges* of the People were, by theſe *Acts*, put upon the ſame Foot they ſtood before the Incroachments of *Richard*, the Authors and Adviſers of theſe Uſurpations were inquired after. When King *Richard* apprehended the Duke of *Glouceſter*, and the Earls of *Warwick* and *Arundel*, he was not inveſted with that abſolute Power, which the *Shrewsbury* Parliament ſo liberally conferred upon him afterwards: So that he ſaw himſelf obliged to proceed according to Law, in order to get theſe three Lords condemned. To that End he ordered it ſo, that *John Holland* Earl of *Huntington*, his Half-Brother; *Thomas Holland* Earl of *Kent*, his Nephew; *Edward* Earl of *Albemarle*, his Couſin, Son of the Duke of *York*; *John Beaufort* Earl of *Sommerſet*, Son of the Duke of *Lancaſter* by his third Wife; and the Lord *Thomas Spencer* were the Accuſers of the three impriſoned Lords. The Earl of *Salisbury*, and the Lord *Morley*, were reported to be the chief Contrivers of this Plot. After Condemnation, *Richard* diſtributed the Eſtates of the three Lords among the Managers and Evidences. Moreover, he made the Earl of *Albemarle* a Duke; and conferred the Title of *Duke of Exeter* on the Earl of *Huntington*; of *Duke of Surrey* on the Earl of *Kent*; of *Duke of Sommerſet* on the Earl of *Sommerſet*; of *Earl of Glouceſter* on *Thomas Spencer*.

As it was publickly known that the three Lords had been unjuſtly oppreſſed by the late King, the Parliament thought it neceſſary to puniſh the Authors and Inſtruments of their Ruin. To that Purpoſe, after having reverſed the Sentence againſt the Earls of *Arundel* and *Warwick* as directly contrary to the *Pardon* which had been granted them, it was reſolved that the Managers ſhould be deprived both of their Titles and of the Eſtates diſtributed among them. As to their own Lands, it was left to the King's Breaſt either to continue them in Poſſeſſion, or to turn them out as he thought fit. *Henry*, willing to ſhow his Clemency in the Beginning of his Reign, not only left them their Eſtates,

Eſtates, but likewiſe reſtored them to the *Honours* they had been deprived of. Moreover, he made the Duke of *Exeter*, his Half-Brother, Governour of *Calais*. The Earl of *Salisbury* and the Lord *Morley*, the hated Miniſters of *Richard*, and principal Authors of the Oppreſſion practiſed upon the Duke of *Glouceſter* and the other two Lords, came off with a ſhort Impriſonment, though the People loudly called for their Deaths. As the Friends of theſe Lords had alledged in their Excuſe, that *Richard* had compelled them to act, the Parliament took occaſion from thence to paſs an *Act*, whereby it was enacted, That for the future, *Compulſion* ſhould be no legal Excuſe to juſtify Actions contrary to Law. 1399.

General Pardon.

This Affair being over, the Parliament prevailed with the King to grant a *general Pardon*, in which however were excepted the Murderers of the Duke of *Glouceſter*. One of the Villains being apprehended and convicted was hanged at *London*, and his Head ſent to *Calais*, to be fixt on one of the Gates.

The Succeſſion ſettled on the Houſe of Lancaſter.

Though the Injuſtice done to the Earl of *March* was manifeſt, yet it might in ſome meaſure be varniſhed over with the Pretence of rewarding *Henry* for the ſignal Service he had done the *State*. If this Reward had been limited to his Perſon, perhaps it would not have ſeemed very ſtrange, that in ſo extraordinary a Caſe the *Laws* ſhould be ſuperſeded in favour of a Prince who had ſo freely expoſed himſelf for the ſake of the Publick. But at ſuch Junctures, it is very difficult to keep within the Bounds of Equity. The Parliament not content with having given to *Henry* the Crown taken from *Richard*, would moreover ſecure it to his Iſſue. To that End an Act was paſſed, ſettling the Succeſſion on the Houſe of *Lancaſter*: Firſt on the Perſon of the Prince of *Wales*, the King's eldeſt Son and his Heirs, then on his three Brothers and their Iſſue.

The King asks the Parliament what is to be done with Richard.

A very important Affair ſtill remained, about which the King was deſirous to adviſe with his Parliament before the Houſes broke up. The *Commons*, not ſatisfied with the bare depoſing of *Richard*, after a very irregular Manner, would have him tried in Form, and had petitioned

1399 the King to that Effect. It was therefore, to know what was to be done with *Richard*, that the King wanted to have the Advice of the two *Houses*. The Archbishop of *Canterbury*, who was commissioned in this Affair, having first exacted an Oath of Secrecy from all the *Members*, proposed the Question to them. It may well be thought that *Richard* had not many Friends in the *House*, and that if Any approved not of the Proceedings against him, they had not courage enough to venture to speak in his Defence. There was one however bold enough to say publickly what others only thought. This was *Thomas Merks* Bishop of *Carlisle*, who without regarding the Motives which might induce him, as well as the rest of *Richard*'s Friends, to keep Silence, made a long Speech on this Subject; wherein he alledged every Thing that could with any Plausibleness be said in Behalf of the King deposed, and against the King on the Throne.

The Bishop of Carlisle's *Speech in Defence of* Richard.

The Bishop undertook to prove three Things. First, That there was no Authority which could lawfully depose a King of *England*. Secondly, That the Offences *Richard* was accused of, deserved not that he should be deposed, and besides, they were not proved. Thirdly, That the Crown had been unjustly adjudged to the Duke of *Lancaster*.

He enlarged very much on the first Head, showing the wide Difference between the several Kinds of Government established in the World. He confessed that in Some the Prince or Head might be deposed, because the supreme Authority was not lodged in his Person, but the *People* or *Nobles* had a Share in it. Of this Sort he reckoned the *Republicks*, the antient Government of *Rome*, the Empire of *Germany*, the Kingdoms of *Sweedland* and *Denmark*, the Earldom of *Flanders*, and some other *States*. But he maintained, that it was otherwise in the Governments where the *supreme Authority* was in the single Person of the Sovereign. In this *Class* he ranked the Kingdom of *Israel* among the *Antients*, with the three first Empires; and among the *Moderns*, *England*, *France*, *Spain*, *Scotland*, *Muscovy*, *Turky*, *Persia*, and in general all the Kingdoms

of

of *Aſia* and *Africa*. With regard to theſe he alledged, 1399.
that notwithſtanding the Vices of a Sovereign ſhould be not only detrimental, but even intolerable to his Subjects, he could not be lawfully depoſed by any Means whatever: That *Force* could not be made uſe of, without incurring the Crime of *Rebellion* and *Treaſon*, and much leſs *Authority*, ſince there was not in the *State* any lawful Authority but what was derived from him. He produced upon this Head, Arguments and Precedents from the *Holy Scriptures* and *Profane Authors*, which cannot be repeated without running out to too great a length.

Upon the ſecond Article, he boldly aſſerted, That the Crimes for which *Richard* was depoſed, were either falſe or aggravated: That indeed, he might be guilty of ſome Errours or Omiſſions, but his Faults could not to be ſtiled *Tyranny*: That if thoſe he had committed afforded a juſt Occaſion to depoſe him, we ſhould ſee in the World nothing but *Sovereigns* treated as *Tyrants*, and depoſed by their Subjects: That the levying a *Subſidy*, the condemning a *Rebel*, in a Word, whatever was not to the good liking of the People, would furniſh a Handle to dethrone the moſt lawful Prince. He paſſed over the more ſlightly the Proofs of this ſecond Head, as the Parliament it ſelf ſeemed to have called in queſtion the Truth of the Crimes alledged againſt *Richard*, ſeeing there had been no Step taken to prove them in a legal Manner. By the way, it is very likely that it was for fear of this Reproach, that the *Commons* wanted to proceed againſt the depoſed King in Form. Upon the Third Article the Biſhop maintained, that even ſuppoſing *Richard* guilty, and granting the Nation had Authority to depoſe him, there was not the leaſt Colour of Juſtice to give the Crown to the Duke of *Lancaſter*. That if the Duke was the true Heir of *Richard*, as he pretended, he muſt wait his Death before he claimed the Inheritance. But that no body was ignorant, there was a nearer Heir, whoſe Father had been declared *Succeſſor* of *Richard* by *Act* of Parliament. As for *Henry*'s pretended Right from *Edmund Crouchback* Son of *Henry* III, the Biſhop diſdained to conſider it, affirming he was very certain that People of

1392. Sense were ashamed of a Right built upon so slender a Foundation.

After this the Orator went on to examine the other two *Titles* contained in the King's *Proclamation*, namely, *Conquest*, and *Richard*'s *Resignation*. To the first he said, That a Subject could never pretend a *Right of Conquest* against his Sovereign, since the Victory it self was high and heinous Treason. As for the *Resignation*, he said it was not only extorted by Force, but that supposing it voluntary, it could be of no Validity: That in the State *Richard* was then in, it was not in his Power to make a *valid* Act: That besides, the Laws not allowing the King the Liberty of alienating the Jewels of the Crown, much more tied him up doubtless from giving away the Crown it self (*a*). Then he spake of the general Consent of the People, though *Henry* had not thought proper to insist upon it; that the Kingdom of *England* having never been *Elective*, it was ridiculous to ascribe to the People the Power of disposing of the Crown. Lastly, he replied to the Objection which might be urged from the deposing of *Edward* II, That wise Men must live according to *Law*, and not be guided by *Examples* and *Precedents*: That however the Example of *Edward* II, would be of no more Force than that of a Prince poisoned or assassinated by his Subjects; But that even in deposing of *Edward* II, Care was taken to preserve the Rights of the lawful Successor.

What the Bishop had hitherto said, might pass for Reasons to question whether *Richard* II could be lawfully deposed. At most, it might be considered as the private Opinion of the Speaker. But towards the Close of his Speech, he launched out strangely against *Henry*, and fell into a Passion, which took off very much from the Reasons he had alledged. He said, that it was to be feared that the People of *England* would soon find themselves in the Case of *Æsop*'s *Frogs*; and boldly added, that as long as *Richard* was alive, the *English* could not with Justice own any Sovereign but him. In fine, he maintained that the Person

(*a*) If a King is subject to the *Law*, with regard to the Alienation of the *Crown Jewels*, why not in other Respects?

ſon whom they called King, had committed much more heinous Crimes than thoſe for which *Richard* was depoſed: That he had entered the Kingdom again contrary to his Oath, after having been baniſhed, and without being legally recalled; That not content with diſturbing the Quiet of the Land by an unjuſt and impious Inſurrection againſt his Sovereign, he had moreover diſpoſſeſſed him: That he had alſo demanded Judgment againſt him, without offering to prove the Impeachment, or permitting the Party accuſed to make his Defence, contrary to the expreſs Laws of the Realm. He concluded with ſaying, That if the Wrong done *Richard* was not capable of moving the Hearts of the *Engliſh*, at leaſt their common and manifeſt Dangers ought to ſtop the Courſe of theſe violent Proceedings. 1399.

This Speeeh had not the Effect the Speaker expected. It was ſo unſeaſonable, that ſuppoſing the *Majority* had been of his Mind, it was impoſſible to go from what had been done. But the greateſt Part of the *Members* perſiſted in the ſame Maxims they had followed when *Richard* was depoſed. Accordingly the Biſhop reaped no other Fruit from his Harangue, than to be confined in the Abby of St. *Albans*, from whence however he was ſhortly after releaſed without any farther Puniſhment. *The Biſhop impriſoned.*

The Biſhop of *Carliſle*'s Opinion having been unanimouſly rejected, the Parliament came, with regard to *Richard*, to a Reſolution ſo very extraordinary, that there is ſome Reaſon to ſuſpect that Hiſtory is defective in this Place. However, all the Hiſtorians agree, that it was reſolved *Richard* ſhould be kept in Confinement during Life, and maintained like a great Prince: but in caſe any Attempts were made for his Deliverance, *Richard* himſelf ſhould be put to Death the firſt. If this be true, it cannot be denied that he was really condemned to die, ſeeing his Life was not granted him, but on a Condition which was not in his Power. Beſides, ſuch a Condition cannot be annexed to the Sentence of a Criminal, but on Suppoſition that he is already condemned. *Extraordinary Sentence paſſed upon* Richard.

'Tis

1399. *Remarks on the Sentence.*

'Tis not my Business to determine to what Point the Authority of the Parliament may be extended with respect to the King's Person. I shall only observe, that this is the second Instance of a King of *England*'s Deposing without being heard in his Defence, and without so much as observing the usual *Formalities* prescribed by the *Law* in the Trial of the meanest Subject. The Parliament which deposed *Edward* II, was satisfied with decreeing that he should be kept in safe Custody during Life. But this Parliament to *Richard*'s Deposing adds the Sentence of Death: for no otherwise can we consider the Condition upon which his Life is granted him. Let us farther remark, that one of the chief Articles of Impeachment against that Prince, was his putting to Death the Duke of *Glouceſter*, his Uncle, without a previous Trial. And yet this same Parliament condemns him unheard, upon his bare Confession, when a Prisoner; *not that he was guilty of the particular Crimes laid to his Charge*, but, *that he was unworthy to wear the Crown.* They are not content with stripping him of his Royalty, but order that he shall be imprisoned for Life. What do I say? They really condemn him to die, since in seeming to grant him his Life, they add a Condition which in all likelihood would quickly make him lose it. If in perusing the Reign of *Richard* II, a Man cannot help detesting the Principles of the *Shrewsbury* Parliament, which tended to make the Lives, Honours and Fortunes of the Subjects depend on the King's Will, what ought he to think of this here? By the contrary Extreme, they put the Life and Honour of the King himself in the Hands of his Subjects, and refuse the Sovereign a Privilege, which there is not an *English* Subject but what has a just Right to demand. The Examples which these two Parliaments have afforded, are a clear Evidence that the *English Constitution* can never pretend to that Degree of Perfection which some would fain ascribe to it, till the Bounds of the *Prerogative Royal*, and of the *Privileges of the Parliament* are precisely marked out.

Whilſt

Whilſt the *Two Houſes* acted in Concert and with equal Ardour, for the Intereſt of the Prince they had placed on the Throne, the *Convocation* was ſitting in St. *Paul's* Church. As the King rightly judged, that in order to ſupport himſelf in the Throne, it was abſolutely neceſſary to make the Clergy his Friends, he ſent to them the Earls of *Northumberland* and *Weſtmoreland*, to aſſure them of his Protection. The Earls being admitted into the Aſſembly, ſaid, they were come from the King, not to demand Mercy, as was cuſtomary in the late Reign, but to acquaint the *Clergy* of the King's Reſolution to maintain them in their *Privileges* and *Immunities*. They added, they had Orders to aſſure the *Convocation* that the King was ready to join with them in whatever Means ſhould be judged proper to extirpate *Hereſy*, and puniſh obſtinate *Hereticks*. They concluded, with deſiring the *Clergy* to put up their Prayers to Heaven for the Welfare of the King and Kingdom. Nothing was more capable of gaining the Hearts of the *Eccleſiaſticks*, than what the King promiſed them with regard to *Hereſy*. The Number of the *Lollards* which daily increaſed, gave the *Clergy* juſt Room to fear, that in the End a *Reformation* might be ſet on foot, which could not but be very detrimental to their *Temporal* Intereſts. Accordingly, the Aſſurances the King gave the *Convocation* were received with great Satisfaction and Thankfulneſs.

1399. *The King aſſures the Clergy of his Protection.*

He promiſes to extirpate Hereſy.

Some Days after the Parliament having finiſhed the main Affairs to the Satisfaction of the King, and in appearance to the good Liking of the whole Kingdom, was diſſolved according to Cuſtom. *Prorogations* were not then ſo frequent as they have been ſince.

The Parliament diſſolved.

During the whole *Seſſions*, *Henry* had not much minded foreign Affairs. *Domeſtick* Matters ſeemed to him of greater Moment, ſince the Buſineſs was to ſettle a *Revolution* which had procured him the Crown. As ſoon as he found himſelf at Leiſure from theſe firſt Concerns, he thought of Means to juſtify before the other Sovereigns, the Alterations which had lately been made in *England*. The Depoſing a King being a Thing hateful in its ſelf, and which ſeemed to affect all Princes, it was no eaſy Task to perſuade

Ambaſſadors ſent to divers Courts.

1399. perſuade them that a Nation ſhould have ſufficient Reaſon to make uſe of ſo violent a Remedy to free themſelves from Tyranny. Upon this Account, *Henry* diſpatched Ambaſſadors to all the principal Courts of *Europe*, to endeavour to put a good Face on the depoſing of *Richard*, and his own Promotion. He was chiefly concerned to keep fair with the Court of *France*, as the only one whoſe Reſentment he had Reaſon to dread. He was not ignorant that *Charles* VI had formed a Deſign to revenge the Injury done his Son-in-law, and that his Diſtemper, into which he relapſed upon hearing the News, had hindered him from inſtantly breaking the Truce of 28 Years, which he had made with *England*. *Henry* pitched upon, for Ambaſſadors, the Biſhop of *Durham*, and Earl of *Worceſter*, who had Inſtructions to propoſe a perpetual League and Alliance between the two Crowns. Moreover, he ordered them to make Overtures for a double Marriage. The Firſt which he had projected, was between *Henry* his eldeſt Son and one of the *French* King's Daughters, or of ſome one of his Uncles: The Second between his own Daughter and one of the ſame King's Sons, or of ſome one of his neareſt Relations. The Ambaſſadors met with a cold Reception in *France*; but as they had Orders not to obſtruct their Negotiation on the Score of Ceremony, they waited with Patience till the firſt Heat of the *French* was over.

Propoſals to the Court of France. Act. Pub. VIII. 108.

As for the Reſt of the Courts of *Europe*, *Henry* had no occaſion to proceed ſo circumſpectly. The Emperor *Winceſlaus* who was ſtill alive, was a Prince that had ſtupified himſelf with Drinking, and who like the other *German* Princes little regarded what paſſed in *England*. As for the Kings of *Caſtile* and *Portugal*, they were rather Gainers than Looſers by the *Revolution*, which had advanced their Brother-in-law to the Throne. So that they readily approved of it, or at leaſt ſeemed to do ſo.

Diſpoſition of the other Courts.

But another Affair of greater Importance created the new King a deal of Uneaſineſs. *Guienne* was upon the Point of revolting. Already the *Gaſcons* publickly talked of putting themſelves under the Dominion of *France*. It was the City of *Bourdeaux*, *Richard*'s Birth-Place, that ſtirred up the

The Gaſcons *ready to revolt.*

the whole Province, out of Affection for that unhappy Prince, whoſe Misfortunes they lamented. On the other Side, the Court of *France*, watchful to take the Advantage of theſe Diſpoſitions, had ſent the Duke of *Bourbon* into *Guienne*, to foment theſe Diſcontents. The famous *Robert Knolls*, Governour of that Province, who was no leſs to be commended for his Prudence than for his Valour, had a hard Task to curb the rebellious Spirit which had ſeized the *Gaſcons*. And perhaps he would never have compaſſed it, had he not been ſpeedily aſſiſted by the Earl of *Worceſter*, who being on an Embaſſy at *Paris*, flew to his Aid. The Moderation and prudent Conduct of theſe two Lords, brought about what Force would hardly have accompliſhed, and at length they had the Satisfaction of ſeeing the Commotions appeaſed. 1399. *They are appeaſed.*

Henry had alſo upon his Hands another Affair which gave him no leſs Diſturbance. As he was very ſenſible, that amidſt all the Acclamations he was flattered with, it could not be but that the late *Revolution* had bred many *Male-Contents*, it was his Intereſt to keep Peace with his Neighbours. Accordingly this was what he had purpoſed to do, leaſt a Foreign War employing his Forces Abroad, he ſhould be left unprovided in Caſe any ſudden Inſurrection ſhould happen at Home. Beſides, a War would have obliged him to demand Succours of the Parliament, which he was willing to avoid, till his Government was better eſtabliſhed. Theſe Conſiderations made him extremely ſorry to hear that the *Scots* had broke the Truce, and taken *Werk-Caſtle*. He thought beſt, however, to take no notice of this Inſult, till it ſhould be more in his Power to revenge it. But leaſt his doing ſo ſhould give the King of *Scotland* Encouragement to go on, he ſent Embaſſadors tohim to demand Satisfaction for this Outrage. However, as the *Scots* complained likewiſe, on their Side, of ſome Breach on the Part of the *Engliſh*, he made uſe of this Pretext to demand that the Truce might be confirmed by mutually repairing the Damages the two Nations had done one another. When *Robert* broke the Truce, he imagined *France* would take his Part, and that the depoſing of *Richard* would ſtir up in *England* *The* Scots *take* Werk-Caſtle. *Embaſſy to* Scotland. Act. Pub. VIII. 113.

1399. Commotions, of which he deſigned to take the Advantage. But having found that *France* lay ſtill, and that there was not the leaſt Proſpect of Troubles in *England*, he did not think fit to puſh his Enterprize any further. So that without much Sollicitation, he agreed to a Negotiation between *Henry* and Him.

A Negotiation.

Matters being thus in a fair way Abroad, *Henry* chiefly applied himſelf to what might contribute to the ſupporting him in the Throne. Two Things were abſolutely neceſſary to that End. Firſt, to preſerve the Good-Will which the People had hitherto expreſſed for him. Secondly, to guard *Richard* ſo ſtrictly that it ſhould be impoſſible for him to make his Eſcape. As to the Firſt, he affected to make himſelf popular, by ſhowing upon all Occaſions his Deteſtation of the Tyrannical Government of his Predeceſſor, and his having more at Heart the People's Intereſts than his own. With this View it was, that he ordered all the *Blank-Notes*, which *Richard* had extorted from the Inhabitants of *London*, and of the ſeventeen condemned *Counties*, to be brought into *Chancery* and publickly burnt. Theſe *Blank-Bonds* which were called *Ragmans*, had been filled up, not only with the Sums *Richard* had been pleaſed to exact from ſuch as had ſigned them, but moreover with an *Obligation* to obſerve, under certain Penalties, the *Statutes of Shrewsbury* and whatever had been done by Virtue of them. In burning theſe *Bonds*, *Henry*'s Intent was to inſinuate to the People that he deſigned not to take the Advantage of theſe extorted Engagements, much leſs to practiſe the like Methods to fill his Coffers.

Henry tries to gain the People's Affections.

He burns the Bonds Richard *had extorted.*

As for the depoſed King, he did not think proper to keep him any longer in the *Tower* of *London*, for fear he ſhould ſtir up Compaſſion in the Hearts of the Citizens, but ordered him to be conducted to the Caſtle of *Leeds* in the County of *Kent*. Some Time after, fearing ſtill that *Richard*'s being ſo nigh *London* would give too frequent Occaſion to talk of him, he cauſed him to be ſhut up in *Pontfract-Caſtle* in the *North*.

Richard *is ſhut up in* Pontfract-Caſtle.

This Year in *November*, *John the Valiant*, Duke of *Bretagne*, departed this Life in his Capital City. His firſt Wife

Death of the Duke of Bretagne.

Wife was Daughter of *Edward* III, by whom he had no Iſſue. By his ſecond, *Joan of Navarre*, he left two Sons, of whom *John* the eldeſt ſucceeded him, under the Guardianſhip of the Duke of *Burgundy* and *Oliver de Cliffon*. 1399.

In this manner paſſed over the three firſt Months of the Reign of *Henry*, in a deceitful Calm, which was followed by violent Storms. It was neceſſary to enlarge a little on the firſt Events of this Reign, becauſe they ſerve for Foundation to all the reſt.

1400. *Conſpiracy againſt the King.* The Year 1400 was uſhered in by a Conſpiracy againſt the King, from which he was not delivered but by a ſort of Miracle. Hiſtorians ſomewhat differ about the firſt Author of this Plot, which was commonly aſcribed to the Abbot of *Weſtminſter*. However it is more likely, that the Abbot was only the Agent of the Lords Conſpirators, and lent them his Houſe to meet in, Perhaps he was made uſe of to ſound the Inclinations of ſeveral Perſons, according as he was directed by ſuch as were more powerful than he. Be this as it will, it is agreed that his Houſe was the Place where the Plot was formed, in which were principally concerned, the Dukes of *Albemarle*, *Surrey* and *Exeter*, the Earls of *Gloceſter* and *Salisbury*, the Biſhop of *Carliſle*, and Sir *Thomas Blunt*. *Chief Conſpirators.* All theſe Lords had been in great Favour with *Richard* II, and they were the ſame Perſons to whom the King had left their *Honours* and *Eſtates* taken from them by the Parliament. Among theſe Conſpirators, *John Holland* Duke of *Exeter* was his Half-Brother, and *Edward de Langley* Duke of *Albemarle* his Firſt-Couſin. Notwithſtanding theſe Ties of Blood, and the Favours they had all received from the King, they reſolved to aſſaſſinate him and reſtore *Richard* to the Throne. The Affection this unfortunate Prince had ſhown them, the Deſire of revenging the Diſgrace they had lately ſuffered, and of which they looked upon the King as the principal Author, and perhaps the Fear that the *Pardon* which had been granted them, was not ſincere, concurred to inſpire them with this furious Reſolution. They had drawn into the Plot one *Maudlin* a Domeſtick of *Richard*'s, who reſembled *They ſet up a Pretender for* Richard.

1400. reſembled his Maſter ſo exactly that many might be deceived. The Reſult of their Debates was, that the Duke of *Exeter* and *John Montacute* Earl of *Salisbury* ſhould pretend to challenge one another at a *Tournament* to be held at *Oxford*, and ſhould deſire the King to Honour the *Tournament* with his Preſence, and that, whilſt he ſhould be intent upon the Sight, an Opportunity ſhould be taken to murder him. To the End each Man might know what *Part* he was to act in this *Tragedy*, they took Care to ſet down all Particulars in Writing. Then they tranſcribed ſix Copies ſigned with their Names, and ſealed with their Seals, of which each of the principal Parties took one. Purſuant to their Plot, the Duke of *Exeter* waited upon the King at *Windſor*, and made him the Requeſt agreed upon. The King not miſtruſting a Half-Brother, to whom he had juſt given ſuch ſignal Marks of his Favour and Good-Will, promiſed to be at *Oxford* on the Day appointed. Thus the Conſpirators, pleaſed with this firſt Succeſs of their Undertaking, went and prepared for the putting it in Execution.

The Conſpiracy is diſcovered.

Under Colour of the Pomp and Magnificence uſual upon ſuch Occaſions, the Lords Conſpirators came to *Oxford* with a numerous Train of armed Domeſticks, and Abundance of other Attendants, who made as if they were come purely out of Curioſity. The Duke of *Albemarle* was the only Perſon that failed to be at the Rendezvous. He had a Mind firſt to viſit the Duke of *York* his Father, then at his Seat at *Langley*, not to communicate the Plot to him, but about ſome other Buſineſs he had with him. Whilſt they were at Dinner, the Duke of *York* ſeeing a Paper in his Son's Boſom, asked him what it was. The Son confounded at this unexpected Queſtion, replied, but with a viſible Concern, that the Paper contained nothing of Moment. But whether the old Duke had received ſome Hints of the Conſpiracy, or whether his Son's Confuſion inſpired him with the Curioſity, he ſnatched it out of his Boſom. This Paper was one of the ſix Copies which the Conſpirators had ſigned. His Surprize was exceeding great at ſeeing all the Particulars of the Plot. He reproached

reproached his Son with it the more juſtly, as, beſides the Blackneſs of the Crime, he had not ſcrupled to expoſe the Life of his own Father, who was Security for his good Behaviour. But his Reproaches being uncapable of remedying the Evil, he reſolved to prevent it by acquainting the King with what was come to his Knowledge. To that End, he ordered his Horſes to be ſadled immediately, with Deſign to go himſelf to *Windſor* and carry the Paper to the King. The young Duke knowing he ſhould be undone paſt Redemption, if the King was informed of the Conſpiracy by any but himſelf, reſolved to be before-hand with his Father. As he was better able than the old Duke to undergo the Fatigue of Riding, he took a By-Road and came full ſpeed to *Windſor*. Upon his Arrival he caſt himſelf at the King's Feet, and diſcovered to him the whole Plot. *Henry* was ſo far from imagining, that the Duke of *Exeter* and the reſt of the Conſpirators, had conſpired to take away his Life, that he believed at firſt that the Duke of *Albemarle* had invented the whole Matter on Purpoſe to ruin them. He told him if the Thing was true, he very readily pardoned him upon his being ſorry for it; but in Caſe it was a malicious Accuſation, he ſhould find no Favour. The Duke of *York* coming very ſoon after, put him out of all doubt, by giving him the Paper he had taken from his Son. After ſo convincing a Proof, the King being no longer able to queſtion the Truth, broke off his Journey to *Oxford*, where he was to be next Day. Mean while he reſolved to ſtay at *Windſor*, to ſee what Courſe the Conſpirators would take when they ſhould perceive they had miſſed their Aim. 1400.

The Conſpirators in Perplexity.

All this while, the Lords were extremely uneaſy at *Oxford* about the Duke of *Albemarle*'s not being yet come. They had already ſent to his Houſe to know the Reaſon of his Stay; and Word was ſent back that he was ſet out for *Oxford*, but was gone by the Way of *Langley* with deſign to viſit the Duke his Father. This Viſit having begun to give them ſome Suſpicion, their Trouble increaſed upon hearing that the King deſigned not to come to *Oxford*, and had ſeen the Dukes of *York* and *Albemarle*. Then,

no

1400. *They resolve to take up Arms, and give out* Richard *was with them.*

no longer doubting that they were discovered, they resolved to accomplish by Force, what they had not been able to do by other means. Accordingly they dressed up *Maudlin* in Royal Robes, and gave out that he was *Richard*, who having made his Escape out of Prison, was come to implore the Assistance of his good Subjects.

The People flock to the pretended King.

The Readiness wherewith the People ran to list under the Banner of the pretended King, plainly showed that all had not approved of the deposing of *Richard*, though the Parliament acted in the Name of the whole Nation. Wherefore, there is nothing we may be more easily mistaken in, than in judging of the Sentiments of the People, by those of their *Representatives*. The Reason is, because the *Representatives* debating upon Matters laid before them, without having any Instruction from those they represent, their *Resolves* cannot be considered but as *Private Opinions*, though they are of Force to bind the People. Upon this Account it is, that the People sometimes *appeal* to Arms from the Decisions of Parliaments, when they are thought too prejudicial to the Welfare of the Nation. Of this we have many Instances, but particularly in the Reign of *Henry* IV. Although *Richard* had been deposed by the Parliament, it appeared upon several Occasions, that the People had acquiesced to the *Sentence* purely by Constraint, since, not only at the Time we are speaking of, but upon other Occasions, they were always ready to run after any *Counterfeit Richard* that was presented to them.

In a very short Time, the Lords Conspirators saw themselves at the Head of so formidable an Army, that they thought it in their Power to go and seize upon the King at *Windsor*. It is said that in two or three Days their Army consisted of forty Thousand Men. With these numerous Troops they began their March towards *Windsor*, which lies not above thirty Miles from *Oxford*, and came there at Break of Day, in great Expectation of surprizing the King. And indeed, *Henry* not imagining they could possibly be so soon in a Condition to execute such an Enterprize, had staid at *Windsor* till that very Night, and was not gone but a few Hours before they came. His going

away

away having fruſtrated their Deſign, they were in very great Perplexity. Some were for marching directly to *London*, before the King ſhould have time to ſecure the City. Others affirmed, that their Buſineſs was to go to *Pontfract*, to free *Richard*, and ſet him at their Head. This Diverſity of Opinions made them loſe in Debates the Time they ſhould have ſpent in Acting. So that the King had Leiſure to provide for his Defence, and draw together an Army of Twenty Thouſand Men. As he did not queſtion but the Male-Contents would take the Road to *London*, he went and expected them upon *Hounſlow-Heath*, in hopes that his Army would daily increaſe. Whatever might be the Iſſue, he was reſolved, though much inferiour in Numbers, to hazard a Battle. This Reſolution inſpired his Troops with Courage, and made them imagine the Male-Contents were not ſo ſtrong as they were reported to be. It was likewiſe the Cauſe, that many ſeeing the King march unconcerned to meet the Enemy, came and joined him in order to ſhow their Diligence: The which doubtleſs they would not have done, had he ſhown on this Occaſion the leaſt Signs of Fear or Diffidence. At ſuch Junctures the Majority of the People, without conſidering Right or Juſtice, generally declare for that Side which is like to be uppermoſt. 1400.

The King's Reſolution of Advantage to him.

Mean while the Conſpirators ſeeing the King in a Condition to withſtand them, durſt not cope with him. Whether it proceeded from their little Capacity, or whether from the Fear of being deſerted by their Army, they minded nothing but how to avoid a Battle. Inſtead of marching towards *London* to meet the King, they took the Road to *Reading*, and encamped near *Colebrook*, where the young Queen *Iſabella* lay. * Here it was they reſolved to put an end to *Maudlin*'s acting the Part he had hitherto played, thinking it more to their Purpoſe to ſpread a Report that *Richard* was

The Conſpirators avoid a Battle, and retire.

* The Conſpirators marched, in Suſpence what to do, from *Oxford* to *Colebrook*, and there hearing the King was on *Hounſlow Heath* with his Army, turned back and marched towards *Reading*, to a Place called *Sunning*. Where the Queen was, and not at *Colebrook*.

1400. was in *Yorkshire* at the Head of a Hundred Thousand Men. Their Design was not only to avoid the King, but, in all appearance, to approach *Wales*, from whence they expected to have Assistance, *Richard* being well-beloved in that Country. Be that as it will, having encamped near *Cirencester* (*a*), the Generals took up their Quarters in the Town, whilst the Army lay without. The Duke of *Surrey* and the Earl of *Salisbury* lodged at one Inn, and the Duke of *Exeter* and the Earl of *Glouceſter* at another. Their little Experience having caused them to neglect to set Guards at the Gates, the Mayor of the Town, a Man of Sense and Courage, took Advantage of their Negligence, to do the King a signal Piece of Service. He privately drew together in the Night, four hundred Townsmen, and having ordered the Gates to be shut, he divided his Followers into two Companies, and attacked at once the two Inns where the four Generals lodged. Though these Lords had none but their Domesticks with them, they defended themselves the best Part of the Night. During the Conflict, one of their People bethought himself of setting Fire to a neighbouring House, imagining the Townsmen would busy themselves in extinguishing the Flames, and by that Means give the Lords an Opportunity to escape. But this Stratagem had a quite contrary Effect. The Townsmen still more irritated by this Action, redoubled their Efforts, and at length broke open the Inn defended by the Duke of *Surrey* and Earl of *Salisbury*. These two Lords being much wounded, were beheaded on the Spot by the Mayor's Order. On the other Side, the Duke of *Exeter* and Earl of *Glouceſter*, perceiving they were no longer able to hold out with the few People they had with them, found means to escape over the Houses, and to get out of the Town by the Help of some of the Inhabitants. Their Intent was to march the Army into the Town: but upon their coming to the Camp, they found it deserted. The Report which the Soldiers heard, and the Fire which they saw in the Town, having made them believe that the King's

The four Chiefs are attacked by the Mayor of Cirenceſter. Act. Pub. viii. 89, 90.

Two are taken and beheaded on the Spot.

(*a*) And not *Chicheſter*, as some have affirmed. *Act. Pub. V.* viii. 89.

King's Army was there, they had all taken to ſudden Flight, ſeized with a *Panick* Fear, which made them ſee Danger where there was none. Thus the Lords perceiving it out of their Power to execute their Deſign parted, the better to provide for their Safety. But they had the Misfortune to be taken, and ſhortly after loſt their Heads on the Scaffold. *Maudlin* was alſo apprehended as he was endeavouring to eſcape into *Scotland*, and condemned to be hanged. The Abbot of *Weſtminſter* making off likewiſe, was ſeized with ſo terrible a Fright, that he fell into a Fit of the *Apoplexy* and died. As for the Biſhop of *Carliſle*, he was taken alſo and ſentenced to Death. But though on the Score of his *Character* the King had pardoned him, yet he was not in a State to enjoy the Benefit, when the News of his Pardon was brought him. The Terror of the Puniſhment he was to undergo, had made ſuch an Impreſſion upon him, that it cauſed his Death, at the very Time that *Mercy* was influencing the King to ſpare his Life.

1400.

The other two are likewiſe taken and executed.

The Biſhop of Carliſle *dies with Fear.* Act. Pub. VIII. 165.

In all likelihood, the ill Succeſs of this Enterprize haſtened *Richard*'s End. There is ſome Diverſity among Hiſtorians about the Manner of his Death, but they all agree he did not die a natural Death. Some affirm, he was ſtarved to Death. Others pretending to be better informed, relate his Death with theſe Circumſtances. After the Troubles above-mentioned were appeaſed, by the Death of the principal Conſpirators, one Sir *Thomas Pyers* came to *Pontfract*, attended by eight Men. The ſame Day he arrived, *Richard* perceived at Dinner that the Victuals were not taſted as uſual. He asked the Reaſon of it of the Perſon whoſe Buſineſs it was, and upon his telling him that *Pyers* had brought an Order from the King to the contrary, he took up a Knife and ſtruck him on the Face with it. *Pyers* coming in, with his eight Attendants at the Noiſe, *Richard* found he was a dead Man, and reſolving to ſell his Life at a dear Rate, he ſnatched from one of them a Battle-Ax, with which he defended himſelf ſo bravely, that he ſlew four of them. But at length, ſtanding accidently near *Pyers* who was got upon a Chair, the Villain diſcharged

Tragical Death of Richard II.

1400. upon his Head a Blow with a Club, which laid him dead at his Feet *.

Thus died this unfortunate Prince, Thirty-three Years old, of which he had ſat Twenty-two on the Throne *'. A melancholy Reward for the many ſignal Services the Prince his Father had done *England!* He was carried to *London* in a Coffin with his Face uncovered, that every one might view it. His Funeral was ſolemnized at St. *Paul*'s, at which the King was pleaſed to be preſent. This done, he was carried to *Langley* Church, and interred without any Ceremony. *Henry* V. ordered his Body to be removed to *Weſtminſter-Abby*, and laid among his Anceſtors. Though it was reported all over the Kingdom that he had been murdered, yet no Inquiry was made into the Matter. The which confirmed the People in their Belief, that the King was not innocent. The Truth is, if *Richard* died of a natural Death, it would have been neceſſary to undeceive the Publick. But in caſe he loſt his Life by violent Means, it was a hard Matter for any one to make uſe of them without the King's Knowledge.

Notwithſtanding *Richard* had not been beloved whilſt he ſat on the Throne, his Misfortunes failed not to excite the Compaſſion of the very People that had been ſo ready to deſert him. It is peculiar to Misfortunes, eſpecially of Princes, generally to change *Hatred* into *Pity*. Of this we ſhall ſee in the Sequel of this very Reign ſeveral Inſtances.

The

* This is *Fabian*'s Account. *Walſingham* ſays, he faſted himſelf to Death for Grief at the Miſcarriage of the Plot. *Stow* ſays, he was kept fifteen Days together in *Hunger*, *Thirſt* and *Cold*, till he died. *Polydore Virgil* ſays, he was not ſuffered to touch or taſte the Victuals which lay before him. *Hector Boethius* will have it, that *Richard* fled in diſguiſe into *Scotland*, where giving himſelf up wholly to Contemplation, he lived and died, and was buried at *Sterling*. Perhaps this was true of ſome Counterfeit *Richard*.

*' The beautiful Picture of a King ſighing, crowned in a Chair of State, at the Upper-end of the *Choir* in St. *Peter's Weſtminſter* is ſaid to be his. *Speed, p.* 615.

The *Engliſh* Writers pretend, that *Charles* VI. made great Preparations to try to reſtore *Richard* to the Throne. But the *French* Hiſtorians take no Notice of the Court of *France*'s ſtirring much in that Affair. It is true, we have in the *Collection of Publick Acts*, ſeveral of *Henry*'s Orders relating to the Preparations carrying on in *France*, with deſign to invade *England*: But that might be an Effect of *Henry*'s Policy, to let the World ſee the Neceſſity of *Richard*'s Death. And indeed, the Truce of Twenty-eight Years between the two Crowns was confirmed in *May* this very Year, and all the pretended Arguments of *France* ended in a Negotiation to draw from *England* Queen *Iſabella*, with whom *Richard* had not conſummated his Marriage. It was not without Reaſon that *Henry* endeavoured to maintain the Truce with *France*. He had a Quarrel with the King of *Scotland*, which would not ſuffer him to carry his Forces out of the Kingdom. The *Occaſion* of the Rupture between theſe two Princes was this:

1400. Act. Pub. VIII. 223.

Truce with France *confirmed.*

Robert Stuart, King of *Scotland*, the Third of that Name, was deſirous to match Prince *David* his eldeſt Son, with a Daughter of *George Dunbar*, Earl of *March*. The Earl taking this Alliance as a very great Honour, joyfully received the Propoſal, and even paid before-hand part of the Marriage Portion. However, ſhortly after, by Intrigues needleſs to be mentioned here, Prince *David* married a Daughter of *Archibald*, Earl of *Dowglaſs*. *Dunbar* was extremely vexed at this Affront, to which the King added another Cauſe of Diſcontent, by refuſing or delaying to refund the Money he had received. The Deſire of Revenge, and making the King ſenſible that he deſerved a better Treatment, inſpired the Earl with a Reſolution to go over to the King of *England*, and do all the Miſchief poſſible to his Enemies. To that End, he imparted his Deſign to the Earl of *Northumberland*, Governour of the *Northern* Counties, who preſently after ſent him a *Safe-Conduct* from the King his Maſter. Upon the Receit whereof he repaired to *Henry*, and had ſeveral Conferences with him. The King of *Scotland* well aware that the Earl of *March* was hatching ſome Plot againſt him in *England*,

The Cauſe of the War with Scotland.

1400. *land*, ſent Ambaſſadors to *Henry* to demand his being delivered up, and upon *Henry*'s Refuſal, proclaimed War againſt him.

Henry *marches into* Scotland. *Henry* not thinking fit to ſtay and expect his Enemy in *England*, prepared to carry the War into *Scotland*. As ſoon as his Army was ready to march, he went to *Newcaſtle*, and ſent *Robert* a *Summons* to appear in Perſon, and do him Homage for the Kingdom of *Scotland*. In this *Citation*, he revived the Pretenſions of *Edward* I. to the *Sovereignty* of that Kingdom, ever ſince the Time of *Locrinus* Son of *Brutus*, firſt pretended King of the whole Iſland of *Albion*. Upon *Robert*'s refuſing to do him any ſuch Homage, *Henry* entred *Scotland*, and made ſome Progreſs.

He beſieges Edinburgh Towards the End of *September* he went and beſieged the Caſtle of *Edinburgh*, defended by Prince *David* and the Earl of *Dowglaſs* his Brother-in-Law. But the Seaſon being too far advanced to be able to go on with the Siege,

Raiſes the Siege. he quitted it on a ſudden, and retired into his own Dominions. As ſoon as he was gone, the *Scots* under the Conduct of Sir *Patrick Hepborne*, and *Thomas Hablington*,

The Scots *invade* England *and are defeated.* made an Inroad into *England*, and revenged in a cruel Manner the Ravages the *Engliſh* had committed in *Scotland*. But in their Return, they were met by the Earl of *Northumberland*, who defeated them and ſtript them of their Booty. *Hepborne*, one of the *Scotch* Generals, was ſlain in the Action. This Victory procured between the two

Truce between the two Kingdoms. Nations a Truce for ſix Weeks, which was afterwards prolonged, by reaſon of the Poſture *Henry*'s Affairs were in. Hardly had he begun the War with *Scotland*, when he received certain Intelligence that the *Welſh* were about to Revolt, and that they had a Deſign to raiſe in their Country Commotions, which could not but be attended with fatal Conſequences. This was the Reaſon, that notwithſtanding his Succeſs againſt the *Scots*, he was not willing to make the moſt of his Advantages, for fear of exaſperating them too much. This is what *Buchanan* himſelf owns, aſcribing to his Generoſity what was only the Effect of his *Policy*; the Motions of the *Welch* having made it abſolutely neceſſary to have Peace with *Scotland*.

The

The *Welſh*, who ever ſince the Reign of *Edward* I. were ſubject, or rather united to *England*, believed they might take Advantage of the preſent Juncture, to recover their former State. *Owen Glendour*, or *Glendowrdwy*, as he is always called in the *Collection of Publick Acts*, was the Perſon that ſet them upon this Undertaking. Th isMan, though a private Gentleman only, had all the Qualities proper for ſuch an Attempt, if the *Welſh* Forces had been ſtrong enough to afford him any Proſpect of Succeſs. Nevertheleſs, he managed Matters in ſuch a Manner, that for ſeveral Years he found Means to free his Countrymen from the Subjection they had been kept in by the *Engliſh*. A Law-Suit he had loſt at *London* with the Lord *Grey* of *Ruthin*, his Neighbour, was the firſt Occaſion of the Diſguſt he conceived againſt the whole *Engliſh* Nation *. The Conſpiracy which I have ſpoken of before, breaking out in *England* at this very Time, *Glendour*, not queſtioning but it would cauſe great Diſturbances, thought it a fair Opportunity to caſt off the *Engliſh* Yoke. He privately ſounded the *Welſhmen*, and finding they were inclinable enough to receive his Impreſſions, he brought them without much Difficulty to a Reſolution to aſſert their Liberty. He would have forthwith diſcovered his Deſigns, if the ill Succeſs of the *Engliſh* Conſpiracy had not withheld him. The Moment he ſaw the King engaged in the War with *Scotland*, he ſet about executing his Project, and got the *Welſh* to renounce with one Conſent their Allegiance to the Crown of *England*, and acknowledge him for Sovereign. From thenceforward he always ſtiled himſelf *Prince of Wales*, as appears by ſeveral *Acts*.

1400. *Revolt of the* Welſh *under* Glendour. Act. Pub. VIII. 159.

Act. Pub. VIII. 156.

His firſt Enterprize was againſt the Lord *Grey* his Adverſary, whom he took Priſoner in a Battle; after which, he made him marry his Daughter, without giving him his Liberty, contrary to his Word.

Emboldened

* He was brought up at the *Inns of Court* in *London*, and was it ſeems King *Richard*'s Eſquire: But in *Henry*'s Time he retired to his Mannor of *Glendowrdwy*, where he had a Diſpute with the Lord *Grey*, for having entered upon Part of a *Common* lying between *Ruthin* and *Glendowrdwy*,

1400. Glendour takes the Earl of March Priſoner.

Emboldened by this Succeſs he made an Incurſion into *Herefordſhire*. *Edmund Mortimer* Earl of *March*, who had retired to his Lordſhip of *Wigmore*, finding that the King was employed in *Scotland*, thought to do him a ſignal Service, by drawing together the Gentry of the Country, in order to go and put a ſtop to the Progreſs of the Rebels. But he had the misfortune to be taken Priſoner in a Battle; and though he offered a large Ranſom, he could not obtain his Liberty. *Glendour* imagined that a Priſoner of that Conſequence might be of uſe to him hereafter, or at leaſt that the King would ſpare no Coſt for his Deliverance, and therefore his beſt way would be rather to treat with the King than with the Priſoner himſelf. But he was very much out in his Conjecture. *Henry* was too well pleaſed to ſee the Earl of *March* a Priſoner and unable to hurt him, to contribute any Thing towards his Releaſe. *Glendour* however ſtill kept his Priſoner, hoping by his Means he ſhould one Day be able to give the King ſome Diſturbance, as it actually happened. The Earl was not ſorry afterwards at his being in the Hands of the *Welſh*. *Henry*'s Jealouſy of every Thing relating to his Crown, and his Severity to thoſe that would diſpute it with him, made the Earl ſenſible, that his Life was ſafer in Priſon than at his own Houſe. Mean while the King being taken up in the *Scotch* War, *Glendour* had Time enough to ravage the Country on the Weſt-Side of the *Severn*, and to carry off a great Booty.

Henry *is glad of the Earl's Misfortune.*

The Emperor of Conſtantinople *arrives in* England.

About the End of this Year, *Manuel Palæologus*, Emperor of *Conſtantinople*, arrived in *England* to move for Succour againſt *Bajazet* Emperor of the *Turks*. The King gave him an honourable Reception, and made him ſome Preſents. But as for Succour, he put him off till his Affairs were better ſettled in his own Kingdom. The Emperor went from *England* to *France*, from whence he departed not till two Years after, upon News that *Bajazet* his Enemy was vanquiſhed and made Priſoner by *Tamerlane*.

1401. *Statutes in Church Affairs.*

On the 21ſt of *January* 1401, *Henry* aſſembled a Parliament, at which there were ſeveral *Statutes* made with relation to the *Church*. The firſt confirmed the *Acts* paſſed

in

in the Reigns of *Edward* III and *Richard* II, againſt ſuch as ſued for *Proviſions* in the Court of *Rome*, or carried to the *Eccleſiaſtical Courts* Cauſes belonging to the Cognizance of the *Civil Judges*. This was the old Quarrel with the Court of *Rome*. What rigorous Proceedings ſoever were uſed to ſtop the Courſe of theſe Abuſes, they had been ineffectual, becauſe it was the Intereſt of too many People to countenance the pretended *Prerogatives* of the Pope. But however this Parliament having conſidered that the Pope ſtill went on to engroſs the *Collations* of all the *Church-Preferments* of the Kingdom, and that the *Eccleſiaſtical Courts* were continually encroaching upon the *Civil* ones, came to a Reſolution at length to oppoſe thoſe Things effectually. To that Purpoſe were revived the old *Statutes of Proviſors* in the Reigns of *Edward* III and *Richard* II, commonly known by the Name of the *Statute of Præmunire*. As this Term often occurs in the *Engliſh* Hiſtory, it will not be improper to explain it. By *Præmunire* then is meant, either the *Statute* it ſelf, or the *Penalty* annexed to it. Former Parliaments acting from the ſame Motive as this, had ordained Puniſhments againſt the *Proviſors*, that is, againſt ſuch as ſought after *Bulls*, called *Proviſiones* or *Gratiæ Expectativæ*, from the Court of *Rome*, for *Benefices* either *vacant* or that ſhould be ſo. The ſame Puniſhments were ordained againſt thoſe that carried to the Court *Eccleſiaſtical* what belonged to the *Civil*. When any Perſon incurred the Guilt of this ſort of Crime, a *Writ* or *Order* was iſſued againſt him, beginning with theſe Words, *Præmunire facias*, whereby he was commanded to appear in the King's Court. Hence the *Statute* as well as the *Penalty* annexed were called *Præmunire* *. This Penalty conſiſted in *Forfeiture of Lands*, and *Impriſonment* during the King's Pleaſure. In Proceſs of Time ſeveral other Offences of a like Nature with thoſe that were the firſt Cauſe of the *Statute*, were made liable to the ſame Penalty. So that all the *Statutes of Præmunire* are only Enlargements of thoſe

1401.

Statutes of Præmunire:

Explication of that Term.

* Suppoſed to be uſed in the barbarous *Law-Latin*, inſtead of *Præmonere*.

1401. those that were made in the Reigns of *Edward* III and *Richard* II. In general, the *Pramunire* chiefly regards Offences committed in Matters *Eccleſiaſtical*, wherein the *Civil* Juriſdiction is concerned.

The *Clergy* were all along ſo intent upon favouring the Pretenſions of the Court of *Rome*, that the Pains former Parliaments had been at to remedy this Abuſe, were to little Purpoſe. The *Statute* I have juſt ſpoken of had ſcarce any better Effect. The Attempt made laſt Year to dethrone the King, having given him Cauſe to fear the like Conſpiracies for the future, he had reſolved to keep fair with the *Clergy*, that they might be attached to his Intereſt. So that although he did not think proper to refuſe his Aſſent to the new *Statute*, he connived however at the Breach of it, as much as, or more than any of his Predeceſſors. But this was not the only Thing he did to gain the Affection of the *Clergy*. His Condeſcenſion for them in another Article, of no leſs Importance, drew upon him the *Bleſſings* of the *Eccleſiaſticks*, and cauſed him to be looked on by the whole Body, as a Prince exceeding zealous for the *Church*.

Statute againſt Hereticks.

Since *Wickliff* firſt publiſhed his Opinions about the End of the Reign of *Edward* III, his *Doctrine* had gained ſo much Ground, that the *Clergy* were in continual Apprehenſions of its getting uppermoſt. I have already related that in the Reign of *Richard* II, the Biſhops had obtained a general Licenſe to impriſon *Hereticks* without being obliged to have a particular *Order* from the Court, but that the Houſe of *Commons* had cauſed it to be revoked. From that Time there had been no Alteration on that Account, except that the King granted more frequently the like *Orders*. However, as the Penalty of Impriſonment was not capable to curb the pretended Evil the Biſhops were in dread of, *Henry* having always in view the gaining of the Affection of the *Eccleſiaſticks*, recommended to the Parliament in a very preſſing manner the Care of the *Church*'s Concerns. How reluctant ſoever the *Houſe of Commons* might be to perſecute the *Lollards*, the Credit of the Court and Cabals of the *Clergy*, obtained at length an *Act* for

for the burning of *obſtinate Hereticks*. This *Statute* was no ſooner paſſed, but the *Eccleſiaſtical Court* immediately condemned one *William Sawtre* * a *Lollard*, who being delivered over to the *ſecular Power*, was burnt alive by Virtue of the King's *Writ* *1 directed to the *Mayor* of *London*. This Man was the firſt who ſuffered Death in *England* for the ſake of Religion. During this *Seſſion* ſeveral *Acts* were likewiſe paſſed concerning the Diſputes between the *Engliſh* and the Court of *Rome*, of which I ſhall have Occaſion to ſpeak in another Place.

1401. *A Lollard burnt.* Act. Pub. VIII. 178.

Since the Truce with *France* had been confirmed, *Charles* VI, or rather the Duke of *Orleans* his Brother, and the Dukes of *Berri* and *Burgundy* his Uncles, who governed in his Name, had often demanded the young Queen *Iſabella* Widow of *Richard* II. *Henry* had deferred giving a poſitive Anſwer; not but that the Demand was very juſt: But two Reaſons made him deſirous of keeping that Princeſs if poſſible. Firſt, as he could not help being apprehenſive of a War with *France*, he was willing to make a firm and laſting Peace with *Charles* VI, to which he believed the Marriage of *Iſabella* with the Prince his Son would mightily contribute. With this View it was, that before he returned a poſitive Anſwer to the Court of *France*, he had frequently propoſed this Match. But neither the Brother nor Uncles of *Charles* would ever conſent to it, not being able to think of marrying the young Queen to a Prince whoſe Father was looked upon by all the World as the Murderer of her firſt Husband. They alledged however another Reaſon for declining it, namely, That her Father not being in a Condition to manage his Affairs, they durſt not treat of his Daughter's Marriage without his Conſent. A ſecond Reaſon why *Henry* put off ſending back *Iſabella*, was his being very ſenſible that the Reſtitution of the Money *Richard* had already received with her would be demanded. However, as he had no plauſible Pretext to detain her, he conſented at laſt to reſtore her

Negotiation about ſending back Richard's *Widow.* ibid. *p.* 186.

Henry *demands* Iſabella *for his Son,*

He is put off.

He ſends her back. Act. Pub. VIII. 194.

* Pariſh-Prieſt of St. *Oſith* in *London*.
*1 *Writ de Hæretico Comburendo.*

1401. with all her Jewels. He knew how to manage it ſo dextrouſly, that in the *Conventions* made upon that Account at *Lelingham*, there was no mention of any Reſtitution. That was the Subject of another Negotiation, which I ſhall ſpeak of hereafter.

Marriage of Blanch, Henry's *Daughter, with the Earl* Palatin. ibid. 179.

Whilſt this Affair was tranſacting, *Henry* had in *Germany* another Negotiation on Foot, about a Marriage between *Blanch* his eldeſt Daughter, and *Lewis* of *Bavaria*, Grandſon of *Robert* Earl *Palatin* of the *Rhine*, who was juſt advanced to the *Imperial* Throne, vacant by the Death of *Henry* of *Brunſwick* Succeſſor of *Winceſlaus*. This Affair was concluded in *May*, to the King's great Satisfaction. The Princeſs's Portion was forty Thouſand Pounds *Sterling*. At the ſame Time, a Treaty of perpetual Alliance was made between the Emperor and *Henry*.

The King's Expedition againſt the Welſh.

Since the Revolt of the *Welſh* broke out, *Henry* had made no Preparations to reduce them to Obedience. Mean while *Glendour* taking Advantage of his Negligence, continued to ravage the *Counties* bordering upon *Wales*. Far from dreading the King's juſt Indignation, he ſtudied to provoke him by continual Inſults. *Henry*'s Indolence appeared ſtrange to abundance of People, becauſe they were ignorant of the Reaſon of it. Before he took up Arms againſt the *Welſh*, he was deſirous of finiſhing his Matters with *France*, and even intended to make a ſtrict Alliance with that Crown. As he knew the Rebels could have no Aſſiſtance but from thence, he believed, could he deprive them of that Protection, they would not be able to hold out long. Mean Time the Negotiations with *France* going on ſlower than he could wiſh, and *Glendour* ſtill continuing to infeſt his Borders, he could put off no longer his taking up Arms. Before he put himſelf at the Head of his Army, he publiſhed a General Pardon for the *Welſh*, provided they ſubmitted within a certain Time. But finding his Clemency had no great Effect, he ſet forward to go and chaſtiſe them. Upon his Approach *Glendour* withdrew to the Mountains, where it was impoſſible to come at him. All the King could do was to ravage the Country, which done, he returned to *London*.

Act. Pub. VIII. 225.

The

The King's Return to his *Metropolis* was immediately followed by the Diſcovery of a Plot againſt his Life, by the Means of an Iron Inſtrument with three ſharp *Spikes* placed in his Bed. Had he lain down upon them, they muſt inevitably have run through his Body; but by good Fortune, he perceived them juſt as he was going to lye down, What Inquiry ſoever was made, there was no poſſibility of diſcovering the Author of this traiterous Attempt. 1401. *An Invention to kill the King diſcovered.*

It was this and not the laſt Year, as ſome affirm, that *Edmund* Duke of *York* the King's Uncle, died. He left two Sons, *Edmund* Duke of *Albemarle*, who took the Title of Duke of *York*, and *Richard* Earl of *Cambridge*. I ſhall have frequent Occaſion hereafter to ſpeak of the Deſcendants of the younger, who by his Marriage with a Siſter of the Earl of *March*, acquired to his Iſſue the Right to the Crown, which cauſed ſuch terrible Commotions in the Kingdom. *Death of the Duke of* York. *Succeeded by his Son.*

In the Beginning of the next Year, the King by his ſole Authority, and without the Aid of the Parliament, laid a Tax for the Marriage-Dowry of his Daughter. Though in ſo doing he had acted by Virtue of an antient Privilege of the Kings on the like Occaſions, the People however appeared diſſatisfied at it. There were not wanting in the Kingdom ſuch as laid hold of every Thing to find Fault with his Conduct. About the Middle of the Year he had Reaſon to perceive that there was ſtill a dangerous Ferment among his Subjects, and that if the Male-Contents ſat quiet, it was only in Expectation of a favourable Opportunity to riſe. On a ſudden, when he leaſt thought of it, a Rumour was ſpread over all *England*, that *Richard* was alive, and had levied an Army in *Scotland*, in order to come and drive out the Uſurper. It was a plain Caſe that the People wiſhed the News true, ſince it met with ſo much Credit from all Hands. At the ſame Time, on Church-Doors and in other publick Places, Papers were poſted up containing outragious Invectives againſt the King. The Authors of theſe *Papers* aſſerted among other Things, that the Crimes for which *Richard* was depoſed, were nothing in Compariſon of the *tyrannical* Proceedings of *Hen-* 1402. *Tax raiſed for the Marriage of the King's Daughter.* ibid. *p.* 242. *A Rumour of* Richard's *being alive.* ibid. *p.* 225. *Writings againſt the King.*

1402. *He punishes the Authors.*

ry since he had been on the Throne. The King was so provoked at this Audaciousness, that he swore he would never pardon such as were found guilty. Sir *Roger Clarendon*, natural Son of *Edward* the renowned Prince of *Wales*, fell the first Sacrifice to his Vengeance, being sentenced to dye the ignominious Death of a Traitor. Eight Monks guilty of the same Crime were hanged with him. *Walter Baldock* Prior of *Laune* underwent the same Fate, with a *Franciscan* Doctor in *Divinity*, who was hanged in his *Friar's Habit*, to the great Mortification of the *Fraternity* *. Many more were apprehended, upon finding among the Papers of a certain Priest, a List of the Names of those that had declared *Richard* was living. But upon strict Examination, it appeared that he had made that List, on purpose to make the News the more likely, or upon Conjectures void of Foundation. So that he suffered alone the Punishment of his Rashness. The King's great Severity upon this Occasion, contributed very much to efface the good Opinion People had conceived of his *Clemency* and *Humanity*.

Marriage of the King with Joanna *of* Navarre. Act. Pub. VIII. 261, 281.

Whilst these Things were doing in *England*, *Henry* treated in Foreign Courts about three Marriages at once. The First was between *Philippa* his second Daughter, and *Eric* King of *Denmark*, who was yet a *Minor*, under the Guardianship of Queen *Margaret* his Mother. The Second, was between the Prince of *Wales*, and a Sister of *Eric*'s. And the Third was his own, with *Joanna of Navarre* Widow of the Duke of *Bretagne*. Of these three Marriages, the first and the last were concluded that very Year; but the Prince of *Wales*'s came to nothing.

The Court of France *get in their Power the Person of the young Duke of* Bretagne.

Henry in resolving to marry the Dutchess Dowager of *Bretagne* had plainly an Eye upon getting by Virtue of this Marriage, the Guardianship of the three Princes which the late Duke of *Bretagne* had left *Minors*. At least the Court of

* He being asked what he would have done if King *Richard* had been living and in the Field, boldly replied, he would have ventured his Life for him against any Person whatever. Upon which he was hanged, and drawn in his Habit. *Walsingham*, *p.* 557.

of *France*, taking it for granted, appeared very much alarmed at this Alliance, which could not but be very prejudicial to the *French* Intereſt. This was the Reaſon that the Duke of *Burgundy*, Guardian of the young Princes, took them from the Dutcheſs their Mother, and carried them to *Paris*, where they were brought up. By this Means the Court of *France* took upon them to manage the Affairs of *Bretagnes*, during the Non-Age of the young Duke. If it be true that *Henry* had any Eye upon *Bretagne*, he not only miſſed his Aim, but drew upon himſelf freſh Enemies. During the whole Time the new Duke was in *France*, the *Bretagnes* ſcarce ever ceaſed infeſting the Coaſts of *England*, though there was no open War proclaimed between their Sovereign and *Henry*. The King's Marriage was not conſummated till the Year following. 1402. ibid. 264, 281.

Theſe Negotiations being over, *Henry* prepared in good earneſt to chaſtiſe the *Welſh*. To that End, he drew together a numerous Army, and heading them in Perſon, he advanced towards *Wales*. Upon his Approach, *Glendour* retired to the Mountains of *Snowdon*, where he knew there was no attacking him. In the mean Time the King was making ready to ravage the Country; but the Weather became on a ſudden ſo tempeſtuous, that he was forced to retire. The Storms were ſo uncommon for the Seaſon, that the *Engliſh* fancied *Glendour* had made a Contract with the *Devil*, to prevent the Deſtruction of his Country. *Expedition of the King into* Wales.

Whilſt the King was taken up in thoſe Parts, the *Scots* under the Command of *Hepborne*, Son of him ſlain two Years before, made an Irruption into *England*, and advanced as far as *Newcaſtle*. The Earl of *Northumberland*, General of the *North*, was not at firſt in a Readineſs to repulſe the Invaſion. But having drawn together a great Body of Troops, whilſt they were continuing their Ravages, he went and expected them at *Nisbet*, where he attacked and defeated them, carrying off all their Booty. The *Scotch* General loſt his Life in the Action. *The* Scots *invade* England. *p.* 272. *Are defeated at* Nisbet. *p.* 278.

Theſe

1402. *Another Invasion of the* Scots.

These Troops were properly but the Vanguard of an Army which the Earl of *Dowglas* was leading forward with all Speed, in order to make a more considerable Push. Upon News of *Hepborne*'s Defeat, he hastened into *England* with Design to fight the Earl of *Northumberland*, who finding he was not strong enough to hazard a Battle, was fain to retire and leave the Borders exposed to his Ravages. Mean while he laboured without ceasing to augment his Army; and as soon as he was in a Condition to face him, he marched in quest of him, attended by *Henry Hotspur* his Son, who was reckoned the bravest Man in *England*. The two Armies meeting at *Halidown-Hill*, a bloody Battle ensued, wherein the *English* were entirely victorious. The *Scotch* General lost an Eye, and was taken Prisoner, together with the Earl of *Fife* Nephew of the King of *Scotland*, the Earls of *Angus*, *Athol*, *Monteith*, and a vast Number of other Officers of Distinction. According to the *English* Historians, this Battle was fought in *July*, about a Month after the former. *Buchanan* places it among the Occurrences of the Year 1401, but in this we may be sure he is mistaken.

p. 292.

The French *and* English *blame one another for breaking the Truce.*

During the whole Summer the Ambassadors of *France* and *England* continued at *Lelingham*, on Account of the Truce which had been violated, particularly in *Guienne*. The *French* Historians cast the Blame upon *England*, and the *English* upon *France*; but we are not obliged to believe either of them on their bare Word. In Cases of this Nature, the Historians of both Nations seldom fail of contradicting one another, and upbraiding each other with Partiality. Their Honour it seems, is at Stake in maintaining upon all Occasions the *Faith* and *Truth* of their respective Sovereigns. Be this as it will, in the Situation the two Kings had for some Time been in, it could be to neither's Advantage to renew the War. *Henry* thought *France* alone was the Place from whence the *Welsh* and the Male-Contents in *England* could procure any Aid, the which he believed he should prevent by Means of the Truce; but in that he was mistaken. On the other Side, King *Charles*'s Distemper, the Divisions then in his Court and Council,

gave

gave the *French* no Room to expect any great Success of their Arms. So that the Truce was again confirmed without examining too strictly which Side broke it first. 1402.

The French *demand* Isabella's *Portion.* Act. Pub. VIII. 232, 302.

This Affair being settled, the *French* Ambassadors brought another upon the Board, by demanding the Restitution of what King *Richard* had received with his Queen. *Henry*, who foresaw this Demand, had given Instructions beforehand to his Ambassadors what Answer they should make. They pretended to be surprised at the Proposal, and said they had no *Orders* about that Matter. However, they added as out of their own Heads, that they did not question but in Order to keep up a good Understanding between the two Crowns, their Master would agree to deduct that Sum out of the Million and half of Crowns, which were still due to *England* for the Ransom of King *John*. This Pretension did not a little Surprize the *French* Plenipotentiaries, who having no Instructions upon that Head, deferred their Answer till they should know their Master's Pleasure.

The English *offer to deduct it out of King* John's *Ransom.*

The Parliament meets

The Parliament having met in *October*, granted the King a *Subsidy*, and then confirmed divers *Statutes* made in the Reign of *Edward* III, in Favour of the *Clergy*. The *Session* ended with a *Petition* to the King, recommending to him the Concerns of the *Scotch* Earl of *March*, who had done the *State* considerable Service since his putting himself under the Protection of *England*.

1403. *The Queen arrives.*

The new Queen being arrived in *England*, in *February* 1403, the King went and received her at *Winchester*, where the Marriage was consummated. After which she was solemnly crowned at *London*.

The French *make a Descent in the* Isle of Wight.

Whilst the Court was wholly taken up in Entertainments and Diversions, the King received Intelligence that the *French* were going to make a Descent in the *Isle of Wight*, under the Conduct of *Valeran* Earl of St. *Paul*, of the House of *Luxemburg*. This Earl having married a Half-Sister of *Richard* II, pretended to act in his own Name, to revenge the Death of the King his Brother-in-law. The Court of *France* connived at the Undertaking, and even furnished the Earl with Troops, as if the Truce were not infringed

1403. infringed by it at all. Mean Time this Bravado ſucceeded but lamely with the Earl of St. *Paul*. After plundering ſome Villages, he found himſelf conſtrained to re-imbark in a diſhonourable Manner, though the Inhabitants of the Iſle had received no Succours. *Henry* complained to the Court of *France* of this Invaſion. But he could get no other Anſwer than that it was the King of *France*'s Intention to keep the Truce. Had he not been bent upon avoiding a Rupture, the Earl of *Paul*'s Attempt would have afforded him a very good Handle to renew the War. But as he was ſenſible that the Kingdom abounded with Male-Contents, he would not give *France* an Opportunity openly to ſupport them. On the contrary, by keeping up the Truce with that Crown, he deſigned to deprive them of the Proſpect of being ſuccoured. So that taking no further notice of the Inſult, he was contented with obtaining of the Court of *France* a freſh Confirmation of the Truce.

Henry takes no notice of it.

The Duke of Orleans *challenges him.*

They who governed for King *Charles* were not ignorant of *Henry*'s Diſpoſitions, the which made them have the leſs Regard for him. This very Year the Duke of *Orleans* ſent him a Challenge to fight, either in ſingle Combat, or with a hundred Knights on each Side. The Reaſon of this Challenge is no where mentioned in the *Engliſh* Hiſtory, and the *French* alledge no better for it than the Duke of *Orleans*'s earneſt Deſire to revenge the Death of *Richard* II. It is very likely that it was only a Whim of the young Duke's to ſignalize himſelf by ſending a Challenge to a King of *England*; but the Anſwer he received was not very agreeable to him. *Henry* gave him to underſtand that there was a wide Diſtance between a King and any Perſon whatever that was but a Subject, and therefore he could not accept his Challenge; but that they might happen to meet in a Place where both attended with a more numerous Train than what he propoſed, they might meaſure Swords with one another. This Anſwer drew from the Duke of *Orleans* a Reply full of Invectives, calling him *Traitor*, *Uſurper*, *Murderer* of his King. *Henry* ſent him another Anſwer no leſs abuſive, wherein after giving him the

Act. Pub. VIII. 310, 348.

the *Lie* in Form, he charged him with having made uſe of *Sorcery* to throw his Father into the Diſtemper he was troubled with. Mean while he ſent to know of the *French* Ambaſſadors, ſtill with his at *Lelingham*, whether this Challenge had the Approbation of the King their Maſter; if ſo, he looked on it as an open Declaration of War. But though the Ambaſſadors were frequently called upon to return a poſitive Anſwer, there was no poſſibility of getting them to ſpeak plainly. They only affirmed that their Maſter had not broke the Truce, neither did he intend to break it for the Time to come. In fine, as the *Engliſh* preſſed them for an Anſwer from thoſe that governed in *Charles*'s Name during his Illneſs, they plainly told them, that whether the King continued out of Order, or whether he recovered his Health, they were to expect no other Reply. *Henry* conſtruing this Silence as a diſavowing, or rather thinking fit to take no notice of it, for Reaſons already mentioned, took up with this ſlight Satisfaction. 1403. Henry *complains of it, but receives no Satisfaction.*

During the Congreſs, the *French* Ambaſſadors moved again the Buſineſs of *Iſabella*'s Portion. On the other Side, the *Engliſh* Plenipotentiaries demanded the Reſidue of King *John*'s Ranſom, and endeavoured to ſhift off the Demand of the *French*, by alledging that as their Maſter received not *Iſabella*'s Dowry, he was not obliged to repay it. But this gave their Adverſaries Room to retort in their Turn, though with no better Reaſon, that neither had their Maſter entered into an Engagement with *Henry* concerning King *John*'s Ranſom. However, as *Henry* demanded not the Arrears of the Ranſom, but in order to eſcape paying back the *Dowry*, he had his Ends, and the Buſineſs ſtopped there. *Debate about* Iſabella's *Portion.*

Whilſt the Ambaſſadors of the two Crowns were employed in cavilling with one another, Matters of much greater Moment for *Henry* were paſſing in *England*. Nothing leſs was at Stake than his Crown. From the Beginning of his Reign, to the Victory over the *Scoſs* at *Halidown-Hill*, no Lord was in greater Favour with the King than the Earl of *Northumberland*. As it was properly by *Quarrel between the King and Earl of* Northumberland.

1403. the Readineſs wherewith the Earl joined *Henry* upon his landing in *England*, that his Affairs had ſo good an Iſſue, the King had all along retained a very grateful Senſe of it. The Government of the *Northern* Counties, the Poſt of *High-Conſtable*, the Grant of the *Iſle of Man*, and ſeveral other Favours, were plain Indications of his Eſteem for the Earl, who on his Part had always appeared very zealous for his Service. The laſt Year he had gained over the *Scots* two Battles, the latter of which had diſabled them from giving his Maſter any freſh Diſturbance. This was a ſignal Piece of Service, but over and above the Favours he had received, the King had taken care to reward him with the Grant of certain Lands. Nothing therefore ſeemed capable of breaking the Harmony between the *Services* of the Earl and the *ſuitable Returns* of the King. And yet a Point of Intereſt ſet them ſo at Variance, that theſe happy Diſpoſitions were altered on a ſudden. The Occaſion of their Difference was this.

I obſerved before, that the Earl of *Northumberland* had in the Battle of *Halidown* taken ſeveral Priſoners of great Quality; the King being of Opinion that theſe Priſoners belonged to him, thought it not fit to leave them in the Earl's Diſpoſal. Perhaps his Deſign was to raiſe a large Sum by their Ranſom, or elſe by their Means to procure an advantagious Peace with *Scotland*. Be that as it will, immediately after the Battle, he ſent an expreſs *Order* to the Earl to releaſe none of his Priſoners. This *Order* was quickly followed by another, enjoining him to deliver them into his Hands. The Earl having flattered himſelf with having the Benefit of their Ranſom, forthwith repaired to Court, and requeſted the King to let him have the Diſpoſal of them: but he had the Mortification to meet a Denial. He exclaimed againſt the Injuſtice that was done him, and ſpake to the King in ſomewhat a too haughty Manner. The Reproaches which fell from him on this Occaſion put *Henry* ſo out of Humour with him, that he no longer looked upon him with the ſame Eye he uſed to do. This Coolneſs was carried ſo far, that when the Earl would have ſpoke with the King, he was denied Admittance into his Preſence.

Preſence. This Alteration could not but exaſperate the Earl, who thought that his *Services* deſerved quite another Treatment. As he was naturally of a very haughty Temper, he could not bear this Slight without ſeeking Occaſion to be revenged. He had, as one may ſay, placed the King in the Throne, and he imagined himſelf powerful enough to pull him down again. This was the Reſult of ſeveral Conferences he held with *Henry Hotſpur* his Son, the Earl of *Worceſter* his Brother, and ſome other Lords. Their Aim was to ſet the Crown on the Head of *Edward Mortimer*, Earl of *March*, ſtill a Priſoner in *Wales*; not out of Affection for that Prince, but becauſe there was no other plauſible Pretence to gain the People to their Side. Purſuant to this Reſolution, they diſpatched ſecret Agents to *Glendour* and *Mortimer*, to perſuade them to come into their Plot. *Glendour* promiſed to employ all his Forces to make it ſucceed. As for the Earl of *March*, he very readily lent his Name towards executing a Project which tended to the placing him on the Throne. But that all Three might find their Account in it, it was agreed that the Earl of *March* ſhould be put in Poſſeſſion of the Kingdom; that the Earl of *Northumberland* ſhould hold all the Country lying *North* of the *Trent*, on Condition of doing Homage to the Crown, and that *Glendour* ſhould have all the *Counties Weſt* of the *Severn*. The Project being thus formed, the Earl of *Northumberland* made believe for ſome time that he had forgot the Reaſon of Diſguſt the King had given him. He even came to Court, where he took Occaſion to repreſent to the King, that the Earl of *March* having loſt his Liberty in his Service, it was but reaſonable he ſhould pay his Ranſom to *Glendour*. This Remonſtrance was taken very ill. *Henry* was too well pleaſed with the Earl's being in the Hands of the *Welſh*, and unable, as he imagined, to hurt him, to be willing to contribute to his Deliverance. He replied, therefore, with ſome Signs of Anger, that the Earl having marched againſt the Rebels of his own Accord, and with the ſole View of ſaving his Lands from Plunder, it was his Buſineſs to get out of Priſon as well as he could; That for his Part, he did not think himſelf

1403.

The Earl of Northumberland *projects the dethroning of the King.*

Leagues with Glendour *and* Mortimer.

Terms of their League.

The Earl of Northumberland *ſollicits the King to redeem* Mortimer.

The King refuſes.

1403. himself obliged to see to procure his Liberty, much less to pay his Ransom. The Earl was not at all surprised at a Denial which he expected. His Intent was only to make appear the Hard-heartedness of the King to the Earl of *March*, and to insinuate from thence, that he must needs be convinced of the Justice of the Prisoner's Title to the Crown, since he dreaded to see him at Liberty. This Denial having made no Alteration in the Scheme of the Confederates, the Earl of *Northumberland* retired into the *North*, where he privately made sure of some Troops who were to be in Arms upon the first Notice. Then he settled a Correspondence with some *Scotch* Lords, who engaged to assist him. He likewise gave several *Scotch* Prisoners their Liberty, upon their promising to levy Troops for his Service. At the same Time *Glendour* was making extraordinary Preparations, which coming to the King's Ears, obliged him to be upon his Guard, though he knew not for what they were intended.

The Earl pushes the Execution of his Project.

The Male-Contents take up Arms.

As soon as the Confederates were ready, the Three *Percies* suddenly appeared in Arms in the *North*. Shortly after, the Earl of *Northumberland* falling ill, his Brother and Son marched with the Troops that were under his Command to join the *Welsh*, who were advanced as far as *Shropshire*. Upon the two Armies joining the Male-Contents, they published a *Manifesto*, setting forth, *that* the King treated his Subjects in a tyrannical and intolerable Manner; *that* none but the *Clergy* had access to him; and *that* the greatest Lords could not be admitted into his Presence, unless introduced by some Bishop: *That* moreover, he converted to his own use the *Subsidies* granted by the Parliament for the Occasions of the Publick. They likewise spread a Rumour of *Richard* II. being alive, and that he was at *Chester* with a Body of Troops ready to join them.

They publish a Manifesto.

and report Richard *to be alive.*

Henry, who had received no Intelligence of their Designs, was extremely surprised at the News of this Rebellion. But as he had luckily an Army in a Readiness designed against the *Welsh*, he was not at a Loss what to do. However, as he was apprehensive that the Rebels *Manifesto* might have an ill Effect among the People, he believed he ought

The King vindicates himself in a Proclamation.

ought before all Things to try to efface the Impreſſions it might make, by an Anſwer which he publiſhed by way of *Proclamation*. He cleared himſelf from the two main Articles of the *Manifeſto*; firſt by denying that he had ever refuſed to admit into his Preſence the very meaneſt of his Subjects, much leſs any of the Nobility, to which he took his whole Court to witneſs. As for the *Subſidies* granted by Parliament, he affirmed, that the greateſt Part of the Money had been paid on account of the War with *Scotland*, to the Earl of *Northumberland* himſelf, as he could make appear by his own *Receipts*. 1403.

The Battle of Shrewſbury.

After he had publiſhed this Anſwer, he marched towards the Rebels, who were encamped at *Shrewsbury*. When the two Armies were juſt ready to engage, he ſeemed to dread the Iſſue. His Uneaſineſs cauſed him to offer ſuch advantagious Terms to the Male-Contents, that *Henry Percy* being moved by them, deſired the Earl of *Worceſter* his Uncle to go to the King, and endeavour to procure an Accommodation. 'Tis ſaid, that in the Conference with this Earl, the King made ſuch Condeſcenſions in favour of the Male-Contents, that they would have had reaſon to be ſatisfied with them, had not the Earl of *Worceſter* given them to underſtand there was no Hopes. Be this as it will, the *Negotiation* coming to nothing, the Fight begun. The King at firſt had ſo much the worſt on it, that he was very like to be entirely defeated. He had his Horſe killed under him, and the Prince of *Wales* his Son was wounded in the Face. But he ſo dextrouſly managed his Body of *Reſerve*, that by their Help he regained the Ground he had loſt, and inſpired his Troops with freſh Courage. From that Moment the Battle was entirely changed to the Diſadvantage of the Male-Contents. The King's laſt Charge having put their Army in diſorder, they were ſo briskly puſhed, that *Henry* obtained a complete Victory. Young *Percy* was ſlain, and buried after the Battle with the King's Leave. But afterwards, altering his Mind, the King ordered him to be taken up, and his Body to be cut in Quarters, and fixed on Poles in the High-ways. The Earl of *Worceſter*

Hotſpur *is ſlain.*

Act. Pub. VIII. 320.

1403. *ceſter* being taken Priſoner was beheaded, and his Head ſet up over *London* Bridge *.

The Earl of Northumberland *withdraws to the* North.

In the mean time the Earl of *Northumberland* being recovered of his Illneſs, was advancing with a Body of Troops in order to reinforce the Army of the Male-Contents, and to take upon him the Command. But hearing by the way of his Son's and Brother's Misfortune, he diſmiſſed his Troops, not daring to keep the Field with ſo ſmall a Number of Forces before a victorious Army. Mean while the King was on the March towards the *North*, well knowing the Center of the Rebellion was there, by reaſon of the Earl of *Northumberland*'s great Intereſt in thoſe Parts. Upon his coming to *York*, he took all imaginable Precaution to ſecure the Fidelity of the *Northern* Counties, as well by the Oath he required of the Inhabitants, as by other ways which he judged proper. When he thought he had taken pretty ſure Meaſures to prevent an Inſurrection, he ſummoned the Earl of *Northumberland* to appear before him. He promiſed a Pardon in caſe he obeyed without delay; but threatned him with utter Ruin, if he refuſed the Favour offered him. The Earl, having no way to extricate himſelf out of the ill State he was in, choſe rather to caſt himſelf upon the King's Mercy than be condemned to perpetual Baniſhment. So without Heſitation he repaired to *York*, and threw himſelf at the King's Feet, who punctually kept his word with him. He even left him all his Eſtate, except the *Iſle of Man*, which he had given him in the Beginning of his Reign. This was a very ſlight Puniſhment for ſo great a Crime. But apparently *Henry* not being able to forget the Services the Earl had done him, thought he ſtill owed him this Acknowledgment: Beſides, the Criminal had been already ſufficiently puniſhed in the Death of his Son and Brother.

Henry *comes to* York.

He pardons the Earl of Northumberland.

Whilſt

* It is ſaid that Earl *Dowglaſs* (who was in the Battle, and taken Priſoner, but releaſed for his Valour) ſlew Three, *Boetius* ſays Four, armed in all Points like the King. *Henry* is reported to have ſlain that Day 36 with his own Hand. Of the Rebels were killed about 6000, of the King's Side about 1600.

Whilſt the King was taken up in the *North*, the Court of *France*, having had Intelligence of the *Northumberland*-Rebellion, was reſolved to take Advantage of the Commotions. It appears by ſeveral Places in the *Collection of Publick Acts*, that *Henry* had received Advice of a Deſcent which the Duke of *Orleans* was to make in *England*, whilſt *John* Duke of *Burgundy*, who had loſt his Father this Year, was to beſiege *Calais*. It is obſervable, that notwithſtanding the Truce which the two Crowns confirmed almoſt every Year, *France* never failed to ſhow her Readineſs to take all Advantages which the Troubles in *England* during this Reign might afford her. They who were at the *Helm* during King *Charles*'s Illneſs, and particularly the Duke of *Orleans*, the King's Brother, never looked upon themſelves bound by any Treaties they made with *Henry*. This might be made appear with the utmoſt Evidence. But as *Henry* always got clear of the Troubles which were raiſed in his Kingdom, the Court of *France* could only diſcover frequently their ill Intentions, without reaping any Benefit. In all Appearance, *Henry*'s late Victory over the Rebels fruſtrated the Projects the *French* Court had formed againſt him. However, not to ſuffer him to enjoy perfect Tranquillity, as the *French* Miniſters managed the Affairs of *Bretagne* during the Duke's Minority, they ſet the *Bretains* upon making a Deſcent on the *Weſtern* Coaſts of *England*, where they committed great Ravages. This Invaſion, for which the *Bretains* could not alledge the leaſt Reaſon, nettled the King exceedingly. Nevertheleſs, as he was willing to avoid coming to a downright War with *Bretagne*, in hopes of gaining one Day the young Duke to his Intereſts, he thought it his beſt way to hide his Reſentment. This was the Reaſon he was ſatisfied with ſome ſlight Excuſes which the Regency of *Bretagne* made him, by diſclaiming the Perſons concerned in the Deſcent, as having acted without Orders from the Government. But at the ſame time, he privately gave leave to the Inhabitants of *Plymouth* and other Places in thoſe Parts, to fit out a Fleet under the Command of *William Wilford*. This Admiral, though without the King's Com-

1403. France *ever ready to take Advantage of the Troubles in* England.

Act. Pub. VIII. 325. *The* Bretains *make a Deſcent.*

The Engliſh *take their Revenge.*

1403. Commiſſion, ſet ſail for *Bretagne*, where he revenged the Damages his Countrymen had received from thence.

1404. *A Subſidy granted the King.* The Parliament, which was called laſt Year and afterwards prorogued, met again in *January* 1404. The King found means to obtain a *Subſidy*, which muſt needs have been very extraordinary, ſince it was not to be recorded *. But it is to no Purpoſe to endeavour to bury in Oblivion ſuch ſort of *Precedents* which Princes upon Occaſion but too frequently call to Remembrance.

Act of Indemnity. The Severities which had been exerciſed upon the Authors and Accomplices of the two late Rebellions, induced the Parliament to petition the King for a *General Indemnity*. *Henry* willingly complied with the Requeſt; but there were ſuch Exceptions in the *Act* as rendered it almoſt of no Effect, ſince he pardoned only thoſe whom he deſigned not to puniſh.

Richard *is reported to be living.* *Henry*'s ſevere Proceedings againſt thoſe who were infatuated with the falſe Notion of *Richard*'s being ſtill alive, had not been capable of undeceiving every Body. A Rumour being once more ſpread that *Richard* was in *Scotland*, one *Serlo* who had been a Gentleman of his Bed-Chamber, repaired thither to ſee his old Maſter. He met with People who ſhowed him a Man ſomewhat like *Richard*, but not enough for a Domeſtick who had long ſerved him to be deceived. Nevertheleſs *Serlo* feigning to take him for *Richard* himſelf, wrote to ſeveral Perſons in *England*, that he was actually with him. The Teſtimony of a Man who could not, as was thought, be miſtaken, produced ſo great an Effect, that Abundance of People ſuffered themſelves to be carried away with the Cheat. The Counteſs of *Oxford*, Mother of the late Duke of *Ireland*, Favourite of *Richard*, believed it, or made as if ſhe did ſo, and took Care to ſpread the Report. She even ſent to ſeveral Perſons in *Richard*'s Name, little Silver *Harts*, ſuch as that Prince uſed to give his Favourites. Mean while the King's

* This Tax is ſaid to be Twenty Shillings of every *Knight's Fee*, and Twelve Pence of every one that had Twenty Shillings a Year in Land, or Twenty Pounds in Money or Goods, and ſo upwards according to that Rate.

King's Diligence prevented the ill Effects this Impoſture might have cauſed. He ordered the Counteſs to be taken into Cuſtody with her Secretary who was in the Secret. Some Time after *Serlo* was apprehended on the Borders of the *North*, and hanged at *Berwick*. As he confeſſed the Cheat, and that he had a Hand in the Murder of the Duke of *Glouceſter*, the Report he had ſpread died away by Degrees. 1404. Henry *puniſhes the Author of the Report.* Act. Pub. VIII. 379.

This Year the *Bretains* made a Deſcent at *Portland* *, and plundered ſome Houſes on the Coaſt. But advancing farther into the Country, they met a Body of *Militia* ready to receive them, who drove them back to their Ships and took ſeveral Priſoners of Diſtinction. Hitherto there was no Declaration of War between *England* and *Bretagne*: but the two Nations however continned to act in a hoſtile Manner againſt one another, though without the Conſent of the Sovereigns. *France*, which then managed the *Bretains*, was very glad to ſet them and the *Engliſh* at Variance, for fear *Henry* ſhould ſtrengthen himſelf with the Alliance of *Bretagne* when the Duke was of Age. For this Reaſon *Henry* winked at theſe Inſults, leſt he ſhould deprive himſelf of that Advantage. Beſides, he ſeemed bent upon avoiding, as much as poſſible, the entering into any War, being apprehenſive that the Male-Contents would raiſe Troubles in the Kingdom, in Caſe he was obliged to ſend his Forces Abroad. *The* Bretains *land at* Portland. ibid. 356. Henry *connives at it.*

It was apparently with the ſame View, that he concluded with *Scotland* a Truce from the 6th of *July* this Year, to the *Eaſter* next enſuing. *Truce with* Scotland.

However he could not think that all his Precautions could for ever prevent the War he ſo much feared. Beſides, that he plainly ſaw *France* waited only an Opportunity to break with him, he conſidered that the Affairs of *Wales* were in a very ill Way. *Glendour* not only perſiſted in his Rebellion, but had even made himſelf Maſter of ſome

* At *Dartmouth* ſays *Speed* and others. The Lord *Du Caſtile* their Leader was ſlain, and three Lords with Twenty Knights taken Priſoners.

1404. Places on the West-Side of the *Severn*. Moreover the Truce with *Scotland* being to expire in the Spring, there would be a Necessity of marching an Army into the *North*. These Considerations put him upon calling a Parliament in order to obtain an Aid which should enable him to carry on these Wars.

The illiterate Parliament.

The Parliament met *October* the 6th. It is said that the King in the *Writs* of Summons commanded the *Sheriffs* not to return any learned Men for *Knights of the Shire* or *Burgesses* for the Cities and Towns, and that from hence this Parliament was called the *Illiterate* or *Unlearned*. It is a Question however whether the King's Command was so express as is affirmed *. The Breach *Richard* II had made in the Nation's Liberties by the like Method, and the Punishment which followed, were still too fresh for *Henry* to imitate so publickly his Example, and expose himself to the same Danger in the present Juncture. It cannot be denied however but the Court upon this Occasion strove to get such Representatives chosen as were not too much prepossessed in Favour of the *Clergy*, for Reasons we shall see presently. Be this as it will, the King having represented to the Parliament thus composed, the great Want he had of an extraordinary Aid, the *Commons* went in a Body and presented to him a Remonstrance, wherein they told him, that without burdening his People he might supply his Occasions, by seizing the Revenues of the *Clergy*. They set forth, That the *Clergy* were possessed of the Third Part of the Lands of the Kingdom, and that not doing the King any *personal Service*, it was but just they should contribute out of their Revenues towards the pressing Necessities of the *Publick*. That it was evident the Riches of the *Ecclesiasticks* made them negligent in their Duty, and that the lessening of their excessive Incomes would be a double Advantage for the *State* and for the *Church*.

The Commons petition the King to seize the Church-Lands.

The

* Most of the Historians say, such were to be chosen as had *no Skill in the Laws*.

The King received this Remonſtrance ſo as plainly made appear it was not diſagreeable to him, and in all likelihood it was he himſelf that by his Emiſſaries had chalked out this Way of raiſing the Sums he wanted. The Archbiſhop of *Canterbury* being preſent, thought it his Duty to ſpeak upon an Occaſion wherein the Intereſt of the whole Body of the *Clergy* was at Stake. He repreſented to the King, that although the *Eccleſiaſticks* ſerved him not in Perſon, yet could it not be inferred from thence, that they were unſerviceable, ſince they ſent into the Field their *Vaſſals* and *Tenants* whenever there was Occaſion: That the ſtripping the *Clergy* of their Eſtates, would be a Means to put a Stop to the *Prayers* which they offered Night and Day to God for the Welfare of the *State*; and that there was no expecting God would afford his Protection to the Kingdom, if the Prayers of the *Church* were ſo little valued. He added with a menacing Tone, that if theſe Conſiderations were not capable of diverting the Plot againſt the *Clergy*, it would not be found an eaſy Matter to deprive them of their Eſtates without expoſing the Kingdom to great Risks, and that as long as he ſhould be Archbiſhop of *Canterbury* he would oppoſe it to the utmoſt of his Power. Then falling on a ſudden on his Knees to the King, he preſſed him ſtrongly on the Score of *Conſcience*, endeavouring to make him ſenſible that of all the Crimes a Prince could commit, there was none of ſo deep a Dye as the invading the *Clergy*'s Revenues. Whether *Henry* was moved with the Archbiſhop's Speech, or whether the ſtrong Oppoſition he foreſaw from the *Clergy*, convinced him that he ſhould find it a hard Task to compaſs his Deſign, he ſuddenly reſolved to drop it. He anſwered the Archbiſhop, that although he blamed not his Zeal, yet he could not help ſaying, that his Fears were Groundleſs; that when he mounted the Throne, he had made a firm Reſolution to favour the *Church* as far as in him lay, and he hoped by God's Grace to leave her in a better State than he found her. The Archbiſhop encouraged by this Reply, turned to the *Commons*, and ſpake to them in a manner not very proper to gain their Good-Will, telling them that their Demand was

1404.

The Archbiſhop of Canterbury *oppoſes it.*

The King yields to his Inſtances.

1404. *The Commons persist in it.*

built wholly on *Irreligion* and *Avarice*. The *Commons* made no Answer to this offensive Speech; but when they came back to the *House*, they resolved to persist in their Demand, and brought in a *Bill* to seize the *Clergy*'s Revenues. But there was no possibility of getting it passed.

The Bill thrown out by the Lords.

The Sollicitations of the Archbishop and of the rest of the *Clergy* were so prevalent with the Lords, that they threw out the *Bill*. So that the *Commons* were fain to find other Ways and Means to supply the King's Occasions.

Act. Pub. VIII. 381

Towards the latter End of this Year, *Innocent* VII notified to the King his Promotion to the *Papal* Throne.

1405.

It is not at all strange that to the great Number of Enemies *Henry* had both at Home and Abroad, he should be unwilling to add the *Clergy*, who, as the Archbishop had threatened, would have had it in their Power to create him much Trouble. Though in Appearance all was quiet in the Kingdom, yet he discovered about the Beginning of the Year 1405, that some ill Design was brewing against him; however he could not find out the Authors.

The Earl of *March* had pretty well concealed his Disgust when *Henry* was placed on the Throne: But the League he had made with *Glendour* and the Earl of *Northumberland* was enough to open the King's Eyes, supposing he had suffered himself at first to be deceived by his Dissimulation. He was too jealous of the Crown he wore, to believe the Earl was unmindful of his just Right. For this Reason he had always refused to take any Step towards procuring him his Liberty. Upon the same Account it was that he kept in safe Custody at *Windsor* his Children, that they might serve as Sureties for their Father's Good Behaviour. Notwithstanding all his Care, some Body found Means to carry off the Prisoners, and keep them concealed for some Time. But the King had them searched after so diligently, that they were found at length and brought back to their Confinement at *Windsor*. He would have severely punished this Attempt, if he could have discovered the Authors; but all his Endeavours were to no Purpose. There was only a poor Lock-Smith hanged for having a Hand in it; but he would not discover who they

Mortimer's *Children carried away from* Windsor.

they were that ſet him on work. The Duke of *York* being ſuſpected, was taken up and ſent to the Caſtle of *Pevenſey*, where he remained a Priſoner above three Months. But as laſt he was releaſed for want of ſufficient Evidence againſt him. 1405. *The Duke of* York *is apprehended.* Act. Pub. VIII. 386, 387.

This Attempt made the King apprehenſive that his Enemies would form ſome freſh Plot in favour of the Earl of *March*, and he imagined that before it broke out they had reſolved to ſet theſe young Princes at Liberty. As *Glendour* was ever ready to countenance the Male-Contents, *Henry* to rid himſelf of his Fears, reſolved to exert his utmoſt to deſtroy that Rebel. With this View he gave the Command of an Army to *Henry* his eldeſt Son, who in the Beginning of the Campaign came to an Engagement with the *Welſh*, and put their Army to Flight. Two Months after this Victory was followed by another and more important one, wherein *Glendour*'s Son was made Priſoner. Theſe two Defeats were not however capable of diſheartening the *Welſh*. On the contrary, they made freſh Efforts in Defenſe of their Liberty. The Situation of their Country, the Aſſurances *France* gave them of a powerful Diverſion, and in all Appearance the Knowledge *Glendour* had of a Conſpiracy hatching in *England*, put them in hopes of better Succeſs for the Future. *Prince* Henry *goes againſt the* Welſh. *He gains two Battles*, March 11. May 14. *p* 390. *The* Welſh *perſiſt in their Revolt.*

It was not without Grounds that the *Welſh* relied upon the Aſſiſtance of *France*. That Crown, or rather the Duke of *Orleans* who then governed the Kingdom, made no Account of the Truce every Time he thought the breaking it would turn to his Advantage. Notwithſtanding it had been confirmed in 1403, *Mezerai* owns, the Conſtable *D' Albert* and the Earl of *Armagnac* had taken from *England* above Sixty Places in *Guienne*. This very Year the Duke of *Orleans* openly beſieged *Bourg* and *Blaye*, but could not take them, and the Duke of *Burgundy* was preparing to lay Siege to *Calais*. To facilitate his Undertaking, the Earl of St. *Paul* attempted to ſeize upon the Caſtle of *Merck*; but the Garriſon of *Calais* running to its Relief, forced him to retreat in Diſorder, though he was already Maſter of the Inner Court. France *daily ſeeks occaſion to diſturb* Henry.

Theſe

1405. *The King is denied Money by the Nobles and Clergy.*

These continual Breaches of the Truce made *Henry* very sensible what he was to expect from *France*, in Case his Affairs took an ill Turn in *England*. For this Reason he was desirous to put an End to the War with *Wales*, before he showed his Resentment against the *French*, chusing rather to let them go on in their underhand Doings, than give Occasion for an open Rupture. With this View he had sent against the *Welsh* the Prince his Son, who had been crowned with the above-mentioned Success. Before he entered upon this Expedition, he had assembled the Lords to desire of them an Aid of Money, being ashamed to ask the Parliament which had so lately granted him a considerable *Subsidy*. But the Lords had flatly refused to comply with the King's Request, without the Authority of the Parliament. The *Clergy*, whom the King likewise caused to be sounded, had answered with the same Resolution, not being willing to establish a Precedent of that Nature, lest it should be turned into a Custom. *Henry* extremely nettled at these Denials, had dismissed both the *Nobles* and *Clergy* with Signs of Displeasure, which showed that he would not let slip an Opportunity of making them sell the Effects of his Indignation. By this Means he furnished certain Lords with a Handle to hasten the Execution of a Design which in all Appearance had been formed some Time.

Conspiracy framed by the Archbishop of York.

Richard Scroop Archbishop of *York* being disgusted, and wanting to revenge *Richard*, who had raised him to that Dignity, had engaged several Lords in a Confederacy to dethrone *Henry*. The Earl of *Northumberland* was one of the Number, though the King had formerly pardoned him in the like Case, and by his Interest in the *North*, had drawn the People of those Parts into the Confederacy. *Thomas Mowbray* Earl-Marshal, the Lords *Bardolf*, *Hastings*, *Falconbridge*, and several other Lords and Gentlemen came into the Plot, and levied a great Number of Troops, which they led to *York* where the Rendezvous was. As soon as these Forces, which made a considerable Army, were drawn together, the Heads of the Conspiracy published a *Manifesto* against the King, and caused it

to

to be fixed upon the Doors of the Churches in *York*, that every one might ſee it. The Subſtance of the Articles contained in the *Manifeſto*, was as follows: 1405.

I. That *Henry* upon his Return to *England* had proteſted and ſworn, that he was only come to recover his Eſtate, and that he had no Deſign upon the Crown, and yet he had cauſed himſelf to be crowned King. *The Rebels Manifeſto.*

II. That as an Arch-Traitor he had impriſoned his Sovereign, and forced him to reſign his Crown, and then barbarouſly murdered him.

III. That after the Death of *Richard*, he unjuſtly detained the Crown from *Edmund Mortimer* Earl of *March*, to whom it lawfully belonged.

IV. That he had unjuſtly put to Death ſeveral Perſons of Quality, who were guilty of no other Crime than endeavouring to redreſs the Male-Adminiſtration of the Government, and that contrary to Law, he had impriſoned the Biſhops by his ſole Authority.

V. That he had oppreſſed the People with needleſs Taxes, and by his Threats had hindered them from complaining.

VI. That he had violated the Privileges of the Nation, and his Oath to maintain them, by taking away the Freedom of electing Members of Parliament.

VII. That at a Parliament held at *Wincheſter*, he had given his Aſſent to a very pernicious *Statute* againſt the *Roman Church*, and the Authority conferred upon St. *Peter* and his Succeſſors: That therefore *Simony*, *Perjury*, and other Diſorders had crept in among the *Clergy* as well as *Nobility*, who ſold the vacant *Benefices* to Perſons unqualified to ſerve the *Cure*.

VIII. That notwithſtanding the frequent Inſtances of ſeveral Lords of his *Council*, he had refuſed to pay the Earl of *March*'s Ranſom, and ſhifted off his juſt *Petition*, by falſely charging that Prince with having voluntarily yielded himſelf a Priſoner to the *Welſh*.

IX. That upon all theſe Accounts they had taken up Arms, with deſign to free the Nation from the Oppoſitions

1405. ons of this Tyrant, and place the lawful Heir on the Throne.

The Earl of Westmorland seizes the Heads of the Conspiracy by Fraud.

Some time before the King had Intelligence of this Rebellion, he had ordered a Body of Troops to march into the *North*, under the Command of *Ralph Nevil* Earl of *Westmorland*, to make Head against the *Scots*, who seemed willing to renew the War. The Earl was already just by *York* when he heard the News of the Insurrection. The Superiority of the Troops of the Rebels not permitting him to advance any farther, for fear of engaging in an unequal Fight, he thought his better way would be to use Policy. To that End, he dispatched a trusty Messenger to the Archbishop of *York* and the Earl-Marshal, to tell them from him, that considering their great Prudence and Zeal for the publick Good, he did not question but weighty Reasons had induced them to take up Arms, and desired them to impart them to him. The Confederates thinking him already shaken in his Loyalty, sent him word that they had no other Intention than to procure the Good of the Kingdom, and intreated him to come and join with them in the Defence of the Publick. This Answer made him judge that it would not be impossible to over-reach Persons who thought him capable of taking so readily their part. To keep them in this Belief, he told them by the same Messenger, that he was not so blind but he could see the Injuries which were done the Nation: However, he was afraid that they had been too hasty in their Proceedings: That before all things they should have taken care to make sure of the Concurrence of all the principal Lords, or at least of the greatest Part: That as for himself, he could not communicate to them all his Thoughts by a Third Person; but if they would agree to an Interview, he would more freely open his Mind to them. The Archbishop of *York* no longer doubting but the Earl was privately of the same Sentiments with the Confederates, pressed the Earl-Marshal to go with him to the Interview, and notwithstanding his backwardness, found Means to persuade him to it at last. The Place assigned for the Conference being

being in an open Plain, and the Guards having advanced at an equal Diſtance on both Sides, the three Lords began to confer together. The Earl of *Weſtmoreland* proteſted that he had no leſs at Heart than they themſelves, the Welfare and Proſperity of the State, and that he approved of the Articles of the *Manifeſto*, except a few things which he wiſhed they would alter. Then he propoſed certain Means to put their Deſign in Execution, which to them appeared very judicious, and fully convinced them of his Sincerity. As ſoon as he found he had gained their Confidence, he ordered ſome Wine to be brought, and they all three drank together. All the while he affected to take one, then another by the Hand, and to give them Marks of a ſincere Correſpondence. Finally, to ſhow how much he confided in them, he commanded his Guards to withdraw, which they did immediately. This Frankneſs obliged the Archbiſhop and Earl-Marſhal to ſend away their People likewiſe, being deſirous to ſhow no more Diſtruſt than he. But hardly were their Guards out of Sight, when the others returned upon the Gallop, and before the Archbiſhop and *Mowbray* could be relieved, they were both carried away to the Royal Army. The Seizure of their Leaders threw the Confederates into ſo great a Conſternation, that it was not poſſible for the Earl of *Northumberland*, who ſtaid at *York*, to keep their Troops any longer together. So that every one ſhifting for himſelf, the Earl ſaw himſelf alſo under a Neceſſity to make off, and go and ſhut himſelf up in *Berwick*, of which Place he was Governour. Some time after, the King being come to *Pontfract*, the Earl of *Weſtmoreland* brought his two Priſoners to him, who were both condemned to loſe their Heads. The Archbiſhop ſuffered Death with a great deal of Courage, and was honoured by the People for a Martyr, till the King, by his Authority, put a ſtop to their Superſtition. From *Pontfract* the King went to *York*, the Inhabitants whereof he puniſhed ſeverely. Then advancing toward the *North* in order to beſiege the Caſtle of *Berwick*, he took on the Road the Lord *Haſtings* and *Falconbridge*, who met with the ſame Fate as the Archbiſhop and Earl-Marſhal. Upon

1405.

Earl of Northumberland *flies to* Berwick.

The two Priſoners beheaded. Act. Pub. VIII. 398.

Other Lords executed.

1405. Percy *and* Bardolf *retire to* Scotland.

the King's Approach, the Earl of *Northumberland* and the Lord *Bardolf* despairing of holding out a Siege, and dreading to fall into the Hands of a justly incensed Prince, withdrew into *Scotland* at the Lord *Fleming*'s, who sheltered them at his House. Mean while, *Henry* became Master of *Berwick*, and several Castles belonging to the Earl of *Northumberland*, after which he marched back for *London*.

The French *land in* Wales.

Though Historians for the most Part ascribe the Rise of this Conspiracy to the King's threatning the *Clergy* and *Nobility*, upon their refusing the Aid he demanded of them, yet it appears that it had been formed before that Time. Whilst *Henry* was still in the *North*, the Marshal *de Montmorency* arrived in *Wales* with a Fleet of a Hundred and Forty Sail, on board of which he had embarked Twelve Thousand Men. As soon as he was landed he went and joined *Glendour*, and marched both together, and took *Carmarthen*, *Worcester*, and several other Places thereabouts, where they met with a great Booty. *Mezerai*, who places this Event in the last Year, says, that the Earl of *March*, of the House of *Bourbon*, caused the Undertaking to miscarry by his too long Delays. This makes appear, that the Court of *France* thought that their Army would be able to land in *Wales* just at the time the Archbishop of *York*'s Plot was to break out. It may be the Preparations were begun the Year before, and that might occasion *Mezerai*'s Mistake. It is much more probable he should be out in the Date of this Event than the *English* Historians, who refer to this Year the taking of their Towns, and the great Booty their Enemies got on that Occasion: Besides, we find in the *Collection of Publick Acts*, an Order from the King dated at *Pontfract*, which mentions the Descent of the *French*. It is true, in this Order their Leader is called *Hungerville*, and not *Montmorency*. But as there were not two Descents in the same Year, and in the same Country, it may be presumed that *Hungerville* made the Descent under the Direction of the *Marshal*.

Henry

Henry had no ſooner finiſh'd his Affairs in the *North*, but he marched towards *Wales*, in order to defend the Borders againſt the *French*. But he was ſo retarded by the Badneſs of the Weather, that they had time enough to re-imbark, leaving *Glendour* to come off as well as he could. However the King could do Nothing againſt the *Welſh*, though deprived of the Aſſiſtance of their Friends, as well becauſe the Seaſon was too far advanced, as becauſe in his March he had loſt great Part of his Baggage. 1405. *The King marches againſt them.*

One would think that after ſo manifeſt a Breach of the Truce, the *French* had no Mind to keep any Meaſures with *Henry*, but deſign'd openly to renew the War. But that was not their Intention. As the Conſpiracy in *England* had not ſucceeded as they wiſhed, they did not think proper to carry the Rupture any farther. Mean while to join Inſult with Outrage, at the ſame time that they had juſt ſent a powerful Aid to the *Welſh* Rebels, and their Forces had juſt taken ſeveral Towns, and ravaged Counties in *England*, they ſent word to *Henry*, that their Intent was always to keep the Truce; as if bare Words were more proper to ſhow the Sincerity of their Intentions than Facts directly oppoſite. This Behaviour was entirely grounded upon the vain Pretence of the private Quarrel the Duke of *Orleans* pretended to have with *Henry* for the Murder of *Richard* II, wherein he believed or feigned to believe, he might make uſe of the Forces of *France*, which he had the Diſpoſal of without any Violation of the Truce between the two Crowns. So that all the Complaints which *Henry* could make upon this Score were to no Purpoſe. Since in order to have Juſtice done him, he could apply to none but the Duke of *Orleans* himſelf, who was the principal Author of all theſe Breaches. The Court of *France* was ſo well acquainted with the Temper, Character, and Politicks of *Henry*, that they were not afraid to inſult him upon all Occaſions, during almoſt the whole Courſe of his Reign. *Henry* V, his Son was not ſo gentle, but knew very well how to be revenged for the Affronts his Father had received. *The* French *Court's Breach of Faith.*

1405. Towards the End of this Year, *Philippa*, the King's Daughter was sent to the of King *Denmark* her Husband (*a*).

All being quiet in *England* after the Retreat of the *French*, the King call'd a Parliament which met *March* 1. 1406. As his Design was to demand Money he readily gave his Assent to an *Act* to secure the Freedom of Elections with regard to Parliament-Men. This *Act* shows that in the Elections for the Parliament before, the King had done something which tended to the abridging the Liberty of Voting. As soon as this *Act* was passed, *Henry* demanded an Aid of Money: but he was plainly told, there was no visible Occasion for it. He was extremely offended at this Denial, but however durst not openly show his Resentment for fear of exasperating them. Mean while, he found out an Expedition which procured him what he wanted. This was to keep the Parliament assembled till they should of their own accord be brought to grant his Demand. So without any fresh Application, he continued the *Session* till the End of *August*. This was very inconvenient to the Members who had Business at Home, and at the same time very expensive for the People who were to bear their Charges. At length, the *Commons*, impatient of returning to their Homes, voted him a *Subsidy*, not without murmuring very much at the Constraint laid upon them.

1406. *The Parliament meets.* *Act for freedom of Elections.* *The Parliament denies the King Money.* *He keeps the Houses assembled till they grant it.*

During this *Session*, the Parliament passed an *Act* limiting the Succession of the Crown to the King's Male-Issue, exclusive of the Female. As this *Act* was repealed this same Year, and as apparently it was razed out of the *Parliament Rolls*, one can only guess, upon what Foundation it was built. What might, in all appearance, serve the King for Pretence to demand so extraordinary an *Act*, was This.

An Act excluding the Women from the Crown.

During the whole Course of the Dominion of the *Saxon* Kings, or at least since the Union of the *Seven Kingdoms*, we do not find a single Instance of the Descendents of the Women being called to the Succession of the Crown. From the *Norman Conquest*, to the time I am speaking of, we meet in the *English History* with two *Precedents* in favour of the

Reflection on that Act.

(*a*) According to *Pontanus* the Nuptials of *Eric* with *Philippa* were not celebrated till the 25th of *October*, 1406.

the Women. The First is the Example of King *Stephen* Son of a Daughter of *William the Conqueror*, to which may be added at the same time, that of *Matilda*, Daughter of *Henry* I, who disputed the Crown with *Stephen*. The second Instance is that of *Henry* II, Son of *Matilda*, who was acknowledged for King without Opposition. These two *Precedents* seemed to establish the Right of the *Females* beyond all Dispute: And yet they had their Objections. It might be alledged that *Stephen* ascended the Throne purely by the Cabals of some of the *Nobility*, and that *Henry* II, received not his Crown but by Virtue of a Treaty which he extorted from his Predecessor by Force of Arms. It might moreover be objected, that as there was no express Law upon this Head, two Examples ever since the Beginning of the Monarchy could not have the Force of a Law, especially considering the Circumstances they were attended with. Thus the Right of the Women and their Issue might at least be liable to some Dispute. 1406.

When *Henry* IV mounted the Throne, he pretended to be the next Heir to *Richard* II, showing by that he made no Account of the Right of the Earl of *March* who was descended of the Female-Line. And indeed, supposing the Invalidity of the Women's Right, it could not be denied that *Henry* was nearer than the Earl of *March* who was set up against him. But this pretended *Invalidity* was a Question that had not been decided. Mean while the People were generally of Opinion that the Women had a Right to the Succession, since, without its being necessary to alledge *Examples* or *Precedents* in their Favour, it was enough that there was no Law to exclude them. Upon this Foundation the late Rebellion was rais'd, as appeared by the *Manifesto* of the Rebels. It is therefore very likely that in order to take away this Pretext from the Male-contents, *Henry* would have decided this Matter by an *Act* which, in excluding the Women and their Issue, seem'd to insinuate that the present King had ascended the Throne pursuant to the Customs and Laws of the Realm. But this *Act*, which perhaps was extorted the same way as the *Subsidy*, subsisted not but till the End of the Year. The *The Act is repealed*

next

1406. *Another for the Women.*

next Parliament which met in *December*, made ſuch ſtrong Remonſtrances to the King upon that Point, that he conſented to have it repealed. This Parliament, not ſatisfied with leaving the Right of the Women in the doubtful State it might be in before, paſſed a new *Act*, whereby the *Females* and their *Iſſue* were eſtabliſh'd in their Natural Rights. The Succeſſion was ſettled upon the King's eldew Son and his Heirs without Exception, then upon his Brothers and their Iſſue, without excluding the Women. This *Act* was ſign'd by the King, the *Houſe* of Lords, and the *Speaker* in the Name of all the *Commons*, the 2d of *December* 1406, as appears by *the Collection of Publick Acts*.

The Precaution the King took to ſecure his Right by cauſing the Firſt of theſe *Acts* to be paſſed, was extremely prejudicial to his Poſterity. By that he gave Occaſion for the *Second*, which ſtrengthen'd the Rights of the Earl of *March*, and conſequently of the Houſe of *York*, which became Heir to that Prince.

Negotiation for delivering the Earl of Northumberland *to the King.*

Whilſt the Parliament, which paſſed the firſt of theſe Acts continued ſitting, in Expectation of the King's diſſolving it, *Henry* carried on in *Scotland* a ſecret Negotiation, about the delivering up of the Earl of *Northumberland* and the Lord *Bardolf*, who had taken Refuge there. He could not be at reſt on account of the former, whoſe Valour, Abilities, revengeful Temper were no leſs known to him than his great Intereſt in the *North*. As it was to be fear'd, that being ſo near thoſe Parts he would contrive ſome dangerous Plot, *Henry* believed he ought to ſpare no Pains to make himſelf eaſy, by ſecuring his Perſon. To that End he ſent an Offer to certain *Scotch* Lords, whoſe Relations and Friends were Priſoners in *England*, to ſet them at Liberty without Ranſom, provided they would deliver up the Earl of *Northumberland* and the Lord *Bardolf*. This Offer was received with Joy. But as there was no concealing the Matter from the Lord *Flemming* who had entertained theſe two Lords at his Houſe, he acquainted them with it; whereupon they retired into *Wales*, under the Protection of *Glendour*. Some time after, the *Scotch* Lords, vexed

The Earl returns into Wales.

at

at having miſſed their Aim, killed the Lord *Flemming* who was the Cauſe that their Friends were ſtill detained in Priſon. Afterwards his Son having revenged his Death upon ſome of the Murderers, this Quarrel, joined to ſeveral other Occaſions of Diſcord which reigned among the Great Men, under the Government of a very weak Prince, raiſed abundance of Commotions in *Scotland*. 1406.

Affairs of Scotland.

Robert III, of the Houſe of the *Stuarts* who ſat then on the Throne of *Scotland*, was a Prince freer from Vices than endowed with good Qualities. His eaſy Nature, or weak Capacity, had given an Opportunity to *Robert* his Brother Duke of *Albany*, to get into his Hands by Degrees the Go- of the Kingdom, whilſt he left the King his Brother little more than the external Badges of Royalty. His Ambition not being ſatisfied with a borrowed Power, he formed a Deſign to ſeize the Crown, or at leaſt he took Meaſures to ſecure it to himſelf after the Death of *Robert*. To compaſs his Ends it was neceſſary to remove the Obſtructions which he would infallibly meet with in the execution of his Deſigns from the Princes *David* and *James* his Nephews, the King's Sons. An Opportunity offered very quickly to get rid of the eldeſt. The young Prince having committed ſome Outrage, Complaints whereof were brought to the King, the Duke of *Albany* procured an Order from the King his Brother, to keep *David* in Confinement, till the Heat of his Paſſion ſhould be ſomewhat abated. He executed this Order with ſuch Rigour, that having ſhut up the Prince in a cloſe Priſon, he cauſed him to be ſtarved to Death. How careful ſoever he might be to conceal this barbarous Action, *Robert* was informed of it: but being too weak and his Brother too potent, he durſt not attempt to be revenged. The only Remedy he could apply to his Grief was to put *James* his ſecond, now become his eldeſt Son, out of the Reach of the Snares of his treacherous Brother. With this View he reſolved to have him educated at the Court of *France*, that he might ſend him out of *Scotland*, where he was in ſuch imminent Danger, and accordingly put him on board a Ship in order to go by Sea. The young Prince ſailing near the Coaſt of *Norfolk*

Prince James confined in the Tower of London. Act. Pub. VIII. 484.

1406. *folk*, and finding himself Sea-sick, went on shore to take some Rest. But no sooner was he out of his Ship, but the People of those Parts seized him and brought him to the King, who was so cruel as to confine him in the *Tower*. In vain did the *Scotch* Prince give him a Letter from the King his Father recommending his Son to him, in case any Accident should oblige him to land in his Dominions. *Henry* returned him no other Answer but a sorry Jest, telling him, there was no Occasion to go to *Paris* to learn *French*, he should be taught it at *London*. The King of *Scotland* died three days after he had received this bad News, and the Duke of *Albany* took upon him the Administration of Affairs during the Imprisonment of the young Prince, to whom the Crown was devolved.

Death of King Robert.

The French try in vain to aid the Welsh.

This Year the *French* came upon the Coast of *Wales* with Thirty-eight Ships in order to assist *Glendour*. But a violent Storm, which destroyed the best Part of their Fleet, hindered them from putting their Design in Execution.

1407. *Symptoms of a new Conspiracy.*

It is very likely, that the Court of France had received some Intelligence of a Conspiracy forming in *England* against the King; and that it was with Design to countenance it that an Army was sent to be in a readiness in *Wales*. But the Dispersion of the Fleet apparently caused the Project, which had not been well laid, to fall to the Ground. There were some Indications given of it in the Beginning of the Year 1407, by the Boldness certain Persons took to post up in several Places in *London* that *Richard* was living and preparing to enter the Kingdom with a powerful Army. What Inquiries soever the King could make, he was never able to discover the Authors. There was only one poor Wretch, who was employed in fixing up the Papers, that was hanged without being able or willing to tell who set him on work.

Plague at London.

This Year a terrible Plague raged at *London*, which swept away above thirty Thousand Inhabitants. The King not daring to stay at *London* whilst the Plague made such Ravages, retired to the Castle of *Leeds* in the County of *Kent*. After he had spent Part of the Summer there; he had a mind

mind to remove to another of his Seats in *Norfolk*; and reſolving to go by Sea, he went on Board a Veſſel which was followed by four more with his Baggage and Attendants. Whilſt he was ſailing along in Sight of Land, without any Precaution, and believing he was in no Danger, he ſaw himſelf on a ſudden attacked by ſome *French* Pyrates, who took four of his Ships, that he was in himſelf very narrowly eſcaping. There was no Queſtion but ſome Treachery lurked under this Accident; but it was impoſſible to find it out. 1406. *The King is like to be taken by Pyrates.*

The famous *Robert Knolles*, who had ſignalized himſelf in an extraordinary Manner in the Wars with *France* in the Reign of *Edward* III, died this Year in a very advanced Age. Though born of mean Parentage, he had raiſed himſelf by his Merit, and gained a Reputation equal to that of the moſt illuſtrious Warriors. In the Beginning of this Reign, he was *Seneſchal* of *Guienne*; but being at length weary of a Life of too much Hurry and Action, he retired to his Eſtate in *Kent*. There he ended his Days, after having acquired a ſtill more ſolid Glory by many Acts of *Piety*, *Charity*, *Munificence*, ſome of which are ſtill in Being at this Day *. *Death of* Robert Knolles.

Henry being ſenſible how ill-affected his Subjects were to him, ſtood ſo in Awe of them, that ever ſince his Acceſſion to the Crown, he had not dared to ſend any Troops into *Guienne* for fear of weakening himſelf at Home. Mean while the *French* taking Advantage of his Negligence, became Maſters from Time to Time of ſeveral Places in that Province, by bribing the Governours. They followed in this the Maxim introduced during the War between *Edward* III and *Philip de Valois*, that *Truces were Trading-Times, and the Purchaſe of Towns was no Breach of them.* This Year the Duke of *Orleans* endeavoured, notwithſtanding the Truce, to take *Bourg* and *Blaye*, but without Succeſs. On the other Hand, the Duke of *Burgundy* had *Deſigns of the* French *upon* Guienne *and* Calais.

* He died at his Mannor of *Scene-Thorp* in *Norfolk*, and was buried with his Lady in the Body of the Church of the *White-Friars*, which he had newly built. He built likewiſe the ſtately Stone-Bridge at *Rocheſter*. *Dugdale* Vol. II. p. 412.

1407. formed again the Design of besieging *Calais*; but for want of having taken due Measures, durst not go on. He complained that the Duke of *Orleans* had privately thrown Obstructions in his Way. This Occasion of Complaint being joined to several others, which had made him conceive a mortal Hatred against that Prince, he caused him to be assassinated this Year in *November*. He was so hardy as to avow his being Author of the Murder, and powerful enough to get a Pardon, though the Deceased was the King's own Brother.

Duke of Burgundy *murders the Duke of* Orleans,

Truce with Bretagne. Act. Pub. VIII. 490.

Though War was not proclaimed between *England* and *Bretagne*, the Attempts which were continually making on both Sides, could not fail to produce at length an open Rupture. The Duke of *Bretagne* was Son of a Father who had an *English* Heart. But the young Duke had sucked in at the Court of *France* other Inclinations and Maxims. However the Death of the Duke of *Orleans*, and the Troubles which were in *France*, having made the *Bretains* sensible, that they might be abandoned, in Case of a Rupture with *England*, they thought it their wisest Way to accept of a Truce offered them by *Henry*. The Truce was to be for a Year only. The *Bretains* imagining that they should be able to see by that Time how Matters would go in *France*, where all Things began to be in great Confusion.

1408. *A fresh Attempt of the Earl of* Northumberland *against the King.*

Henry was not ignorant of the Views of the *Bretains*; but however thought it for his Interest to hide his Sentiments. Ever since his Coming to the Crown, he had stuck close to this Rule, that it was better to bear with some Things in his Neighbours, than to expose himself to the Insults of his Subjects. He could not help reflecting on the irregular Means he had used to ascend the Throne. The Consideration whereof keeping him in continual Dread, he chose rather to hazard his Reputation a little, than to furnish his Domestick Enemies, by ingaging in Foreign Wars, with an Opportunity to execute their ill Designs. It was not without Reason that he lived in perpetual Apprehensions upon that Score. He had still in the Earl of *Northumberland* an Enemy, who humbled as he was, continued

tinued to be very formidable. Since that Earl and the Lord *Bardolf* had retired into *Wales*, they had never ceaſed contriving Means with *Glendour* to dethrone the King. The *Welſh*, who were in open War with *Henry*, went not privately to work in their Preparations. They ſtrengthened their Army with great Numbers of *French* and *Flemiſh* Adventurers, which were drawn thither by the Proſpect of the Booty promiſed them in *England*. On the other Hand, the Earl of *Northumberland* privately made ſure of the Aſſiſtance of the People of the *North*, with whom he had all along great Intereſt, in ſpite of his paſt Diſgraces. As ſoon as their Matters were made ready, the Earl and *Bardolf* returned to *Scotland*, from whence they entered *England* by the *northern* Counties. They were at the Head of ſome *Scotch* Troops which they had levied by the Connivance of the Duke of *Albany* Regent of the Kingdom. Upon their Appearing in the *North*, they that were ingaged before-hand, readily came and joined them, and their Army became in a few days very conſiderable.

1407. *He begins with* Glendour.

He appears in Arms in the North.

As the King was not aware of this Inſurrection, the Earl had Time to re-take the Caſtles which he had loſt in the firſt Rebellion. This Succeſs encourag'd him to enter *Yorkſhire*. He was in hopes that when once he ſhould be Maſter of that Country, nothing would hinder him from joining the *Welſh*, who only waited his Orders to put themſelves in Motion. Upon his entering *Yorkſhire*, he publiſhed a *Manifeſto*, containing the Motives which had induced him to take up Arms, they were much the ſame with thoſe that were publiſhed in the former Rebellions. Mean while, as the King ſpent a great deal of Time in Preparations, Sir *Thomas Rokesby*, Sheriff of *York*, thought it his Duty to levy ſome Troops in a readineſs againſt the King's Coming, and at the ſame Time to put ſome Stop to the Progreſs of the Rebels. The Earl of *Northumberland* judging it of the laſt Importance to diſperſe the *Sheriff*'s Forces before they ſhould be augmented, marched towards him, in Hopes that his Approach would be ſufficient to put him to flight. But he found he had an Enemy to deal with that was not ſo eaſily

He makes a Progreſs.

Publiſhes a Manifeſto.

The Sheriff of York *raiſes Troops.* Act. Pub. VIII. 525.

The Earl attacks him.

1407. ly frightened. *Rokesby*, though much inferior to the Earl, ſtood his Gronnd, and fought with that Bravery and Good-Fortune, that the Rebels Army was entirely routed. The Earl of *Northumberland* was ſlain on the Spot, and the Lord *Bardolf* taken Priſoner, but ſo mortally wounded, that he died in a few Days. Their Heads being ſent to the King, he ordered them to be ſet up over *London*-Bridge. Thus died the Earl of *Northumberland*, who from being the King's great Friend, became his bittereſt Enemy. It was he that had contributed the moſt in placing *Henry* on the Throne, by the Readineſs wherewith he joined him at *Ravenſpur*, whoſe Example drew in all the reſt of the Kingdom. But afterwards he made ſeveral Attempts to wreſt the Crown from him. So that it might be a Queſtion whether he had done more *for* him than *againſt* him, if in an Affair of this Nature one ſingle Rebellion did not outweigh numberleſs Services.

s defeated and ſlain.

The King puniſhes the Rebels.

Henry being already upon the March, when he received the News of the Defeat and Death of the Earl of *Northumberland*, went on to *York*. He made ſome ſtay in that City in order to have the Rebels tried, of whom ſome were executed *. Others redeemed their Lives by large Sums of Money.

The Earl of Kent *attacks the* French Pyrates, *and is ſlain.* ibid. *p.* 542.

Before the King ſet out from *London*, he had ordered a Fleet to be fitted out againſt the *French* Pyrates, who for ſome Time had infeſted the Coaſt of *England*, and done great Damages to the Merchants. *Edmund Holland* Earl of *Kent*, who commanded the Fleet, went a long Time in queſt of the Pyrates to no Purpoſe. At length, having heard that they were retired to the Coaſt of *Bretagne*, to the little Iſle of *Brabac*, which had been excepted by Name in the Truce with the *Bretains*, he went and attacked them in the Town of the ſame Name, where they had ſhut themſelves up. In the firſt Aſſault he received a Wound of which he died in five Days. This prevented not his Troops from continuing the Siege and taking the Town, where they put all to the Sword.

The Pyrates all put to the Sword

The

* The Abbot of *Hales* being taken fighting on the Earl's Side, was hanged. *Speed*, Vol. II. p. 620.

1408. *Truce for Poictou and Guienne.* 521, 557.

The frequent Ratifications of the Truce not hindering the *French* from making continual Attempts upon *England*, *Henry* was fain at length to reſt contented with concluding a new ſeparate Truce for *Picardy* and *Guienne*, from the 30th. of *September* 1408, to the 1ſt. of *May* 1410. *Poictou* was expreſly included, becauſe the *French* denied that Province was to be reckoned as an *Appendix* of *Guienne*.

A brief Account of the Schiſm.

The *Schiſm* which commenced in 1378, by the double Election of *Urban* VI and *Clement* VII, was ſtill on Foot to the great Scandal of Chriſtendom. *Urban* dying in 1390, the *Cardinals* of his Party had choſen in his Room *Boniface* IX, who at firſt ſeemed very much inclined to put an End to the *Schiſm*. Whereupon the Court of *France* laboured heartily to bring *Clement* to be of the ſame Mind. But as he proved inflexible, the Univerſity of *Paris* was ordered to meet, and it was decided that in Order to put an End to the *Schiſm*, one of theſe three Ways was abſolutely neceſſary. The Firſt was, That the two Popes ſhould reſign. The Second, That they ſhould agree upon two *Umpires* to decide their Difference. The Third, That the Determination ſhould be referred to a *General Council*. This Reſolution being communicated to *Clement*, it vexed him to that Degree, that he died quickly after in 1394. As ſoon as the King of *France* had notice of his Death, he wrote to the *Cardinals*, deſiring them not to proceed to a new Election. But as they gueſſed at the Contents of his Letter, before they opened it they choſe the Cardinal of *Luna* an *Arragonian*, who took the Name of *Benedict* XIII. Before the Election, they had all made a ſolemn Oath, that whoever was choſen, he ſhould renounce the *Papacy*, in caſe it ſhould be deemed neceſſary for the Good of *Chriſtendom*. But *Benedict* being elected, diſpenſed with the Oath he had taken when a *Cardinal*. On the other Hand, *Boniface* IX dying 1404, his *Cardinals* had choſen *Innocent* VII, and he dying likewiſe the next Year, they had elected *Angelo Corario* a *Venetian*, who had aſſumed the Name of *Gregory* XII.

It

1408. It would be too tedious to relate all the Evaſions *Benedict* XIII and *Gregory* XII uſed to ſhift off the Reſignation which each of them had ſworn to make. They would both fain have it believed that their Intentions were good, and yet they ſtarted continually freſh Obſtacles to the Accommodation all *Chriſtendom* wiſhed for. In fine, the *Chriſtian* Princes, tired with the ſhuffling Tricks of the two Popes, found Means to gain the *Cardinals* of both Sides, who in their own Name ſummoned a *General Council* at *Piſa* upon the 25th of *March* 1409.

1409. *Council of Piſa.* Act. Pub. VIII. 567. The *Council* being aſſembled, the two Popes were cited; and as they did not think fit to appear, they were pronounced *Hereticks*, and guilty of *Perjury*, and deprived of their Dignity. At the ſame Time Power was given to the *Cardinals* to elect a Pope. They pitched upon *Peter de Candiâ*, who ſtiled himſelf *Alexander* V. Before the holding of the *Council*, *Henry* had writ to *Gregory* to admoniſh him to comply readily with the Method of Reſignation. But his Letter having no Effect, as ſoon as he had notice of *Alexander*'s Election, he iſſued a *Proclamation*, enjoining all his Subjects to acknowledge the new Pope. It was believed that the ſcandalous *Schiſm*, which laſted above thirty Years, was at an End; but the Obſtinacy of *Benedict* ſpun it out ſome Years longer.

Alexander V. *elected.*

King's Proclamation in his Favour. *p.* 600.

The Progreſs of the Lollards *alarm the Clergy.* How ſcandalous ſoever this *Schiſm* might be, it did not beget in the *Clergy* of *England* ſo great Uneaſineſs as *Wickliff*'s Doctrine. Although during this Reign the *Lollards* were uſed with great Severity, yet their Numbers continually increaſed. There were even at *Oxford Doctors* that publickly defended the novel Opinions as well in their *Diſputations* as in their *Writings*. The Biſhops being very much alarmed at it, obtained of the King an *Order* to the *Univerſity* to meet in *Convocation*, and examine the Books of *Wickliff*. As the major Part were ſtill attached to the *old Doctrine*, his Books were condemned, and the *Univerſity* publiſhed a Decree, forbidding all her Members upon Pain of *Degradation* to preach or teach the *Doctrine* therein contained.

Wickliff's *Books condemned at* Oxford.

This

This Year the Truce with *Bretagne* was prolonged to the 1st of *July* 1411. 1409. *Truce with* Bretagne.

Henry could not be sure of enjoying any Tranquillity as long as *France* was free from Troubles. From thence proceeded the Rise of all the Commotions, as well of his own Subjects as of the *Welsh* and *Scotch*. The War which broke out in that Kingdom between the Houses of *Orleans* and *Burgundy*, turned greatly to the Advantage of *England*. In the first Place, *Castile* and *Scotland* the more readily concluded a Truce with *Henry*. Then the *Welsh* receiving no further Aid from thence, found at length that their pretended Prince was very far from being able to perform what he had promised them, and began by degrees to desert him. 1410. *Troubles in* France *advantagious to* Henry.

Lastly, *Henry* had this private Advantage by it, that he became more absolute at Home, since he had nothing to fear from his Enemies Abroad. Though he had caused *Richard* to be deposed, for aiming at arbitrary Power contrary to the Laws, yet he himself made some Steps, which plainly showed he would not have been sorry to have it in his Power to govern with an absolute Authority. This was chiefly manifest in the Elections of *Members* of Parliament: By the Direction of the Court, certain Artifices were practised, as rendered the Freedom of Voting of no Effect, seeing the *Sheriffs* took the Liberty to return such *Representatives* as had not a Majority of *Votes*. This is a Thing of so fatal a Consequence, that one may venture to affirm, the *Liberty* of the *English* will no longer have a Being, than whilst the Privilege of freely electing their *Representatives* in Parliament stands inviolated. If once the Sovereign comes to chuse what *Representatives* he pleases, the Bounds of the *Royal Authority* will in the end be so vastly enlarged, that nothing but the mere Shadow of Liberty will remain. Of this we have seen a remarkable Instance in the Reign of *Richard* II. And it may farther be affirmed, that all the Kings of *England* which have enjoyed a more absolute Power than the rest, got it by this Way, I mean, by procuring such Persons to be elected as were devoted to them. When a Parliament is made up of such *Members*, it is no longer the King that is charged with Henry *begins to break in upon the Parliament's Privileges.*

1410. with the Incroachments made upon the People's Liberty, but it is the Nation itself that voluntarily runs into Slavery: And if afterwards *They* are desirous to throw off their Chains, there is no Remedy to be had but by Force of Arms; and hence, by the way, has sprung the greatest Part of the *Civil Wars*, which have been so often kindled in *England*. The Parliament which met in *January* 1410, taking into Consideration the Consequence of the Steps the King had made, in order to over-rule the *Elections*, believed the redressing that Abuse required their first Care. Accordingly, in the Beginning of the *Session* they presented a *Bill* to the King, whereby it was enacted, that the *Sheriffs*, who should be guilty of making *false Returns*, should be *fined* a Hundred Pounds *Sterling* for every such Offence. The King would very fain have shifted off this *Act*, but as he could not do it without laying himself too open, and besides, having a Design to demand a *Subsidy*, he gave the Royal Assent to it.

Act against false Returns.

The King demands a Subsidy.

Upon the passing this *Act*, the King demanded an Aid of Money of the *Commons*, who took occasion from thence to renew the Instances they had formerly made with regard to the *Clergy*. *Wickliff*'s Doctrine had gained so much ground, that the Majority of the *House of Commons* leaned that way. Thus biassed, the *Commons* presented to the King two *Petitions*, one against the *Clergy*, the other in Behalf of the *Lollards*. In the first they set forth: *That* the *Clergy* made an ill use of their Riches, and laid out their Incomes in a very different Manner from the Intent of the *Donors*: *That* their Revenues were excessive, and consequently it was necessary to lessen them: *That* so many Estates might easily be seized as would serve to provide for the Hundred and fifty *Earls*, at the Rate of Three Thousand Marks a Year each; Fifteen Hundred *Barons* at a Hundred Marks each; Six Thousand two Hundred *Knights* at Forty Marks; and a Hundred *Hospitals* at a Thousand Marks: *That* by this Means the Kingdom would be in a better State of Defence, the *Poor* more amply provided for, and the *Clergy* more mindful of the Duties of their Function.

Petition of the Commons against the Clergy.

In

In the ſecond *Petition* the *Commons* prayed that the *Statute* enacted againſt the *Lollards* in the ſeventh Year of this Reign, might either be repealed, or at leaſt altered in ſome of its Branches. 1414. *Another in favour of the Lollards.*

If the Parliament which firſt propoſed the leſſening the Revenues of the *Clergy*, was ſtiled *the unlearned*, it may well be ſuppoſed, this met with no better *Appellation*. The Name of *Lollard* and *Heretical* was plentifully beſtowed, and the *Clergy* conſidered the *Petition* as tending to cut up *Religion* by the Roots. This they endeavoured to inſinuate to the King with all the aggravating Circumſtances which Parties concerned are capable of diſplaying on ſuch an Occaſion. It is hard to know whether the King was of their Mind; but however, he declared that he had the Intereſt of the *Church* no leſs at Heart than the *Clergy* themſelves. After the Death of the Earl of *Northumberland*, there was never a Lord in the Kingdom which could give him any Uneaſineſs; and though the People were not over-pleaſed, *Henry* was very ſenſible that of themſelves they would never be induced to rebel, unleſs ſpurred on by others: So that his Buſineſs was to keep fair with the *Clergy*, who alone had it in their Power to ſtir up the People, eſpecially upon ſo plauſible a Pretence as the ſtripping the *Church* of her Lands. For this Reaſon, he anſwered the *Commons* ſomewhat ſharply, that he neither could nor would conſent to their *Petitions*, and expreſsly forbid them to meddle any more with the *Church*'s Concerns. As for the *Lollards*, he replied, that far from permitting that the *Statute* againſt them ſhould be repealed, he wiſhed rather the Rigour of it was heightned, that *Hereſy* might be entirely rooted out of the Kingdom. *The King rejects the two Petitions.*

The *Commons* miſſing their Aim, were contented with moving, that at leaſt *Clerks* convicted of any Crime, ſhould not be tried in the *Eccleſiaſtical Courts*: They alledged as a Reaſon that daily Experience ſhowed, *Clerks* by that Means always eſcaped the Puniſhment they had deſerved. What the *Commons* demanded was no leſs reaſonable at that time, than in the Reign of *Henry* II, when that Prince and all the Peers of the Realm diſputed that Point ſo ſtoutly *Another Petition againſt the Clergy rejected.*

1410. ſtoutly with *Thomas Becket* and Pope *Alexander* III. But *Henry* apprehenſive of being involved in the like Troubles as *Henry* II. was liable to, refuſed to give his Aſſent to this *Bill*. On the contrary, he affected to ſhow an extraordinary Zeal for the Welfare of the *Church*, and to take ſuch Steps as he thought moſt agreeable to the *Clergy*. Tho' it cannot be doubted but that *Wickliff*'s Doctrine was the real Cauſe of the *Motions* made by the *Houſe of Commons*, yet the King was pleaſed to let them ſee how far he was from countenancing them, by ſigning a Warrant for the burning of one *Thomas Badby*. The Prince of *Wales* had a mind to be preſent at the Execution, and, as the poor Wretch gave ſenſible Signs of the Torture he endured, ordered the Fire to be removed, and made him a Promiſe of a Penſion for Life, provided he would recant. But *Badby* being come to himſelf, refuſed to comply with this Offer, and ſuffered Death with an heroick Courage.

The King orders a Lollard *to be burnt.* Walſing. p. 378.

The *Commons* looked on this Execution as an Inſult, and as a great Aggravation of the Refuſal they had lately met with. Accordingly, when the King demanded that a Power might be granted him to levy every Year a certain *Subſidy* *, though the Parliament ſhould not ſit, the *Bill* was reſolutely thrown out. The *Commons* would have even refuſed to grant him Money for his neceſſary Occaſions, if the ſame Method which ſucceeded ſo well once before, had not been taken to conſtrain them to it: That is, he prolonged the *Seſſions* till he obtained what he wanted. It appeared plainly, that the Earl of *Northumberland* was no longer living; that the Troubles in *Wales* were almoſt at an end; and that *France* was not in a Condition to be feared, otherwiſe he would never have ventured to treat the *Commons* in ſo haughty a Manner.

The Commons are offended, and refuſe the King's Demand.

He obtains a Subſidy by a kind of Force.

Notwithſtanding the ill Poſture of Affairs in *France*, the Duke of *Burgundy* reſumed his Deſign of beſieging *Calais*; but with the ſame Succeſs as before. All he had prepared at St. *Omer* for the carrying on the Siege, being burnt to Aſhes

The Duke of Burgundy *forms a Deſign to beſiege* Calais.

* A *Tenth* on the *Clergy*, and a *Fifteenth* on the *Laity*. Cotton's *Abridgment*, p. 472.

Aſhes either by Accident, or by Means of a private Emiſſary, ſet on purpoſe by the Governour of *Calais*, this Project vaniſhed into Smoke like the former ones. The *French* Hiſtorians make no mention of this Attempt. However it ſeems, by the King's Precaution in ſending the Prince of *Wales* to *Calais*, at that very time he had received ſome private Intelligence of it. Be that as it will, the Truce with *France*, for *Guienne* and *picardy*, was prolonged for ſome Months. 1410. *Truce with* France *prolonged.*

This Year *Robert de Humphreville*, Vice-Admiral of *England*, entered the Gulf of *Edinburgh*, and daily landing his Men, now in one place, then in another, carried off a prodigious Booty *. *The* Engliſh *ravage* Scotland.

The whole Year 1411. was ſpent in the ſeveral Negotiations, which ended at length in prolonging the Truce with *France* for five Years, with *Caſtile* till *February* 1413, and with *Bretagne* for ten Years. 1411. *Truce prolonged.* Act. Pub. VIII. 710.

Theſe Negotiations need not to have any thing more ſaid about them, becauſe we have already ſeen the Occaſion of them. But the Negotiation this Year with the Duke of *Burgundy*, requires a little more inſiſting upon. To that end it will be neceſſary to explain as briefly as poſſible, how Matters *then* ſtood in *France*, on which depends a good Part of the Occurrences of his and the two following Reigns.

We have ſeen how *John* Duke of *Burgundy* aſſaſſinated the Duke of *Orleans*, Brother of King *Charles* VI, and that he avowed the Fact, and had Credit enough to procure a Pardon. After which, he went into his Dominions in *Flanders*, with deſign to reſtore to the Biſhoprick of *Liege*, the Brother of his Dutcheſs, whom the People of *Liege* had expelled. Whilſt he was making Preparations for this War, the Dutcheſs of *Orleans* in Company with her three Sons, of whom *Charles* the Eldeſt was not above fifteen Years old, came and caſting her ſelf at the Feet of the King her Brother-in-Law, demanded Juſtice for the Death of her Husband. Though the Duke of *Burgundy* had *Affairs of* France.

* He brought away ſo much Corn, *&c.* that he brought down the Prices of Things, and thence was called *Mend-Market.*

1411. obtained a *Pardon*, his Adverſaries taking advantage of his Abſence, had Intereſt enough to have it revoked, and to cauſe him to be pronounced Enemy of the State. He was then marching to the Relief of *Maſtricht*, where the Men of *Liege* held their Biſhop beſieged. Upon his Approach, they quitted the Siege: but being afterwards informed that the Duke had but ſixteen Thouſand Men, they reſolved to go and attack him. Though their Army was three times as ſtrong as the Duke's, they were put to Rout with the Loſs of thirty Thouſand Men. The Duke's Victory alarmed his Enemies in *France* to ſuch a Degree, that not thinking themſelves ſafe at *Paris*, where the Duke had many Friends, they retired to *Tours*, and took the King along with them. The victorious Duke preparing his Affairs in *France* to the War againſt the Men of *Liege*, who were pretty well humbled, put himſelf immediately at the Head of Four Thouſand *Horſe*, and came to *Paris* were he was received in Triumph. Upon his Arrival, he got the People of *Paris* to ſend Deputies to the King, praying him to return to the City. *Charles*, who was then in one of his *Intervals*, thought it not proper in the preſent Juncture to eſpouſe the Side of the Enemies of the Duke of *Burgundy*. He repaired to *Paris* as he was deſired, and forthwith put ſeveral conſiderable Perſons upon making up Matters between the Duke of *Burgundy*, and the Sons of the Duke of *Orleans*, the which was brought about, though with much Difficulty. The Dutcheſs of *Orleans* died with Grief, to ſee the Murderer of her Husband triumphant; and the young Duke of *Orleans*, who was then but in his ſixteenth Year, found himſelf obliged to be reconciled with his moſt mortal Foe. From thenceforward, the Duke of *Burgundy* held the Reins of the Government, the King, who relapſed often into his Fits of Madneſs, being too weak to be at the *Helm* himſelf.

Act. Pub. VIII. 698, 699. In the mean while, *Henry*, who had always in view the making a Peace with *France*, formed a Deſign to marry the Prince of *Wales* with one of the Daughters of the Duke of *Burgundy*, whom he ſaw ſo firmly eſtabliſhed.

But

But whilſt he was carefully thinking how to bring about his Project, ſuch Alterations happened in *France* as made him perceive that Alliance was not ſo certain a Means as he had imagined to attain his Ends. The Dukes of *Berri*, *Orleans*, *Alenſon*, *Bretagne* and the Earls of *Clermont* and *Armagnoc*, having met at *Guienne* in *Auguſt* 1410, entered into a League againſt the Duke of *Burgundy*, and ſhortly after advanced near *Paris*. The Duke, having the King in his Power, oppoſed them with equal Forces which made them ſenſible that the Execution of their Deſigns depended on a Battle, the Iſſue whereof could not but be doubtful. In all appearance, *France* it ſelf would be ruined by a Battle which would be deſtructive to the Kingdom on which ſide ſoever Victory inclined, unleſs Means were found to accommodate Matters between the contending Parties. It was concluded, that the Duke of *Burgundy* ſhould depart from *Paris*, that the confederate Princes ſhould not enter there, and that none of the Heads of the two Parties ſhould ever come to Court, unleſs ordered thither by *Letters* under the *Great-Seal*. 1411.

The Duke of *Burgundy* punctually obſerving this Agreement, retired into the *Low-Countries*; but the Duke of *Orleans* and the reſt of his Party were not ſo ſcrupulous. After they had disbanded their Troops, they levyed others, and approached *Paris* in hopes of inriching themſelves with the Plunder of the *Metropolis* which ſtood firm to *Burgundy*. The Duke finding himſelf thus fooled, made an Alliance with the King of *England*, who believing it his Intereſt to ſupport him, ſent him a conſiderable Body of Troops. With theſe Succours the Duke marching into *France* and paſſing through the Enemies Quarters, who were blocking up *Paris*, entered the City amidſt the Acclamations of the People on the 30th of *October* 1411. From this time began the forming of the two powerful Factions of *Orleans* and *Burgundy*, the firſt of which received afterwards the Name of *the Armagnacs*, from the Earl of *Armagnac*, who became their Head.

Henry *aids the Duke of* Burgundy.

Whilſt

1411. *Parliament in* England. Whilſt *France* was embroiled in Troubles and Confuſion, the Parliament of *England* meeting about the End of this Year, petitioned the King for a *General Pardon* for his Subjects. *Henry* readily complied with their Requeſt excepting only *Glendour* and his Adherents. This plainly ſhows that *Glendour* was ſtill living, though moſt Hiſtorians ſay he died in 1409. It is true, after the Death of the Earl of *Northumberland*, his Affairs were gone to decay. The *Welſh* ſeeing he was little able to perform what he had promiſed, had by degrees deſerted him. He was even apprehenſive, they would make ſome attempt upon his Life, or deliver him up to the King. His Fears having induced him to conceal himſelf, he paſſed the Reſidue of his Days in ſome unknown Place. So that it is no wonder that the Time of his Death is doubtful. However that he lived till the Year 1417. is certain.

Act of Indemnity, Glendour is excepted.

His Affairs go to decay.

1412. *Continuation of the Troubles in France.* The Affairs of *France* were embroiled more and more by the mutual Hatred of the Two Factions, who made no Scruple of ſacrificing the Good of the Publick to their private Animoſity. Hitherto *Henry* had but too much Reaſon to dread ſome Miſchief from that Quarter. If the Diſſentions of the Princes of the Blood had not hindered thoſe that were at the Helm of Affairs, during the King's Illneſs, from effectually ſupporting the Male-contents in *England*, it is exceeding probable that he would have been driven to great Streights. But when he ſaw the Animoſity of the two Factions carried to the utmoſt Height, his Fears entirely vaniſhed. He even began to think of Means of reaping ſome Benefit from the Commotions in *France*, as the *French* had ſcarce ever failed of taking an Advantage of the Inſurrections in *England*. In this Point, one Side made no more Conſcience of breaking the Truce than the other.

Henry *thinks of taking advantage of them.*

The Faction of Orleans *ſue to him for Aid.* It was not long before *Henry* met with the Opportunity he was ſeeking. The *French* themſelves offered him as fair a one as he could wiſh. The Dukes of *Berri*, *Orleans*, *Bourbon*, *Alenſon*, the Earl of *Armagnac* and the Lord *d' Albret*, Heads of one of the Factions, finding they were unable to withſtand the Duke of *Burgundy*, who had the

King

King and all the Royal Family in his Power, came to a Reſolution to ſtrengthen themſelves with the Aſſiſtance of the King of *England*. But as they were not ignorant that the Duke of *Burgundy* had been before-hand with them, in making an Alliance with *Henry*, they thought it neceſſary to break that Alliance, by offering ſuch Terms as were capable of making *Henry* fall from the Ingagements he had entered into with their Enemy. To that End they met at *Bourges* where they agreed upon the Offers they ſhould make him, which done, they ſent Deputies to treat with him. 1412.

Hitherto the Duke of *Burgundy* had ſhifted off *Henry*'s Propoſal of matching the Prince of *Wales* with one of his Daughters. Apparently he had entertained other Views: But upon his being informed what was carrying on in *England*, he thought proper to preſs in his Turn the Concluſion of the Marriage. *Henry* pretended to liſten with pleaſure to his Sollicitation; but it was with Intent to procure the better Terms from the *Orleans-Faction* with whom he deſigned to make an Alliance. And indeed the Deputies having Notice of this Negotiation, inſiſted no farther upon any Article, but concluded the Treaty juſt as *Henry* would have it, on the 18th of *May* 1412.

The Duke of Burgundy *tries to break the Meaſures of his Enemies.* Act. Pub. VIII. 721.

By this Treaty the Confederate Princes were bound,

I. to give up to the King of *England* about fifteen hundred Towns, Caſtles or *Bayliwicks* which they had in *Guienne* or in *Poictou*.

II. To conquer for him what remained of theſe two Provinces in the Hands of the *French*, and to reſtore to him *Guienne* and its *Appurtenancies*, in the ſame State and Extent as his Predeceſſors had formerly enjoyed it.

III. The King allowed, that the Duke of *Berry* ſhould hold *Poictou* for his Life, or Condition he did him Homage and delivered up *Poitiers*, *Niort* and *Luſignan*: As for the Reſt of the fortified Towns in that Province, he ſhould place ſuch Governours in them as would bind themſelves by Oath to give them up after his Death to the King of *England*. The Duke of *Orleans* was to have the Dutchy of

Treaty between Henry *and the* Orleans *Faction.* p. 738.

1412. of *Angoulême* upon the same Terms, and the Earl of *Armagnoc*, certain *Castlewards* in *Guienne*.

IV. The King was bound on his Part, to lend the Princes an Aid of a Thousand Men at Arms, and three Thousand Archers, who were to go to *Blois* where they should be received by the Princes and paid in Hand according to the *Pay* agreed upon.

Prince Thomas *commands the Succours.* *p.* 743. *is made D. of* Clarence. *p.* 757.

The Treaty being ratified, *Henry* gave the Command of the Succours to *Thomas* his second Son, whom a few days after he created *Duke of Clarence*. He sent with him in this Expedition the Duke of *York*, and *Thomas Beaufort* High-Admiral of *England*. These Succours sat out in *July*, and it appears by several Pieces in *the Collection of Publick Acts*, that the King was preparing to go in Person to *Guienne*, in order to take Possession of what had been promised him.

He arrives, and finds a Peace concluded.

But whilst they were employed in *England* in getting ready these Troops, Affairs in *France* had taken a new Turn. The Duke of *Burgundy* improving the Advantages he had over his Enemies, kept them close besieged in *Bourges*, and had brought the King along with him. Though the Besieged made a vigorous Defense in Hopes of the Succours which were coming from *England*, they would have found it perhaps a hard Matter to hold out, if the Duke of *Burgundy* had not thought proper to make an Offer of Peace. He was afraid of the Arrival of the *English* Troops, and the Confederates had reason to apprehend they would not come soon enough. These different Fears having rendered both Sides more tractable, the Peace tendered by the Duke of *Burgundy* was accepted without Hesitation, and at the same time proclaimed.

In the mean Time the Duke of *Clarence* having landed in *Normandy*, was advancing towards *Blois* with all possible Expedition, without committing any Hostilities upon the Countries he marched through. But when he was informed that the Confederates had concluded a Peace, he considered *France* as an Enemy's Country, and made great Ravages as he passed along. It was the Business of the Duke of

of *Orleans* Head of the Faction which had drawn him into *France*, to ſee to make him Satisfaction. But as he had no Money to pay what was already become due to the *Engliſh*, he was forced to give him the Earl of *Angoulême* his Brother in Hoſtage. On the other hand, the Duke of *Clarence*, finding himſelf in the Midſt of an Enemy's Country with a ſmall Number of Troops, and not without apprehenſion that the two Parties would join againſt him, did not think fit to ſtand off. He only ſtipulated that he ſhould have leave to lead his Troops into *Guienne*, where they ſerved to recover ſome Places by the Help of the Earl of *Armagnac* and the Lord *d' Albret*, who were not pleaſed with the Peace. 1412. *He retires into* Guienne.

This Affair being over, *Henry* enjoyed a profound Tranquillity. He had nothing to fear from *France*, which by inteſtine Diviſions was become unable to hurt him. The *Welſh* ſought only to make Peace; and the Regent of *Scotland* content with ſeeing the King his Nephew in the Hands of the *Engliſh*, minded only his own private Concerns. In fine, the Male-contents which might be left in *England* being no longer ſupported by foreign Princes, ſat down in quiet. *Henry* made a good Uſe of theſe peaceable Times, in wiping out the ill Impreſſions which his Severity and Proceedings with reſpect to the Parliament, had made in the Minds of his Subjects. He affected Popularity, and endeavoured by all Sorts of Means to convince the World, he thought of nothing leſs than the ſtretching the *Prerogative Royal*. His Endeavours were crowned with ſuch Succeſs, that in ſpite of the Rigor he had exerciſed upon his Enemies, and the many Rebuffs he had given the *Houſe of Commons*, he was deemed a Prince of Generoſity, Mildneſs, and Moderation. What was heretofore conſidered as an Effect of his cruel and revengeful Temper, was now very readily attributed to pure Neceſſity and the Circumſtances of his Affairs. It was doubtleſs the latter Behaviour of this Prince which made Hiſtorians give him ſuch Commendations, as we find no Grounds for in the former Actions of his Life. This Inſtance ſhows how eaſy it is for a Sovereign to efface the hard Thoughts his Subjects *Henry enjoys a profound Peace.*

1412. shall have entertained of him, provided he has Sense or Good-Fortune enough to perswade the World he sincerely intends to reform his Conduct.

Excesses of the Prince of Wales. Whilst *Henry* was endeavouring to regain his Reputation, which had been some what sullied since his Accession to the Throne, the Prince of *Wales* was entirely destroying His, by daily abandoning himself to Riot and Debauchery. Though he was naturally of a Great and Generous Spirit, he suffered himself to be corrupted by Persons who, to serve their own Ends, flattered his vicious Passions, and diverted him from the Paths of Virtue. His Court was the Receptacle of *Libertines*, *Debosshees Buffoons*, *Parasites* and others of the like Stamp. Nothing was talked of but the riotous and extravagant Pranks of the Prince or his Companions. Such a Behaviour in a Prince who was one Day to sit on the Throne, made People very thoughtful, who could not help dreading the Consequences. However, in the midst of these Apprehensions, a Ray of Hope was seen to shine, in an Instance of Moderation given by the Prince, when there was the least Prospect of any such thing. One of his Favorite-Companions having been arraigned for *Felony* before the *Chief-Justice*, he resolved to be present at the Trial, with design to over-awe the Judge.

He gives a Judge a Blow on the Face. But his Presence not having prevented the Criminal from being condemned, he was so transported with Passion that he struck the Judge over the Face. The *Chief-Justice* thus affronted, weighing the Consequences of such an Action, without regarding the Quality of the Offender, commanded him to be arrested on the Spot and committed to Prison. Then was seen, contrary to the Expectations of All, the Prince quiet as a Lamb, submitting without the least Murmur to the Judge's Sentence, and suffering himself to be led to Prison without Resistance, like a mere private Person.

The King grows Suspicious of the Prince. The Courage of the Judge and the Modesty of the Prince were equally pleasing to the King. Nevertheless *Henry*, who was excessively jealous of his Crown, could not help giving ear to some People who intimated to him that his Son had ill Designs against him. The Thoughts of

of this making him extremely uneaſy, he would perhaps have been carried to ſome extravagant Action, in order to avert the Danger which he imagined hung over his Head, had not the Prince took Care betimes to remove his Suſpicions. As ſoon as he was informed of the King his Father's Thoughts of him, he ſent and deſired a private *Audience*; and having obtained it, he caſt himſelf at his Feet and ſaid, "Sir, I am told that you have entertained a Suſ-"picion of me injurious to my Honour, and to the Re-"verence and Veneration I have for your Perſon. It is "true, I freely own it, I have been guilty of ſome intem-"perate Sallies which deſerve your Indignation. But I "never had the leaſt Thought of attempting any Thing a-"gainſt your Perſon or Government. They that dare "charge me with ſo monſtrous a Crime, ſeek only to di-"ſturb your Quiet and mine. It is in order to clear my "ſelf of this Imputation that I have taken the Liberty to "come and throw my ſelf at your Feet, humbly intreat-"ing you to cauſe all my Actions to be as narrowly and "cloſely examined, as if I was the meaneſt of your Subjects. "I am ready to undergo this ſtrict Scrutiny, well knowing "you will be fully ſatisfied of my Innocence". The King ſeeing with what Frankneſs the Prince offered to vindicate himſelf, grew perfectly eaſy upon his Account, and reſtored him to Favour. 1412. *He vindicates himſelf.*

In the Beginning of the Year 1413, *Henry* was ſeized with a Diſtemper, which in three Months Time laid him in his Grave. *Mezerai* ſays, it was the *Leproſy*. Others affirm it was a ſort of *Apoplexy*, which had frequent Returns, and threw him into Fits which took away his Senſes. Be this as it will, his Diſtemper, which came upon him at ſeveral Times, laſted near three Months, and then killed him. A certain Perſon having formerly told him that he ſhould dye at *Jeruſalem*, he called to Mind the Prediction, and verily believed that God would make uſe of him as his Inſtrument to wreſt that City out of the Hands of the *Infidels*. Thus perſwaded, he fancied his Death was not ſo nigh, and thought it his Duty to dedicate the Remainder of his Days to that glorious Expedition. Accordingly 1413. *The King is ſeized with a dangerous Diſtemper.*

1413. *He takes the Croſs to go to* Jeruſalem.

ingly he took the *Croſs*; and having called a great Council, communicated his Deſign to them, and ordered all Things to be got ready with Speed for his Voyage. But preſently after the Returns of his Diſtemper being more frequent than uſual, he found that far from being able to undertake an Expedition of that Nature, he ought to employ all his Thoughts in preparing for Death. The Fear he had always been in of loſing his Crown by Reaſon of the many Attempts to wreſt it from him, increaſed with his Years. Every Time he went to Bed, he ordered it to be laid on his Pillow, leaſt any one ſhould ſeize it before he was dead. One Day being fallen into a Fit, which was ſo ſtrong upon him, that all thought he had reſigned his laſt Breath, the Prince of *Wales* took up the Crown and carried it away. Soon after the King recovering his Senſes, and miſſing the Crown, asked what was become of it. Being told the Prince had taken it, he ſent for him, and asked him whether he had a Mind to rob him of his Royalty even before his Death. The Prince replied, *He never had any ſuch Thoughts, but believing him dead, he had taken the Crown as his lawful Heir, and the only Perſon that had a Right to claim it. Nevertheleſs he thanked God he ſaw him again recovered, and wiſhed with all his Heart he might long live to wear it himſelf.* At the ſame Time he went and fetched it and laid it in its Place.

He always kept the Crown on his Pillow.

The King's laſt Fit.

Henry's laſt Fit ſeized him in St. *Edward*'s Chapel as he was at his Prayers before that Saint's *Shrine*. He was carried to the Abbot of *Weſtminſter*'s Lodgings which were nearer than his own. Where coming to himſelf, and finding himſelf in a ſtrange Place, he asked where he was. They told him at the Abbot of *Weſtminſter*'s, in a Chamber called *Jeruſalem*. Theſe Words bringing to his Remembrance the Prediction which had formerly been told him, he laid aſide all Thoughts but thoſe of Death. Before he expired, he ſent for the Prince his eldeſt Son, and gave him many excellent Inſtructions, amidſt which he could not forbear ſhowing ſome Doubts concerning his Right to the Crown he had wore. He told him alſo, he was afraid the Duke of *Clarence* his Brother would give him ſome Diſturbance

He is carried into the Jeruſalem-*Chamber.*

His laſt Inſtructions to his Succeſſor

Diſturbance in the Poſſeſſion of the Throne. It is not known, whether theſe Fears were grounded upon the reſtleſs Temper of his ſecond Son, or whether he had entered into ſome Engagements with him, at the Time he had conceived a Suſpicion of his eldeſt. Be this as it will, the Prince made Anſwer, that being his lawful Heir, he would endeavour to keep the Crown by the ſame Methods he had himſelf preſerved it during his Life. As for the Duke of *Clarence*, if he behaved as he ought, he ſhould always find in him a kind Brother; but if he pretended to do otherwiſe, he knew how to make him return to his Duty. The King ſaid nothing more, except that he recommended him to the Protection of Heaven. A few Moments after he breathed his laſt, on the 20th of *March* 1413, in the Forty-ſixth Year of his Age, having reigned thirteen Years, five Months, and one and twenty Days *. 1413. *He dies.*

Hiſtorians for the moſt Part have endeavoured to give of this Prince an *Idea* which in my Opinion ſuits not with him. They ſpeak with Praiſe of his *Mildneſs*, *Clemency*, *Generoſity*, *Valour*, and abundance of other good Qualities, which ſhine brighter in their *Writings* than in his *Actions*. If he had gained ſome Reputation whilſt a private Perſon, it does not appear that he did any Thing to increaſe or maintain it, after he came to the Throne. His diſtinguiſhing Character was an extreme Jealouſy for the Crown which he had acquired by Ways not approved of by all the World, and for the Preſervation whereof he had ſhed a Torrent of noble Blood. The Death of *Richard* II will be an indelible Stain to his Memory, ſuppoſing the Uſurping the Throne could be juſtified. In ſhort, he performed nothing remarkable which can afford proper Matter for Panegyrick. His Expeditions into *Scotland* and *Wales* have nothing in them which can redound to his Honour. If he happily got clear of all the Conſpiracies which were formed againſt him, it was chiefly owing to the *Mayor* of *Cirenceſter*, the *Sheriff* of *Yorkſhire*, and the Earl of *Weſtmoreland*. *Character of* Henry IV.

* His Body was conveyed to *Canterbury*, and there ſolemnly buried.

1413. *moreland.* The Battle of *Shrewsbury* wherein he vanquiſhed young *Percy*, is the only notable Action in his whole Reign. His continual Fears of Inſurrections, cauſed him to let ſlip ſeveral Opportunities of humbling *France*, and recovering the Provinces his Predeceſſors had loſt. He even ſuffered many Inſults from the *French*, *Scots*, *Welſh*, and *Bretains*, without ſhowing much Reſentment. In fine, he employed all his Thoughts in preſerving his Crown, and avoiding all Occaſions which might put it in any Hazard. This *prudent Policy* ought to be the chief, if not the ſole Theme of his Commendation, as it was the ſole Motive of his Actions, wherein nothing appears to render him eminent. Though he had cauſed *Richard* II to be depoſed for uſurping an abſolute Power, he plainly ſhowed by his Conduct, that he had not ſo great an Averſion for that Crime as he pretended when it was his Intereſt to diſplay it in its blackeſt Colours. It is true, towards the latter End of his Life, he ſeemed to have formed a Reſolution to follow Maxims more conformable to the Nation's *Liberties*. But God was not pleaſed to allow him much Time to ſhow the Effects of this good Reſolution.

When I conſider the exceſſive Commendations beſtowed upon this Prince, I cannot forbear ſuſpecting, that the Glory of having been the firſt *Burner of Hereticks*, and the Protection he afforded the *Clergy* againſt the Attempts of the *Houſe of Commons*, were the main Springs of all theſe Praiſes. It is well known, the *Eccleſiaſticks* are as zealous in praiſing their Abettors, as they are in blackening ſuch as are not in their Intereſts.

Perſons of Note. During this Reign the famous *Robert Knolles*, *William Wickham* * Biſhop of *Wincheſter*, and *Richard Whittington* Mayor

William *of* Wickham. * So called from *Wickham* in *Hampſhire*, where he was born in 1324. His Father's Name was *John Perrot*. After he had been bred at *Wincheſter* and *Oxford*, he returned to his Patron *Nicholas Wedal*, who had been at the Charge of his Education. He afterwards became known to *Edward* III, and having a Genius for Architecture, he was made Surveyor of the King's Buildings. His Direction for rebuilding *Windſor*-Caſtle gave great Satisfaction, and occaſioned his Promotion at Court, where he paſſed through the Offices of *Secretary* of

Mayor * of *London*, were eminent for Works of *Charity* and uſeful *Foundations*. 1314.

Geoffrey Chaucer and *John Gower*, two famous Poets that flouriſhed in this Reign, are generally looked upon as the firſt Reformers of the *Engliſh* Tongue.

Henry had by *Mary Bohun* Daughter of the Earl of *Hereford*, four Sons and two Daughters, namely, *Henry* his Succeſſor, *Thomas* Duke of *Clarence*, *John* Duke of *Bedford*, and *Humphrey*, who was created Duke of *Glouceſter* by *Henry* V, his Brother. *Blanch*, the eldeſt of his Daughters, was married to *Lewis Barbatus* Elector *Palatine*, and *Philippa* his Second was Wife of *Eric* King of *Denmark* and *Norway*. Henry IV's *Iſſue*.

of State, *Privy-Seal*, &c. He was preferred to the See of *Wincheſter* in 1367, and ſoon after made Lord Chancellor of *England*. 'Tis ſaid being repreſented to the King as a Man of no Learning, and not fit for a Biſhoprick, he told the King that what he wanted in Learning himſelf, he would ſupply with being the *Founder of Learning*. Accordingly he began the Building of *New-College* in *Oxford*, and laid the firſt Stone himſelf, *March* 5. 1379. It was finiſhed in ſeven Years. In 1387, on the 26th of *March*, he likewiſe laid in Perſon the firſt Stone of his College at *Wincheſter*, which he deſigned as a *Nurſery* for that at *Oxford*. Upon this Foundation he ſettled an Eſtate for a *Warden*, ten *Fellows*, two *Schoolmaſters*, and ſeventy *Scholars*. He died in the Fourth Year of *Henry* IV, aged 80 Years, and lies buried in St. *Swithin*'s Church *in Wincheſter*, in a ſtately Monument of his own erecting in his Life-Time. New-College *founded*.

* Among other Things he built *Newgate* in 1420, above half of St. *Bartholomew*'s-*Hoſpital* in *Weſt-Smithfield*, and the *Library* in *Grey-Friars*, now called *Chriſt*'s-*Hoſpital*.

King *Henry* IV inſtituted the *Dutchy-Court* in Honour of the Houſe of *Lancaſter*, to the end the Lands belonging to the *Dutchy* might in all following Times be diſtinguiſhed from the Lands of the Crown.

The End of the Reign of HENRY IV.

THE HISTORY of *ENGLAND*.

SECT. II.

14. HENRY V, *Sirnamed of* MONMOUTH.

HENRY V. 1413. *March* 20.



HENRY IV not having had the Good-Fortune to be beloved by the *Engliſh*, his Death was not much regretted. The *Clergy* alone lamented his Loſs, becauſe in his Reign they had met with great Favour and Protection. But the reſt of the People eaſily forgot a Prince, who after his coming to the Crown had done nothing memorable, and had ſhed more of his Subjects Blood than of the Enemies of the *State*. The very Peace the *Engliſh* enjoyed during the whole Courſe of his Reign, was not grateful to them. War would have ſeemed to them more beneficial, ſeeing a fairer Opportunity to recover what they had loſt in *France*, had never offered. So that in Hopes that the Prince his Son would give new Life to the Glory of the *Engliſh* Name, which ſeemed

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ſeemed as it were buried in Oblivion ever ſince the Reign of *Edward* III, they joyfully beheld him ſucceeding a Father from whom there was no room to expect any great Matters, ſuppoſing his Reign had been longer. At the preſent Juncture, *England* ſtood in need of an active and Warlike King, who knew how to take Advantage of the Commotions in *France*. On the other Hand, War was become neceſſary to diſpel the ill Humours ſpread over the Kingdom in the late Reign. 1413.

Henry of Monmouth, ſo called from the Place of his Birth, was exactly of the Temper the *Engliſh* wiſhed him. He was naturally of an elevated and enterpriſing *Genius*. For which Reaſon the King his Father had always kept him at a diſtance from Affairs, his elevation of Mind being but too apt to breed Suſpicion in a Prince ſo miſtruſtful as he. He had been a Student in *Queen*'s-College in *Oxford*, under the Tuition of the Biſhop of *Wincheſter* his Uncle, Chancellor of that *Univerſity*. Here it was that in his tender Years the Principles of *Honour* and *Virtue* were ſo carefully imprinted in his Mind, that they could never after be effaced. In his very Youth he ſhowed a ſtrong Inclination for War. The which increaſing with his Years, the King his Father thought proper to indulge it. At eighteen Years of Age, he commanded an Army againſt the *Welſh*, and gave them two Overthrows. But his Victories were of infinite Prejudice to him. The King his Father exceſſively jealous of his Authority, and dreading the Conſequences of ſo noble a ſetting out, conſidered his Son's Reputation as likely one Day to become deſtructive of his Quiet. The Thoughts of this making him uneaſy, he removed him from all Warlike, as he had done from all *Civil* Employments, for fear it ſhould be out of his Power to check his Flight when once he ſhould take Wing. Reduced to a State of Idleneſs, the Prince naturally active, ſought how to employ himſelf. Unluckily for him, by the Inſtigation of ſome about him, and perhaps by the Direction of the King his Father, he ran into diſhonourable Courſes, and abandoned himſelf to Exceſſes, very unbecoming his Birth and iniuri-

Education of Henry V.

His warlike Intentions.

Jealouſy of Henry IV. *againſt his Son.*

Cauſe of the Prince's wild Courſes.

1413. ous to his Reputation *. In ſpite of all this, his good Diſpoſition failed not to break out upon certain Occaſions. The Moderation he ſhowed in ſuffering himſelf to be led to Priſon by Order of the Judge whom he had affronted, was a clear Evidence that Seed of Vittue were not wholly deſtroyed in his Mind by ſenſual Pleaſures. Accordingly the King his Father, who was not ignorant of his Talents, was afraid of him, though one would think that a Prince drowned as it were in Pleaſures, ſhould not give him much Uneaſineſs. However, the People were not prejudiced againſt him. It is true, the Exceſſes he was guilty of now and then, might give them room to fear they ſhould one Day be unhappy under his Government. But upon certain Occaſions they beheld in him Tokens of Generoſity, Virtue, Greatneſs of Soul, which afforded them the Proſpect of a happy Change in his Perſon.

The People retain a good Opinion of him.

Henry V. *proclaimed King.*

Immediately after the Death of the King his Father, the Prince was proclaimed King, by the Name of *Henry the Fifth*. So far was any one from the Thoughts of diſputing the Crown with him, that they who had been the moſt againſt the Advancement of the Houſe of *Lancaſter*, were the firſt to pay their Duty to him. The Earl of *March* himſelf relying on his Generoſity, came of his own accord and put himſelf into his Hands, to the end he might give him a convincing Proof of his ſincere Intention not to diſturb him in the Poſſeſſion of the Throne. In fine, ſuch Confidence did the *Engliſh* place in him, that contrary to Cuſtom, they offered to take the Oath of *Allegiance* before ever he was crowned. But he declined in a modeſt and obliging manner the receiving that Teſtimony of their Eſteem. He told them it was not reaſonable that they ſhould ſwear to be faithful to him, before he himſelf had taken a ſolemn Oath to govern them with Equity and according to *Law*. This Moderation, which charmed all the World, quite effaced the diſadvantagious Impreſſions that his former

* He is ſaid among other Pranks to lie in wait for the Receivers of his Father's Rents, and in the Perſon of a Highway-man, to ſet upon and rob them.

mer Courſe of Life might have given ſuch as were not well acquainted with him. 1413.

Hs is crowned. The Ceremony of his Coronation being performed on the 9th of *April*, he granted that very Day a general Pardon for all Crimes, except Murders and Rapes. His firſt Proceedings plainly ſhowed the Uprightneſs of his Intentions, and the Reſolution he had taken worthily to fill the Throne to which he was raiſed. Before he applied himſelf to the Affairs of the *State*, he called before him all his old Companions, and having exhorted them to leave off that ill Courſe of Life they had led with him, he made them handſome Preſents. But at the ſame Time, ſtrictly charged them, upon Pain of incurring his Diſpleaſure, not to preſume to come to Court. The Aſtoniſhment of theſe People, who expected quite other Things, was as great as the Admiration of the Witneſſes of a Reformation which afforded ſo good a Proſpect. Act. Pub. IX. 2.

He diſmiſſes his old Companions.

He chuſes a Council. After the King had given this firſt Proof of his Wiſdom, he continued, without ceaſing, to give many others which could admit of no doubt. In the firſt Place, he made choice for his *Council*, of Perſons of the greateſt Gravity, Abilities, and Repute among his Subjects. Then he turned out ſome of the Judges, and put ſuch in their Room, as to the Knowledge of the *Law* joined a perfect *Integrity*. He did the ſame with regard to inferior Magiſtrates, and took particular Care to fill the vacant *Benefices* with none but Perſons of ſound Principles, and known Merit.

He gives Proofs of his Piety. Nothing remained to confirm the good Opinion all had conceived of him, but to ſhow his Martial Virtues, and give ſome Proofs of his Piety. As to the firſt, he made appear during the whole Courſe of his Reign, that he gave Place to none of his Predeceſſors, as we ſhall have reaſon to be convinced hereafter. As to his Piety, it was not long before he became famous by two ſignal Inſtances. Indeed the firſt might be very ambiguous; but it was looked upon *then* as a moſt certain Sign, and the beſt Proof of the ſincere Intentions of a Prince to promote the Glory of God: I mean the Condeſcenſion he had for the *Clergy*, in

1413. promising them to persecute the *Wickliffites* or *Lollards*. The other Mark of his Piety, was the Care he took to repair as far as lay in his Power the Injury done to *Richard* II. He ordered the Body of that Prince to be removed from the Abbey of *Langley*, where he was buried in an undecent Manner, to *Westminster-Abby*, and laid near *Ann* of *Luxemburgh* his Queen. After he had performed this Duty, he founded three *Religious Houses* close by *Shene*, where the Soul of *Richard* was to be prayed for Night and Day.

He removes Richard's Body to Westminster.

His kind Parliament.

The Parliament having been called some time before, met on the 15th of *May*, very well inclined to the new King; several *Statutes* were enacted, tending to the Preservation of the publick Peace, and of the *Rights* and *Privileges* of the People. *Henry* freely gave his Assent to all these *Acts*, and particularly to an *Act* to prevent Abuses in the Elections of *Members* of Parliament. The Conduct of *Richard* II, and some Attempts of the late King in that Matter, rendered this *Act* absolutely necessary.

The Clergy debate how to root out Heresy.

Whilst the Parliament was taken up with the publick Affairs, the *Convocation of the Clergy* was sitting under the Direction of *Thomas Arundel*, Archbishop of *Canterbury*. This Prelate, being extremely incensed against the *Lollards*, had obtained of the late King an Order to send *Commissions* to *Oxford*, to take Informations concerning the *Doctrines* of the *Wickliffites*. The Business of these Commissioners was to discover the chief Abettors of this *Heresy*, and how it came to be spread over the Kingdom, especially in the Dioceses of *London*, *Hereford*, and *Rochester*. At their Return, they brought what Informations they had taken to the Archbishop, who laid them before the *Convocation*. After several Debates, it was resolved, *That* there was no possibility of extirpating the *Lollard-Heresy*, unless care was taken to inflict exemplary Punishments on the principal Abettors of it: *That* among these, Sir *John Oldcastle* Baron of *Cobham*, was to be looked upon as the most considerable and dangerous: *That* therefore, as a Terror to the whole *Sect*, their principal Protector should be first taken to Task, and an *Action* entered against him for *Heresy*. But

They resolve to prosecute Oldcastle. Act. Pub. IX. 65.

as

as *Oldcaſtle* was the King's *Domeſtick*, and in great Eſteem with him, it was thought that Method of proceeding might give Offence, unleſs they acquainted the King before-hand with the Matter, and got his Leave to proſecute the *Heretick*. The Archbiſhop taking this Affair upon him, waited on the King with Complaints againſt *Oldcaſtle*. He tried to perſuade him, that *Fire* and *Faggot* were the only Means of extirpating *Hereſy*, and that it was abſolutely neceſſary for the *Church*'s Intereſt, to proceed againſt *Oldcaſtle* according to the utmoſt Rigour of the Law. The King having calmly given him the hearing, replied, That he could never approve of uſing Force in reclaiming *Hereticks*, ſeeing Experience had but too often made appear, that rigorous Methods were as effectual againſt *Truth* as againſt *Error*: That he would talk himſelf with *Oldcaſtle*, and try to reſtore him to the right Way; and in caſe he could not ſucceed, he would then give leave that he ſhould be proſecuted. Mean while, to give the *Clergy* ſome Satisfaction, he iſſued a *Proclamation*, forbidding the *Lollards* to hold any *Meetings*, and charging his Subjects not to be preſent at their Preachings. A few Days after he was pleaſed to talk with *Oldcaſtle*; and finding him not to be moved, he no longer oppoſed the *Clergy*'s Requeſt.

1413.

They aſk the King's Leave.

His Anſwer.

Act. Pub. IX. 46.

The Archbiſhop having obtained the King's Leave, ſent a *Summons* to *Oldcaſtle*, who refuſing to own the Authority of the Biſhops, made a Jeſt of the Citation. He would not ſo much as ſuffer it to be ſerved upon him, ſo that they were forced to fix it upon the Church-door at *Rocheſter*. *Henry* provoked at his haughty Proceedings, ordered him to be apprehended and committed to the *Tower*. On the 28th of *September* the Priſoner was brought before the Archbiſhop, aſſiſted by two other Biſhops and ſeveral *Eccleſiaſticks*. As they could get no Anſwers from him, but what were directly repugnant to the *eſtabliſhed Opinions* of thoſe Days, they pronounced him *Heretick*, and delivered him over to the *ſecular* Power. His Death would have immediately followed the Sentence of Condemnation, if, by the Help of his Friends, or Careleſſneſs of his Guards, he had not found Means to eſcape out of Priſon.

The King ſuffers Oldcaſtle *to be proſecuted.* p. 61.

He is committed to the Tower,

and condemned.

He eſcapes,

He

1413. He went and concealed himself in *Wales*, where his Persecutors left him not in quiet, as we shall see hereafter. These are all the remarkable Particulars with regard to Domestick Affairs, that happened from the 20th of *March* 1413, to the End of *December*, the same Year.

Necessity of joining here the French *with the* English *History.*

I am now going to enter upon the Account of the War *Henry* V renewed against *France*: A War which had been on Foot ever since the Branch of the Treaty of *Bretigny*, though often interrupted by Truces in the late Reigns. In order to give a just Idea of the Motives which induced *Henry* to carry his Army into *France*, it will be necessary to set before the Reader the State that Kingdom was *then* in: Without this, it would be difficult fully to understand the Sequel.

Affairs of France.

Charles VI, afflicted with a Distemper which rendered him for the greatest Part of his Time uncapable of governing, had three Sons, namely, *Lewis*, *John* and *Charles*. The eldest which bore the Title of *Dauphin*, and Duke of *Guienne*, was a Prince of an indifferent Character. At Sixteen Years of Age he had already taken to a debauched Life; and moreover, was strongly possessed with Notions that led him to *arbitrary* Power, and hurried him into many Extravagancies. The Favourites he had about him indulged him in this Course of Life, and could not bear that he should be told of a Reformation, by which they would have been so great Losers. On the contrary, to prevent the Execution of a certain Project which he had formed for the better governing the Kingdom, and which had received the Approbation of an Assembly of the chief Men, they inspired their young Master with a Desire to hold the Reins of the Government himself, during the King his Father's Distemper. They intimated to him, that the Duke of *Burgundy* had no manner of Right to seize the Administration of Affairs, and that no body had any claim to it, in Prejudice of the King's eldest Son, since he had exceeded the Time fixed by the *Ordinance* of *Charles* V. for the King's being of *Age*. Upon this Foundation they advised him to endeavour to thrust out the Duke of *Burgundy*, by seizing the *Bastile*, in order to hinder the

Parisians

Pariſians from aſſiſting him. This Project was executed ſhortly after, by Means of the Governour of that Fortreſs, whom the *Dauphin* had gained to his Intereſts. But he had not reaſon long to rejoice at the Succeſs of his Enterpriſe. Upon the firſt Rumour of it in *Paris*, the Citizens privately ſtirred up by the Duke of *Burgundy*, took Arms to the Number of Ten or Twelve Thouſand Men. One Part went and inveſted the *Baſtile*, the other under the Conduct of a *Surgeon* called *John de Troye*, came before the *Dauphin*'s Palace, who not expecting this Inſurrection, had no other Remedy but to appear at the Window, in order to try to appeaſe them: But nothing was able to ſtop their Carreer. After having broke open the Doors of the Palace, they ruſhed into the Apartments and carried off above Twenty Perſons whom they accuſed of corrupting the Prince, and threw them into Priſon. On the other Hand, the Governour of the *Baſtile*, being ſeized with Fear, delivered up the Fortreſs to the Duke of *Burgundy*, who in ſpite of the *Dauphin*'s Efforts, continued Maſter of the Government. In the midſt of theſe Troubles which happened in *March* 1413. *Henry* IV died in *England*, and *Henry* V his Son aſcended the Throne. 1413. Act. Pub. IX. 51. &c.

Whilſt the new King was buſied in ſettling his Affairs at Home, the Troubles broke out afreſh in *France*. At the End of *April* the *Seditious* took it in their Heads to wear *white Hoods* as a Badge of Diſtinction. *John de Troye*, at the Head of an armed *Mob*, brought one to the *Dauphin* who durſt not refuſe it. The King himſelf happening to be in the Street as he was going to the Church of *Notre-Dame*, was obliged by the *Seditious* to take a *White-Hood*. But their Inſolence did not ſtop Here. Two Days after, their Leader came to the Palace of St. *Paul* where the King lay. There, in Preſence of the whole Court, he undertook to juſtify the Impriſonment of the *Dauphin*'s Officers, and added, there were ſtill at Court a great Many more that equally deſerved to be puniſhed. At the ſame Time, without vouchſafing to hearken to the Intreaties of the *Dauphin* or of the King himſelf, he laid Hands upon a great Number of Lords and Ladies and carried them to Priſon. *Lewis of Bavaria*,

1413. *Bavaria* himself, the Queen's Brother, was not spared. The King not being able to withstand the Torrent, was fain to consent that some of the Prisoners should be prosecuted, and to go to *Paris* with a *White-Hood* on, in order to inroll certain *Edicts* which the *Seditious* had demanded.

The *Dauphin* finding himself thus checked by the *Factions*, or rather by the Duke of *Burgundy* his Father-in-law, by whom they were privately guided, could not think of remaining in a Situation so opposite to his Temper, without making some Attempt to get out of it. The Heads of the *Orleans-Faction*, who had been forced to sign a Treaty whereby they were obliged to be at a Distance from *Paris* and the Court, were the only Persons he could expect any Assistance from. He contrived therefore a secret Negotiation with them; and the better to hide his Design, he went and conferred with them in Person, under Colour of bringing about an Accommodation between the two Parties, concerning some Breaches of the Peace of *Bourges*. After he had made a Combination with them, he managed it so that a Peace was confirmed, and by the new Treaty which was signed at *Pontoise*, the *Orleans* Party were allowed to go to *Paris* and pay their Respects to the King.

The Duke of Burgundy *applies again to* Henry. Act. Pub. IX. 27.

Mean while, the Duke of *Burgundy* judging by what the *Dauphin* had already done, what he was to expect from him, had taken a Resolution to make sure of Help in case of Need. With this View, in the Month of *June* he had sent, as Earl of *Flanders*, an Embassy to *England*, whereof *Ralph*, Provost of St. *Donas* of *Bruges* was Chief, under Pretence of renewing the Treaty of Commerce between the *English* and *Flemings*. But in reality it was to propose an Alliance with *Henry*. This appears by a Commission which the King gave at the same time to the Bishop of St. *David*'s and the Earl of *Warwick*, to conclude a personal Alliance between him and the Duke of *Burgundy*. There is hardly any Room to doubt but from that time the Duke had formed a Design to make a League with the King of *England*. We shall see hereafter much plainer Proofs of this Matter. However this Design was not so speedily executed. Apparently the Duke had no other

July, *p.* 34.

Intent

Intent than to ſecure the Aſſiſtance of the *Engliſh*, in caſe he ſhould be hard put to it, as he had done in the Reign of *Henry* IV. Otherwiſe he thought there would be no Occaſion to preſs the Concluſion of that Affair. 1413.

Whatever her Thoughts might be, *Henry* did not think fit to let ſlip ſo fair an Opportunity of keeping up in *France* Commotions of which he might take Advantage. To that End he ſent quickly after Ambaſſadors to *Paris*. Their publick Inſtructions were to call upon the Court of *France* to obſerve the Twenty-eight Years Truce better than had hitherto been done. *Secondly*, to confirm that ſame Truce or make a new One. *Laſtly*, they had Power to decide all Differences between *England* and *France*. In all likelihood, one of the King's Motives, in ſending this Embaſſy, was to get perfect Information of the Poſture of Affairs in that Kingdom. But his chief Aim was to conclude with the Duke of *Burgundy* the Alliance that Prince had propoſed to him. This evidently appears by a fourth Commiſſion empowering them to ſign an Alliance between him and the Duke, and between their reſpective Dominions. It is not therefore to be queſtioned but the Provoſt of St. *Donas* laid the Foundation of this Negotiation in his firſt Journey to *London*. This was tranſacted in *July* 1413. *Henry ſends an Embaſſy to* Paris. Act. Pub. IX. 34, *&c.*

The next Month brought with it a great Turn in the Affairs of *France* much to *Henry*'s Advantage. The *Orleans* Party, at the Head of which were the Duke of *Orleans* the King's Nephew; the Duke of *Berry* his Uncle; the Duke of *Bourbon*, the Duke of *Alenſon*, the Earls of *Eu* and *Vendôme*, were come near *Paris*, purſuant to the Liberty given them. At the ſame Time, the *Dauphin*, by his Intrigues, had gained to his Side vaſt Numbers of the Citizens, who promiſed to ſtand by him. Whereupon he ordered his Friends to take up Arms, and ſcoured about the Streets of *Paris* at the Head of Thirty-thouſand Men. The Conſternation of the oppoſite Party was ſo great, that they quitted the *Louvre*, the *Town-Houſe*, and the *Baſtile*, which they were in Poſſeſſion of, without offering to make the leaſt Reſiſtance. The Duke of *Burgundy* perceiving it was not in his Power to ſtop the *A new Revolution in the Court of* France. *The Duke of* Burgundy *retires.*

1413. Torrent, and dreading moreover the Arrival of the *Orleans*-Party, who were not far off, chose to retire into *Flanders*.

Edicts against him. No sooner was he withdrawn, but the *Orleans-Faction* became uppermost at Court, without the *Dauphin*'s reaping any Benefit by it. The King, being then in one of his *Intervals*, took the Government into his own Hands, and entertained so strong an Affection for the Duke of *Orleans* his Nephew, that he suffered himself to be wholly guided by his Counsels. The young Duke improving this Advantage, caused divers *Edicts* to be published against the Duke of *Burgundy*, and the Authors of the former Sedition to be prosecuted, several of whom were executed.

Truce between the two Crowns. September. Act. Pub. IX. 56. Shortly after the Ambassadors of *France* and *England* meeting at *Lelingham* in *Picardy* to negotiate a Peace, forthwith agreed that the Truce should be inviolably kept till the 1st of *June* next ensuing. During the Negotiation, the *English* Ambassadors gave to understand, that the King their Master expected that *France* should restore whatever had been taken from *England* since the Treaty of *Bretigny*. This was in effect the Ground of the War which was all along kept on foot ever since the Violation of that Treaty; and this Demand had nothing in it to be wondered at. However, the Court of *France* having been in hopes that after the Death of *Edward* III, the Kings of *England* would think no more of asserting their Pretensions, was extremely allarmed at this Declaration. The Posture of Affairs made them justly apprehensive of the Wars breaking out anew: So that without Loss of Time were dispatched to *London* the Archbishop of *Bourges*, the Constable D' *Albret*, and *Col*, one of the King's Secretaries, under Pretence of endeavouring to make Peace, but in reality to sound *Henry*'s Intentions. These Ambassadors arrived at *London* in *October*, and could obtain no more than the prolonging of the Truce for as much time longer as they should think proper.

First Demands of Henry.

Embassy from France. p. 60. p. 70.

Whilst

Whilſt they were in *England*, the Court of *France* continued the Proſecutions againſt the Duke of *Burgundy* and his Adherents, many of whom ſuffered under the Hands of the Executioner. *Lewis* of *Anjou*, King of *Sicily*, who had with him a Daughter of the Duke of *Burgundy*, betrothed to his eldeſt Son, reproachfully ſent her back to her Father. Shortly after, he gave one of his Daughters in Marriage to *Charles* Earl of *Pontieu*, third Son of the King, who was not yet full thirteen Years old. Nothing could prove more fatal to *France* than this Match. The young Prince having eſpouſed the Intereſts and Paſſions of the King his Father-in-law, became ſworn Enemy to the Duke of *Burgundy*. At the ſame Time he ſtirred up againſt himſelf the Hatred of that Duke, who though in Exile, had ſtill a powerful Party in the Kingdom. This mutual Animoſity, which continually increaſed, was the Occaſion of many Calamities to *France*.

1413. *The King of* Sicily *declares againſt the Duke of* Burgundy.

He gives his Daughter to Charles, *third Son of the King.*

In the mean Time, the *Dauphin* receiving no Benefit from the late Revolution at Court, could not behold without extreme Regret the Duke of *Orleans* at the Head of Affairs, whilſt he himſelf was without Credit, and like a Priſoner in the *Louvre*, where he was narrowly watched. This Conſtraint being inſupportable to a Prince of his Character, he readily liſtened to the Offer the Duke of *Burgundy* made him, of aſſiſting him to the utmoſt of his Power, in order to place him in the Poſt which his Birth entitled him to. They entered therefore into a ſort of League to drive the Duke of *Orleans* from Court. The Duke of *Burgundy* having thus made ſure of the *Dauphin*, approached *Paris* at the Head of an Army, pretending his Deſign was to free the *Dauphin* his Son-in-law from Captivity. He verily believed that *Paris* would declare in his Favour; but Things were ſo well ſettled there that no Body ſtirred. During theſe Tranſactions, the King, who for ſome time had been in one of his Fits of Phrenſie, being come again to his right Senſes, publiſhed againſt the Duke of *Burgundy* a thundering Edict, ſtiling him Traitor and Enemy of the *State*. This Edict, joined to the little Proſpect of *Paris* declaring for him, cauſed the Duke to return into *Flanders*.

The Duke of Burgundy *offers his Aſſiſtance to the* Dauphin, *who accepts of it.*

He approaches Paris.

An Edict againſt him.

He retires.

1413. Let us leave a Moment the Affairs of *France*, to which we ſhall have very ſoon an Occaſion to return, ſince they are the chief Subject of this Reign, in order to ſee what paſſed in *England* in the Beginning of the Year 1414.

1414. Mention was made in the late Reign of the two Attempts of the *Houſe of Commons*, to ſtrip the *Clergy* of good Part of their Eſtates, but without Succeſs. The *Clergy* could not doubt but theſe Attempts were the Fruits of the *Doctrine* of the *Lollards*. In all Appearance, this was not one of the leaſt Cauſes of the Hatred they bore theſe pretended *Hereticks*. It was likewiſe for this Reaſon, that in the late *Convocation* they had reſolved to uſe the moſt violent Means to extirpate a *Hereſy* to them ſo deteſtable. *Oldcaſtle*, a Man of a good Family and extraordinary Merit *, was deſtined to be the firſt Victim, for a Terror to the whole *Sect*. But by very good Luck he had eſcaped out of the Hands of his Enemies. It was not without great Grief that the Archbiſhop had heard the King ſay, he did not by any Means approve of rigorous Methods. He even ſhowed plainly enough that it was his real Opinion, ſince after the eſcape of *Oldcaſtle*, he took no Care to have him purſued and apprehended again. It was evident, that as long as the King was thus inclined to Gentleneſs and Moderation, the *Clergy* would hardly be able to have their Deſire upon the *Hereticks*. So that it was their Intereſt that the King ſhould have other Sentiments more agreeable to the *cruel Zeal* wherewith *Eccleſiaſticks* are generally animated. Nothing was more conducive to that End, than to make him believe that the *Lollards* had a Deſign upon his Perſon, and were forming Conſpiracies to overturn the *State*. Accordingly to this the *Clergy* applied themſelves without Loſs of Time. The late *Proclamation* againſt their aſſembling together, quickly furniſhed them with

The Lollards are accuſed of conſpiring againſt the King.

* He was *Sheriff* of *Herefordſhire* in 8 *Hen.* 4. and had *Summons* to Parliament among the Barons of the Realm, in 11, 12, 13 of that King's Reign. He was ſent beyond Sea with the Earl of *Arundel* to aid the Duke of *Burgundy* againſt the *French*. He married the Niece and Heir of *Thomas* Lord *Cobham*, and for that Reaſon took the Title of *Lord Cobham*. Dugdale.

with a fair Opportunity. The *Lollards* continued their Meetings notwithſtanding the *Proclamation*, though with all poſſible Secrecy. As they durſt not meet together in Houſes, for fear of being diſcovered, they commonly pitched upon ſome unfrequented Place in the Country to worſhip God in after their Manner. Some of them having reſolved to aſſemble without one of the Gates of *London*, in a Place called St. *Giles*'s *Fields*, which was then covered with Buſhes, were betrayed by *falſe Brethren*, as it often happens on ſuch Occaſions. This Diſcovery afforded their Enemies the Opportunity they were ſo eagerly in purſuit of. The King was then at *Eltham*, about ſeven Miles from *London*, where he deſigned to keep his *Chriſtmas*. He was very far from expecting any ſuch Thing as a Conſpiracy againſt his Perſon, when all on a ſudden, towards Night he was told, that *Oldcaſtle* was in St. *Giles*'s with twenty Thouſand *Lollards*. It was further ſaid, that their Deſign was to kill the King, the Princes his Brothers, and all the Lords *Spiritual* and *Temporal* who were not their Friends. Certainly it was very unlikely that twenty Thouſand Men ſhould have been able to come together at the very Gates of *London*, without any Body's having any notice of it. It was ſtill more improbable that *Oldcaſtle*, an old experienced Warrior, ſhould make choice of St. *Giles*'s *Fields*, overgrown as they were with Buſhes and Shrubs, for the Rendezvous of his Troops. Nevertheleſs the News was backed with ſo many Circumſtances, that the King could not help giving Credit to the Report. He immediately drew together what armed Men he could, and gave Orders that the Gates of *London* ſhould be kept ſhut, leſt the *Mob* ſhould go out and aſſiſt the Rebels. As he was naturally very bold and couragious, he reſolved to attack them before they ſhould have taken all their Meaſures. He arrived upon the Place about Mid-night, and finding about fourſcore or a hundred Perſons, fell upon them. There were about a Score killed, and Sixty taken. Unhappily for them, they had brought Arms with them for their Defence, in Caſe they were ſet upon by their Perſecutors. In all Appearance, it was this that helped to convince

1414.

The King is told 20000 of them were met together.

He believes it.

He goes to attack them.

1414. *The Depoſitions of ſome* Lollards.

vince the King they had ſome ill Deſign. This alone however would not have been capable of perſwading him that they had really conſpired againſt him, if among thoſe that were taken, there had not been ſome that, gained by Promiſes, or awed by Threats, confeſſed whatever their Enemies had a Mind they ſhould. They ſaid their Intent was to deſtroy the King, and the Princes his Brothers, with moſt of the Lords *Spiritual* and *Temporal*; in hopes the Confuſion which would enſue in the Kingdom, would prove favourable to their *Religion*. Some depoſed, that after the Murder of the King and Princes, they intended to make *Oldcaſtle* Regent of the Kingdom, and that the Conſpiracy had been carried on under the Direction of that Lord. The Truth is, one can hardly conceive how a Prince ſo judicious as *Henry*, could ſuffer himſelf to be impoſed upon by ſo groſs a Fiction. Indeed had he found twenty Thouſand Men in Arms in St. *Giles*'s, as they would have made him believe, that would have been a ſtrong Evidence. But that Fourſcore or a Hundred Men, among whom there was not a ſingle Perſon of any Rank, ſhould have formed ſuch a Project, is extremely improbable. Beſides, he himſelf knew Sir *John Oldcaſtle* to be a Man of Senſe, and yet nothing was more fooliſh and extravagant than the Project fathered upon him; a Project which they ſuppoſed he was to put in Execution with a handful of Men, without being preſent himſelf, and without any one's knowing where he was, or his having appointed any other Leader in his Room. But however, the King thought him guilty, and in that Belief ſet a Thouſand Marks upon his Head, with a Promiſe of perpetual Exemption from Taxes to any Town that ſhould deliver him up. Nevertheleſs it is probable that in Time the King perceived the Falſehood of this Imputation, and what makes me think ſo is this. In the firſt Place, what ſtrict Inquiry ſo ever might be made over all the Kingdom, to diſcover the Accomplices of this pretended Conſpiracy, not a ſingle Perſon could be found beſides thoſe taken upon the Spot. And yet it is manifeſt, that in order to execute a Deſign of that Nature, and make it turn to Account,

Act. Pub. IX. 119.

ibid. p. 89.

count, Fourſcore or a Hundred Perſons of no great Diſtinction, were not ſufficient. In the next Place, even of thoſe that were taken at St. *Giles*'s, few were executed forthwith, whilſt the Prejudice againſt them was in its full Force. The King pardoned all the reſt. Thirdly, we find in the *Collection of Publick Acts*, not only an *Act of Indemnity* for all the *Lollards*, but likewiſe ſeveral private *Pardons* granted to ſome that were condemned, though they had conſtantly denied the Fact. It would not be very ſtrange that the King ſhould have pardoned Criminals that confeſſed themſelves Guilty: but it is unuſual with Sovereigns to forgive ſuch a Crime in obſtinate Offenders, who render themſelves unworthy of a Pardon, by denying what their *Sentence* ſuppoſes they have been convicted of. I add further, that Clemency was not *Henry*'s favourite Virtue; on the contrary he leaned very much to the Side of Severity, as will appear by ſeveral Inſtances in his Reign. What likelihood then was there that he ſhould be pleaſed to pardon Perſons convicted of having intended to murder him, together with all the Royal Family and great Men of the Kingdom, at the very Time they obſtinately perſiſted in denying the Fact for which they were condemned, had he really believed them guilty? Laſtly, the Principles of the *Lollards* were very far from allowing ſuch Barbarities. It is therefore more than probable, that this Impeachment was forged, in order to render the *Lollards* odious to the King, to the End his Licenſe might be obtained for their Perſecution, and that the King himſelf was convinced of its Falſehood, after his firſt Prejudice came to be removed. It muſt however be confeſſed, that in all the *Pardons* he granted upon this Score, he always ſuppoſed the Crime to be proved. But in order to a Pardon, it was neceſſary to take the Crime for granted. 1414. ibid. p. 70. p. 190.

In *February* 1414, *Thomas Arundel* Archbiſhop of *Canterbury* went to give an Account to God for all the Innocent Blood he had cauſed to be ſhed. *Henry Chicheley* Biſhop of St. *David*'s was put in his Room. But the *Lollards* got nothing by this Change, he being no leſs their Enemy than his Predeceſſor. *Death of Archbiſhop* Arundel. Chicheley *ſucceeds.*

I left

1414. Henry *demands the re-establishment of the Treaty of* Bretigny. Act. Pub. IX. 102, 103.

I left the Archbishop of *Bourges* and *D' Albret* the Constable at *London*, where they quickly discovered the King's Intentions. The Commissioners which treated with them, demanded in *Henry*'s Name, whatever had been taken from *England* since the Treaty of *Bretigny*. The *French* Ambassadors replied, They had no manner of Instructions upon that Head. They proposed however, as of their own Heads, a proper Means, in their Opinion, to procure a Peace between the two Kings. This was a Match between the King of *England*, and *Catharine* the youngest of *Charles* IV's Daughters. This Princess had four Sisters, one of whom was a Nun, and the other three married: So that she was the only one that could be offered to *Henry*. This Proposal was not wholly rejected. Though *Henry* should insist upon the Restitution he demanded, as being the speediest and most effectual Way to settle a lasting Peace, what the *French* Ambassadors offered him, not being inconsistent with the Restitution, he thought he might accept of the Offer without doing himself any Prejudice. But as the Ambassadors had not sufficient *Powers* to treat about this Affair, it was only agreed that the Truce should be prolonged to the 2d of *February* 1415.

Offer of one of Charles's *Daughters to* Henry.

Henry *consents to it.*

ibid. p. 91.

Truce prolonged, January.

Upon the Departure of the *French* Ambassadors, *Henry* sent Five into *France*, to carry on the Negotiation begun at *London*, concerning the Restitution and Marriage. The Ambassadors were impowered to promise in the King's Name, that he would not engage in any other Marriage-Treaty till the 15th of *May*. They might even prolong that Term if they thought proper.

Henry *sends Ambassadors to* France. p. 103.

The Court of *France* not thinking the *Powers* of these Ambassadors sufficient, *Charles* wrote to *Henry*, that in Case he would send Ambassadors with fuller *Powers*, he would willingly treat with them. Upon this Letter *Henry* dispatched Five more, all eminent for their Birth and High-Posts, namely, the Bishop of *Norwich*, the Earls of *Dorset*, *Warwick*, *Salisbury*, and the Lord *Grey*.

Another Embassy. ibid. p. 132.

These Ambassadors entered immediately into a Conference with King *Charles*'s Commissioners, the Chief of whom was the Duke of *Berry* his Uncle. They demand-

Henry's *Demands*, p. 203.

ed

ed at firſt the whole Kingdom of *France* for their Maſter, by Virtue of his Right, as Heir of *Edward* III. But after a ſhort Pauſe, they added, that being very ſenſible their Demand might cauſe ſome Diſguſt, they would make another, with a *Proteſtation* however that it ſhould be without any Prejudice to the Right of their Sovereign. Then they limited their Demands to the following Articles : 1414.

I. *Normandy*, *Anjou*, *Maine*, and *Touraine*, in full *Sovereignty*.

II. The Right of *Sovereignty* over the Earldom of *Flanders*, and Dutchy of *Bretagne*.

III. Whatever *France* held in *Guienne*.

IV. All in General that had been given up to *Edward* III, by the Treaty of *Bretagny*.

V. The whole Country poſſeſſed by *France* between the *Somme* and *Gravelin*.

VI. Laſtly, That all thoſe Countries ſhould be made over to the King of *England* in full Sovereignty, to hold them as *Neighbour*, and not as *Vaſſal* of the Crown of *France*.

Before an Anſwer was returned to theſe Demands, the Duke of *Berry* earneſtly preſſed the Ambaſſadors to begin with the Negotiation of the Marriage, affirming it was the proper Means to ſettle a ſolid and laſting Peace between the two Kingdoms. He even tendered a very conſiderable Dowry for the Princeſs *Catharine*; but the *Engliſh* Ambaſſadors would conſider the Match only as an Appendix, and not as the Foundation of the Peace. For this Reaſon, they inſiſted upon ſettling the Terms of the Peace firſt, before the Marriage ſhould be meddled with. In fine, after many Diſputes on both Sides, the *Engliſh* Ambaſſadors brought down their Demands to the three following Articles, to which they required a poſitive Anſwer, before any other Affairs ſhould be taken in Hand.

1414.

I. They demanded whatever had been given up to *England* by the *Great Peace*, that is, by the Treaty of *Bretigny*.

II. One Half of *Provence*, with the Earldoms of *Beaufort* and *Nogent*.

III. The six Hundred Thousand Crowns which remained unpaid of King *John*'s Ransom.

As for the Match, they roundly affirmed, that the King their Master would never marry the Princess *Catharine*, unless he should be sure of a firm and lasting Peace with King *Charles*. That besides, as the Offers hitherto made him were very inconsiderable, they had no *Power* to treat about that Matter. That therefore it would not only be to no Purpose to talk of the Marriage; but moreover they durst not meddle with that Point before the rest of the Articles were all agreed upon. They added however, that in hopes more reasonable Offers would be made, they were willing to speak their Thoughts, that no less could be offered with the Princess than two Millions of Gold-Crowns.

Some Days after the Duke of *Berry* delivered them a Writing, containing the Offers *France* was willing to make in order to attain to a Peace, with the Answers to their Demands, namely;

I. That the King of *France* offered *Agenois*, *Basadois*, *Auch* in part, *Perigord*, *Escarre*, *Oleron*, *Bigorre*, *Saintonge* beyond the *Charente*, *Quercy*, (*Montauban* excepted) with all the Country between the *Tarn* and the *Aveiron*, *Angoumois* and *Rovergne*.

II. That the King could not dispose of *Provence*, since it was not in his Possession, and since he had not contributed to the putting it in the Hands of the present Possessors.

III. That seeing for the sake of Peace he was willing to give up so many fine and rich Provinces which he lawfully held, the King of *England* ought to be contented with these Offers.

IV.

IV. As for the Match, that although the *Dowry* of a Daughter of *France* was fixed to a much leſs Sum than he had already offered, he would on the Score of Peace, raiſe it to ſix Hundred Thouſand Crowns. 1414.

Theſe Demands and Anſwers were the Subject of ſeveral Conferences, which laſted many Days, but of which it would be tedious to relate the Particulars. It will be ſufficient to obſerve, that the Ambaſſadors of *England* reduced at length all their Demands to the *Treaty of Bretigny*, and to a Million of Crowns for the Princeſs's Portion. But as the *French* ſtill thought that Sum exorbitant, the *Engliſh* gave to underſtand, they could lower it, on Condition, that in Caſe two Sons ſhould come of this Marriage, the youngeſt ſhould have *Montrevil* and *Ponthieu* in full Sovereignty. But the *French* returned no Anſwer to this, and the Conferences ended *March* 13th, 1414.

The Duke of Burgundy *is driven to great ſtraits.*

Whilſt this Affair was negotiating at *Paris*, the Enemies of the Duke of *Bargundy* continued to ſtir up King *Charles* againſt him, inſomuch as looking upon him as an Enemy to his Perſon and Government, he reſolved to make War upon him. To that end, having determined to command his Army in Perſon, he went and took the *Oriflamb* [or Royal Standard of *France*] at St. *Denis*; after which he became Maſter of *Soiſſons* and *Campiegne*, which the Duke had ſeized. The Duke of *Burgundy* was then little able to withſtand him, becauſe the *Flemings* refuſed to ſerve him againſt *France*: The which gave the Duke of *Bourbon* alſo an Opportunity of taking *Bapaume*. They did not intend to ſtop there; but luckily for him, the King was ſeized with a freſh Fit of Lunacy. This Accident afforded the Duke Time to put a ſtrong Garriſon into *Arras*.

Mezerai. Charles *wars againſt him, and falls into one of his Fits.*

The Dauphin *is* Regent.

King *Charles* being unable to act, the *Dauphin* his Son took upon him the Adminiſtration, no Body having a Right to diſpute it with him. Whether that Prince had ſome Reaſon to be diſpleaſed with the Duke of *Burgundy*, or whether he did not care to be Friends with him, ſince he ſtood no longer in need of him, he carried the King his Father before *Arras*, to which he intended to lay Siege:

1414. but he was too late. The Place had been ſo well taken Care of, that it was a hard Task to carry it. The Difficulties of the Siege, the Sollicitations of the Counteſs of *Hainault* Siſter of the Duke of *Burgundy*, and perhaps the private Intereſts of the *Dauphin*, cauſed a Peace to be granted to the Duke about the End of *September*; but it was however upon hard Terms. By the Peace the King granted the Duke a *Pardon*, in which five Hundred of his Adherents were excepted. It was alſo agreed, that all his Friends ſhould remove at a Diſtance from Court, and that he himſelf was not to come there, unleſs ſent for, with the Conſent of the *Council*, and by Letters under the *Great Seal*. Finally, that the King's Banners ſhould be kept upon the Walls of *Arras*.

He grants the Duke a Peace.

Several Negotiations of the Duke of Burgundy *with* Henry. Act. Pub. IX. 136--138.

During the Preparations in *France* for this War, the Duke of *Burgundy* being at a very great Loſs, by Reaſon of the Obſtinacy of the *Flemings*, had ſent into *England* the Provoſt of St. *Donas* to renew the Treaty begun with *Henry*. This *Envoy* had Power not only to conclude an Alliance between the King and Duke, but alſo to treat about the King's Marriage with the Princeſs *Catharine*. In all appearance, the Duke demanded the King's Aſſiſtance to put him in Poſſeſſion of the Government of the Kingdom of *France*; which done, he undertook to conclude the intended Marriage to the Satisfaction of his Benefactor. This diſcovers what were from that Time the Deſigns of that Prince. So that it is not without Grounds that *Mezerai* ſaid, the Arms of the *Engliſh* were drawn into *France* by the Betrayers of their Country. The Peace of *Arras* put a ſtop for ſome Time to this Negotiation.

Henry *tries to take Advantage of the Trouble in* France.

Mean while *Henry* ſtill continued in the Reſolution of improving the Advantages which the Situation of Affairs in *France* gave him a Proſpect of. He perceived that at the moſt he ſhould have to deal but with half the Forces of the Kingdom, and that the other half would even make a Diverſion in his Favour. Beſides, he ſaw he was likely to conclude very ſhortly with the Duke of *Burgundy* an Alliance which could not but turn to his Advantage. And therefore without any further Delay, he had called a Parliament

He calls a Parliament at Leiceſter.

liament at *Leiceſter* for the 30th of *April*, to the end he might get their Approbation of his Deſign, and obtain ſuch *Aids* as were neceſſary to enable him to go through with ſo great an Undertaking. It muſt be obſerved that the *Writs* were iſſued in *March*, whilſt the Provoſt of St. *Donas* was at *London*. 1414.

The Parliament being met, the *Clergy*, ever incenſed againſt the *Lollards*, got their Emiſſaries to move the reviving and even increaſing the Rigor of the *Statutes* againſt *Hereticks*. But for this once their Animoſity had like to have made them over-ſhoot the Mark. The Project the *Commons* had formed in the late Reign againſt the *Eccleſiaſticks*, had twice miſcarried by the exceeding Forwardneſs *Wickliff*'s Followers had ſhown in that Buſineſs. The *Clergy* taking Advantage of their Animoſity, had given the late King to underſtand, that a Motion of that Nature could not but come from the *Hereticks* with whom the *Houſe of Commons* abounded, and that it was with the Downfall of the *Clergy* that the Deſtruction of the *Catholick Religion* was to begin. For this Reaſon, *Henry* IV had ſtrongly oppoſed it, and with that Haughtineſs as gave great Offence to the *Commons*. Wherefore, though the *Members* that were no Friends to *Wickliff's Doctrine* joined in the Project, yet they had not been able to hinder the too great Zeal of the *Lollards* from laying an inſurmountable Obſtacle in its Way. Nevertheleſs in ſpite of the ill Succeſs it had hitherto met with, they who had formed it had not entirely dropped it. They had only reſolved to take another Courſe, that the Rock upon which it had twice ſplit, might be avoided. To that End, when a Motion was made in the *Houſe of Commons* to enact new *Statutes* againſt the *Lollards*, they who had before been againſt it, cloſed with it without any Sollicitation. The *Clergy* appeared exceedingly well pleaſed. The *Pulpits* every where reſounded with the Praiſes of the preſent Parliament. It was not like that of 1404, *the unlearned Parliament*, but the wiſeſt and moſt zealous for the *Church* that had ever ſat ſince the Beginning of the Monarchy. The Truth is, nothing could be done more conformable to the *Clergy*'s Deſires than the

Statutes againſt the Lollards.

Act

1414. *Act* which passed on this Occasion. It was enacted, That all the Magistrates of the Kingdom, from the Lord *Chancellor* down to the meanest *Officer*, should take an Oath to do their utmost to suppress *Heretick*s, and assist the Bishops in the Execution of this good Design. This *Act* was no sooner passed, but a violent Persecution broke out against the *Lollards*. Several were burnt alive. Some left the Kingdom, and others abjured their Religion, to escape the Torments prepared for them.

The Commons petition the King to seize the Church-Lands.

But in a little Time, the *Scene* was changed, with respect to the *Clergy*. They did not dream that the very Persons who had just appeared so zealous for the *Church*, would ever think of pulling it down; for that was the Idea they gave of the Project of divesting the *Ecclesiasticks* of the Riches they enjoyed. And yet the same *Commons*, who in so authentick a Way had lately screened themselves from all Suspicion of *Heresy*, willing to comply with the King's Demand of a *Subsidy*, presented to him an Address, praying him to seize upon the Estates of the *Clergy*. This Address was grounded upon the same Considerations that had been presented to the late King upon the same Score. It was maintained, that the Revenues of the *Church* would be much better laid out in providing for such a Number of *Nobles*, *Colleges*, and *Hospitals*. This was a stunning Blow to the *Clergy*, and the more because after the *Act* lately passed, and which was actually put in Execution, there was not the least Room left to represent the *Commons* as *Heretical* or Abettors of *Heresy*.

The King seems to approve of the Petition.

The King himself being upon the Point of beginning an expensive War, believed or feigned to believe, that there was a Necessity to do what the *House of Commons* desired. As his Revenues would of Course be greatly increased by it, that Consideration did not a little bias him to hearken to so advantagious a *Motion*.

The Clergy seek to divert the Blow.

The *Clergy* perceiving their Ruin was inevitable, unless some Remedy was found against the Evil which hung over their Heads, met togethet to consult about the Means to prevent, or at least to weaken the Blow as much as possible. After divers Debates upon a Matter of that Importance

tance to them, they came to theſe two Reſolutions. The First was, to give up ſome Part of their Lands to the King, in order to ſave the reſt. The Second, to divert the King's Thoughts from Affairs at Home, by engaging him in a foreign War, which might wholly engroſs him. The frequent ſending Ambaſſadors from *Paris* to *London*, and from *London* to *Paris*, making them conclude that the King was mediating ſome Enterprize againſt *France*, they reſolved to ſtir him up to the utmoſt of their Power, to carry War into that Kingdom. Purſuant to theſe Schemes, the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, who undertook to be the Spokeſman, told him, "That the *Motion* of the *Houſe of Commons*, "which ſeemed advantagious to the *State*, was not ſo in "reality: *That* in Caſe their Project was executed, the "*Church*'s Revenues would be put to Uſes which the "King in particular would reap no Benefit from, but on "the contrary, might in Time be extremely prejudicial to "the Sovereign: *That* by augmenting the Number and "Riches of the *Nobility*, as was intended, at the ſame "Time would be enlarged a *Power* which ever ſince the "Foundation of the Monarchy, had all along oppoſed "the Sovereigns, and even hurled ſome of them down the "Precipice: *That* the Founding of *Hoſpitals* would ſerve "only to encourage People in Sloth and Idleneſs, when "they ſhould ſee ſo many *Houſes* ready to receive them, "without being obliged to work; but *that* the *Clergy*, "more ſincerely affected to the King than the *Houſe of* "*Commons*, were very willing to give him upon this Oc-"caſion a ſenſible Proof of their Zeal and Affection for "his Perſon, by delivering up the *Alien Priories*, which "being in Number one Hundred and Ten, were poſſeſſed "of Lands which would conſiderably increaſe the Re-"venue of the Crown: *That* all the Eſtates of theſe *Hou-*"*ſes* would be entirely his; whereas if the Project of the "*Commons* took Effect, he would be no Gainer by it." Whether the King ſuffered himſelf to be perſwaded by theſe Arguments, or whether he thought it was always the beſt way to take what the *Clergy* offered of their own Accord, he accepted of the Propoſal. Whereupon the Lands of

1414. *They come to two Reſolutions.*

They offer the King the Lands of the Alien Priories.

He accepts of the Offer. Act. Pub. IX. 280.

1414. of these *Priories* were given him by *Act of Parliament*, without the *Clergy*'s opposing it.

Mean while the *Clergy* being apprehensive that sooner or later the King would have a mind to what the *Commons* had offered him, seriously thought of putting in Execution the other Part of their Scheme. To that purpose the Archbishop took upon him to endeavour to induce the King to make War upon *France*. The King's warlike Temper, his stirring of late with regard to the Affairs of *France*, and the universal Desire of the whole Kingdom, put him in Hopes that his Design would be crowned with Success. Having therefore prepared a Speech proper to produce that Effect, he took occasion to speak it in Parliament, before the King himself.

He began with insinuating Praises of the King's Virtues, saying, he was worthy to wear not the Crown of *England* only, but that of the whole World. Then addressing himself to the King, he represented to him, "That it by no "Means redounded to his Glory, to leave the King of *France* "in the peaceable Enjoyment of *Normandy*, *Anjou*, *Tourain*, "*Maine*, and Part of *Guienne*, all these Provinces having "been wrested from the Kings of *England* by pure Vio- "lence, and on frivolous Pretences. That it was not only "to these Countries that he had an indisputable Right, but "might also very justly lay Claim to the whole Kingdom "of *France*, as Heir and Successor of *Edward* III. Then "he urged at length the Reasons which have been related "upon this Point, in the Reign of *Edward*. He talked "of the *Salick Law* as a Chimera built upon no good Foun- "dation, and which, being repugnant to the *Law of Na- "ture*, could not be admitted, supposing it was as real as "it was imaginary. He asserted, that *Pepin the Short*, "who dispossessed the Line of *Meroveus*, claimed the Crown "as Heir to *Blithilda*, Daughter of *Clothaire* I; and that "*Hugh Capet* founded his Title upon his being descended "from a Daughter of *Lewis le Debonnaire*. He added, "that these Claims, which would have been ridiculous, if "the *Salick Law* had been in force ever since *Pharamond*, "were clear Evidences that it was then unknown. That

"be-

" beſides, ſuch a Law would be contrary to the Law of 1414.
" God himſelf, who diſpoſed in quite another Manner of Numb. 27.
" the Inheritance of *Zelophehad*, in favour of his Daugh-
" ters. That the famous *French Civilians* had confeſſed,
" that the *Salick Law* was a Contradiction both to the Law
" of *God* and *Nature* (*a*). In fine, that the glorious Suc-
" ceſs with which God had crowned the Arms of *Edward*
" III, plainly ſhowed that God approved not of that pre-
" tended Law. That if afterwards he permitted that Mo-
" narch and the Prince of *Wales* his Son to end their
" Days before they were able to repair the Loſſes they
" had ſuſtained in *France*, nothing can be inferred from
" thence againſt the Juſtice of their Claims. That by his
" Judgments he was pleaſed to puniſh the Sins of the *Engliſh*
" Nation, but never intended to deprive the Heirs and Suc-
" ceſſors of *Edward* of their juſt Rights to the Crown of
" *France*. That the Interruption of the Proſecution of theſe
" Rights, occaſioned by the Slothfulneſs of *Richard* II,
" and the Troubles of the late Reign, could not be conſi-
" dered as an entire Deſiſting. That *England* enjoying at
" preſent a happy Tranquillity under the Government of
" a Prince endowed with ſo many excellent Qualities,
" the relinquiſhing of theſe juſt Pretenſions would be run-
" ning counter to all the Rules of Prudence and Politicks.
" That moreover, the Poſture of Affairs in *France* pre-
" ſented an Opportunity which in vain would be ſought
" hereafter. Finally, he exhorted the King to exerciſe the
" Talents Heaven had bleſſed him with, and not to remain
" in an ignoble State of Inactivity, but prepare, without
" dreading the Difficulties, for ſo juſt and glorious a Con-
" queſt, which would render him the greateſt Potentate in
" *Europe*. He cloſed his Speech with ſaying, that if the
" King would be pleaſed to take in hand ſo noble an Un-
" dertaking, the *Clergy* would give him a larger *Subſidy* than
" they had ever granted to any of his Anceſtors, and that

(*a*) The Archbiſhop, or he that made this Speech, was ignorant doubtleſs that without the *Salick Law Edward* III. could have no manner of Claim to the Crown of *France*. Upon which ſee the Reign of *Edward* III.

1414. " he did not question but his *Lay*-Subjects would do the " same".

Most Historians pretend that this Speech had such a sudden and wonderful Effect, that *Henry* immediately resolved to prosecute his Claim to the Crown of *France*: But the Negotiations which had been set on foot before upon this Head, and of which I have given an Account, plainly make appear, that this Resolution was already taken, and that the Business at present was to get the Parliament to fall into the same Sentiments. To this the Archbishop's Speech perhaps greatly contributed: At least, it is certain that the *Commons* before they broke up approved of the Design, and granted the King a *Subsidy* of Three Hundred Thousand Marks to begin with. There is some likelihood that upon this Occasion the Archbishop acted in Concert with the King, either to sound the Mind of the *Commons*, or to stir them up to a War. Be that as it will, this Resolution perfectly corresponding with the *Clergy*'s Project, it is no wonder the Archbishop should so strongly urge the Necessity of a War. The Truth is, this Affair was no sooner resolved in Parliament, but the *Bill* intended against the *Clergy* fell of its own accord, Peoples Minds being otherwise taken up.

The War against France *resolved, and a Subsidy granted the King.*

All the Rest of this Year was spent in the continual going and coming of Ambassadors to *London* or *Paris*. *France* would fain have *Henry*'s Marriage with the Princess *Catharine* to be an equivalent for the greatest Part of the Demands of *England*. This was the Project that Court had formed, imagining that *Henry* might be decoyed by that Lure. *Henry*, for his Part, rejected not the Proposal, provided the Marriage was considered only as a Consequence of the Peace, or at least such Conditions were annexed to it, as should procure him the Restitution of the Provinces lost since the *Treaty of Bretigny*. He made as if he suffered himself to be drove off to a certain Degree. He sent *Power* upon *Power* to his Ambassadors to prolong the Time of the Ingagement he had entered into upon that Score. But when the Match was proposed, the same Ambassadors refused to meddle with it till the Terms of the Peace were first

Continuation of the Negotiations between France *and* England.

first agreed upon. This was the Subject of all the Negotiations. Mean while, it is certain that both Sides had no other View but to gain Time. *Henry* was too wise not to perceive that *France* would never comply with his Demands before she had received some fatal Blow. On the other Hand, as there had not been for a good while any considerable Alteration in *England*, besides the Accession of a new King to the Crown, the Court of *France* could not believe that the *English* were in a Condition to support the War they so loudly threatned. So that the sole View of the *French* was to amuse *Henry* till Time should cause some Turn in the Affairs of either Kingdom. *Henry* went on gradually, without going out of his way, there being nothing at Home capable of giving him any Interruption. *France*, on the contrary, was full of Dissentions. Those at the Helm took more care to keep their Ground against the opposite Party, than to prevent the Designs of the King of *England*. It was even next to impossible that they should be able to take just Measures at such a Juncture. The *Dauphin*, who had the Management of Affairs, was a Prince whose Head was more Hot than Able. But granting his Capacity had been greater, what could he have done, hemmed in as he was by two Factions which divided the Kingdom, and whereof neither was really attached to his Interests? Besides, neither the *Dauphin* nor the *Orleans*-Faction could be persuaded, that after an Intermission of two whole Reigns, the King of *England* would even think in good earnest of asserting his Right to the Crown of *France*. We find in the *English* History, that after *Henry* had sent the first Time to demand the Crown of *France*, the *Dauphin*, in Derision of his Youth, sent him for a Present a Tun of *Tennis-Balls*. His Intent no doubt was to let him know that he thought him fitter to play at *Tennis* than manage Arms *: But it was not long before he was of another Opinion. Such was the Disposition of the Court of

1414.

The Disadvantages France *lay under.*

The Dauphin's scornful Present to Henry.

* *Henry* sent him back word, he would repay him with *Balls* of greater Force, whose Strokes the strongest Gates of *Paris* should not be Rackets sufficient to rebound.

1414. *France*, whilſt *Henry* was only engroſſed in making Preparations neceſſary to accompliſh his Deſigns.

France *begins to take other Meaſures.*

The Reſolution taken by the Parliament of *Leiceſter* opened the Eyes of thoſe who governed *France*. They were ſenſible at length that *Henry* was in good Earneſt, and it was not without ſome Confuſion, that they perceived he had made uſe, to over-reach them, of the ſame Means they had practiſed themſelves to amuſe him. The Negotiations about the Marriage, and the frequent prolonging the Ingagement he had voluntarily entered into, were only a Decoy he uſed to hinder *France* from being provided for her Defenſe. This is what plainly enough appears by the Parliament's Reſolve. Then it was that *Charles*'s or the *Dauphin*'s Council, thought it high time to think ſeriouſly of giving *Henry* ſome Satisfaction. To that Purpoſe, Secretary *Col* was diſpatched to him with freſh Offers, but which were far below his Claims. Before the meeting of the Parliament of *Leiceſter*, *Henry* had not, as one may ſay, demanded the whole Kingdom of *France* but by the By, and to ſerve as a Foundation for his other Pretenſions. But when he found himſelf backed by his Parliament, he talked at a much higher Rate, and ſeemed unwilling to be ſatisfied with what he had demanded at firſt. However, to amuſe *France*, he all along pretended to deſire that the Affair might be determined by a Negotiation. To that end, he readily conſented that the Marriage ſhould be treated about, and the Term of his Ingagement prolonged to the 15th of *Auguſt*, impowering his Ambaſſadors to put it off as much longer as they ſhould judge proper. But all this made him not delay or interrupt his Preparations for War.

Act. Pub. IX. 139.

Ibid. 140, 141.

Mean while the Negotiation with the Duke of *Burgundy* ſtill went on, whilſt that Prince was hard preſſed by his Enemies. In the Month of *June*, *Henry* ſent to him *Philip Morgan*, a Perſon of great Abilities, whom he always employed in Negotiations of the greateſt Importance. *Morgan*'s publick *Inſtructions* were only to renew the Truce with the *Flemings*. But the Choice of that Ambaſſador, and the coming of *Copin de la Vieuville* into *England* from the Duke, together with the preſent Juncture of Time, are plain

Henry *continues his Negotiations with the Duke of* Burgundy. p. 179.

plain Evidences enough that theſe Goings and Comings were not purely to prolong a Truce of Commerce, wherein there was no great Difficulty. Beſides, the Diſcovery we ſhall ſee hereafter, will make appear what was then in the Duke of *Burgundy*'s Head. The gaining of that Prince to his Intereſts was a material Point to *Henry*. A fairer Opportunity could not offer, ſince it was at a Time when the Court of *France* ſhowed no manner of Regard for him. But he boggled, it ſeems, at making ſo extraordinary a Step, and was unwilling to have recourſe to *Henry* without an abſolute Neceſſity. In all theſe Negotiations were ſpent the Year 1414. 1414.

In the Beginning of the next Year, *Henry* conſented to the prolonging the Truce to the 1ſt of *May*. Mean while the Court of *France*, alarmed at the great Preparations carrying on in *England*, ſent thither again the Archbiſhop of *Bourges*, with eleven more Ambaſſadors. Apparently the Archbiſhop made ſome new Offer to *Henry*, but which was not conſiderable enough to content him: All he could obtain was, the further prolonging the Truce to the 8th of *June*. 1415. Act. Pub. IX. p. 197. p. 219.

Whilſt theſe Ambaſſadors were at *London*, the King aſſembled the Lords *Spiritual* and *Temporal*, at leaſt as many as were at hand. When they were met, he acquainted them by the Biſhop of *Wincheſter* his Uncle, and Lord *Chancellor*, with his Reſolution of going in Perſon, and carrying War into *France*, in order to recover the Inheritance of his Anceſtors. This Declaration ſeemed needleſs, ſeeing the great Men had been ſufficiently informed of his Deſign. But apparently, his Intent was to oblige by that Means the *French* Ambaſſadors to diſcover at once what they had to propoſe to him, he imagining that they ſtill refrained to let him know the utmoſt they were to offer. The preſent Poſture of Affairs in *France* made him hope they would propoſe the putting Things upon the Foot of the *Treaty of Bretigny*. If ſo, he would doubtleſs have been ſatisfied with ſo conſiderable an Advantage, though he had for ſome Time laid claim to the whole Kingdom of *France*. The Archbiſhop of *Bourges* no longer queſtioning the King's Deſigns,

The Truce prolonged again. p. 225.

Henry *tells the Lords he is reſolved to go to* France. p. 222.

The Truce prolonged again. p. 262. p. 282.

1415. Designs, acquainted him, that he wanted to go to *France* for fresh *Instructions*; upon which *Henry* consented the Truce should be further prolonged to the 15th of *July*. The same Prelate being returned to *England* a few Days before the Expiration of the Truce, added something more to the former Offers; but it was to no purpose. Nothing was capable of satisfying *Henry* but the *Treaty of Bretigny*. The Archbishop demanded his Answer in writing, and the King ordered it to be given him immediately. Some add, that the Archbishop seeing there was nothing to be done, fell to reproaching the King, that not content with a Crown which the King his Father had unjustly wrested from *Richard* II, he had a mind to invade that of *France* too: but he would find it a more difficult Task than he imagined.

The Archbishop of Bourges's *bold Words to the King.*

Every Thing being ready, *Henry* ordered all his Troops to repair forthwith to *Southampton*, where they were to embark, he himself going before to manage Matters as the Troops and Transports arrived. Whilst he was thus busied in the Imbarkation, he gave fresh *Powers* to *Philip Morgan*, to conclude a Treaty of Alliance with the Duke of *Burgundy*. This makes appear, that the Duke, who was still at the Court of *France*, held private Intelligence with *Henry*, and in all appearance contributed very much to the ingaging him in this Undertaking. Their Treaty however was not concluded till two Years after.

Henry *imbarks his Troops, and continues his Negotiation with the Duke of* Burgundy.

Henry was preparing to set out about the latter End of *July*, or the Beginning of *August*. The greatest Part of his Troops were already embarked, when notice was given him of a Conspiracy against his Person, formed by such as he thought he had the least Reason to suspect. If we may believe the *English* Historians, the Court of *France* dreading the Issue of the War, had employed vast Sums of Money to bribe some Persons to kill the King. They made these Sums amount to a Million of *French Livres*, the which is not to be thought strange, considering the Quality of the Persons concerned in the Plot; namely, *Richard* Earl of *Cambridge*, Brother of the Duke of *York*; *Henry Scroop* Lord Treasurer, who commonly lay in the same Room

A Plot against the King discovered.

Room with the King; and *Thomas Grey* Earl of *Northumberland*, and Privy-Counſellor *. It is not certain however, that they had a Deſign upon the King's Life: At leaſt the Earl of *Cambridge*'s Confeſſion, extant in *the Collection of Publick Acts*, contains nothing like it. It appears only, that they had conſpired to ſet the Earl of *March* at their Head, and conduct him where they hoped they ſhould be able to raiſe an Army, by making uſe of the Name of *Richard* II. as if he were ſtill living. That if they could not deceive the People by that Means which had already been ſo often practiſed, their Intent was to publiſh a *Manifeſto* in the Name of the Earl of *March*, inviting the People to reſtore that Prince to his Rights which were uſurped by *the Houſe of Lancaſter*. As they could not make uſe of the Earl of *March*'s Name, without having him in their Power, or at leaſt of their Side, they could not help letting him into the Plot. The Earl was at a great Loſs what to do when he was told the Secret. A Crown, which he believed belonged to him by Right, was well worth the Pains of running ſome Risk to obtain it. But on the other Hand, he was ſatisfied that the Conſpirators acted not from a Motive of Juſtice or Affection for his Perſon: Beſides, the Uncertainty of the Iſſue could not but diſhearten him. Mean while, he was preſſed very earneſtly to enter into the Conſpiracy. Not being able to reſolve immediately, he deſired him to conſider of ſo important an Affair; and it was with great Difficulty that they gave him the reſt of that Day. During that Interval, he made ſuch Reflections, as induced him to go and acquaint the King with the whole Matter. *Henry*, ſurpriſed at the News, forthwith ordered the Conſpirators to be apprehended, who confeſſing their Guilt, were condemned and executed. The Earls of *Cambridge* and *Northumberland*

1415.

Act. Pub. IX. 300.

The Authors puniſhed. P. 300.

* Though *Thomas Grey* is called here and by ſome of our Hiſtorians *Earl of Northumberland*, yet he could not be ſo, ſeeing *Henry Piercy*, Son of *Hotſpur*, was reſtored to that *Honour* in the 2d of *Henry* V. as appears by the *Parliament Rolls*, 2 *H.* V. *n.* 17. *Dugdale* ſays, this *Grey* was of the Family of Lord *Grey* of *Werk* in *Northumberland*. Vol. II. p. 449.

1415. *thumberland* were beheaded, and the Lord *Scroop* ſuffered the uſual Puniſhment of Traitors. This was as it were the firſt Spark of that Fire which conſumed in Proceſs of Time the *Two Houſes* of *Lancaſter* and *York*. As the Earl of *Cambridge* had married a Siſter of the Earl of *March*, it is very likely that he had engaged in the Plot, with a View to procure the Crown for *Richard* his Son, Heir apparent of that Earl, who had no Children.

Henry *ſets ſail.* This Affair having detained *Henry* at *Southampton* longer than he imagined, he could not ſail till the 18th or 19th of *Auguſt*. His Fleet conſiſted of Fifteen Hundred Tranſport Ships, on Board of which he had embarked Six Thouſand Men at Arms, and Twenty Thouſand Archers, making in all an Army of about Fifty Thouſand Men. He was attended by the Earls of *Dorſet*, *Kent*, *Cornwal*, *Salisbury*, *Huntington*, beſides a great Number of other Noblemen. On the 21ſt of *Auguſt* he landed his Troops at *Havre de Grace* in *Normandy*, and without Loſs of Time marched towards *Harfleur*, about nine Miles off. That Place was ſtrong and well-ſtored. Juſt before Four Hundred Men at Arms had been ſent thither, beſides abundance of Gentlemen of the Neighbourhood, who came of their own Accord. The Garriſon made a vigorous Defenſe, but however, in a little Time they were fain to capitulate, and promiſe to ſurrender the Place unleſs relieved within three Days. The Term being expired, and no Relief come, *Henry* took Poſſeſſion of the Town, and expelling the Inhabitants, planted an *Engliſh Colony* in their Room, as *Edward* III. had formerly done at *Calais*.

Lands at Havre de Grace.

Takes Harfleur, *and Peoples it with* Engliſh.

This Place being of the utmoſt Importance, *Henry* would not depart from thence till it was entirely repaired and put in a good State of Defenſe. Whilſt he was employed in this Work, he ſent a written Challenge to the *Dauphin*, offering to decide all their Differences by a ſingle Combat between them Two. In the King's Notion the whole Kingdom of *France* was at Stake in theſe Diſputes. If he directed himſelf to the *Dauphin*, it was on account of the King his Father's Diſtemper, which rendered him uncapable of ſuch a Challenge. But as it was not in the

Act. Pub. IX. 313.

the *Dauphin*'s Power to hazard in a ſingle Combat the Crown of *France*, which was not in his Poſſeſſion yet, *Henry* offered, in caſe he ſhould come off Conqueror, to let King *Charles* enjoy it during his Life. Moreover, he proteſted that this Propoſal came wholly from himſelf, without his Council, or any of the Royal Family having any Hand in it; and therefore he pretended it could bring no Prejudice to his own or his Succeſſors Rights. This Challenge was dated at his Town of *Harfleur*, *September* 16th, 1415. It does not appear that the *Dauphin* ſent any Anſwer to it. The Truth is, the Offer was too diſadvantagious on his Side, ſince he would have hazarded a Crown which his Father was in actual Poſſeſſion of, and which he was naturally one Day to inherit; whereas *Henry* would have run the Risk of bare Pretenſions only. 1415.

Ill State of the Engliſh *Army.*

The taking of *Harfleur* might have made *Henry* reſt ſatisfied with the Succeſs of his firſt Campaign, which he had begun a little too late, had not the ill State of his Army given him a great deal of Vexation. The *Flux*, which was got amongſt his Troops, had made and ſtill did make ſuch Ravage, that not above the fourth Part of his Army were in a Condition to bear Arms. This Diſtemper had not ſeized the common Soldiers only, but the moſt conſiderable Officers themſelves were not free from it. The Biſhop of *Norwich* and the Earl of *Suffolk* were already dead of it. The Duke of *Clarence* the King's Brother, the Earl of *Arundel*, and ſeveral other Officers of Diſtinction had been ſo dangerouſly ill of it, that they were obliged to return to *England*, in hopes of being cured there.

The French *draw together an Army.*

At the ſame Time *Henry* learned from all Hands that the *French* were drawing together their Forces with all ſpeed in order to give him Battle. Till the taking of *Harfleur* the Court of *France* it ſeems would not believe the King of *England* intended to wage War in good earneſt, and accordingly had made no Preparations for a Defence. But after the Loſs of ſo important a Place, King *Charles*'s Council eaſily perceived it was neceſſary to aſſemble all the Forces of the Kingdom, in order to put a Stop to the Progreſs of an Enemy, who began to be very formidable. The great

1415. Henry *resolves to retire to* Calais.

Armament *France* was preparing, the ill State of the *English* Army, and the Approach of Winter, obliged *Henry* to think of retreating. He might it seems have re-embarked at *Harfleur*. But whether he thought that would look too much like running away, or whether he foresaw not all the Obstacles he afterwards encountered, or for some other unknown Reason, he came to a Resolution to retire by Land to *Calais*.

Difficulties of the March.

The March he undertook was difficult, at a Season when the Rains began to make the Roads very bad. But it became much more so by Accidents which he did not expect. The *French* having foreseen, or been informed of his Design, had broke down in all haste the Bridges, and spoiled the Causey's which were in his Rout, and destroyed, or removed into the fortified Towns, the Provisions and Forrage that he might have met with in the Country. On the other Hand, the Constable *D' Albret*, with a Body of Troops which he had drawn together, whilst the rest were getting ready, continually harrassed the *English*, and constrained them to march close together, and to be always upon their Guard. All these Difficulties hindered them from going forward so speedily as would have been necessary in order to get out of the ill Pass they were in.

He is not able to pass the Somme.

Amidst all these Rubs in his Way, *Henry* marched along the *Somme*, in hopes of being able to pass that River at the Ford of *Blanquetaque*, as *Edward* III had done the Day before the Battle of *Crecy*. But when he came there, he found that Pass rendered impracticable by being drove full of sharp Stakes, and defended moreover by a Body of Troops posted on the other Side. He was extremely concerned to find he could not put his Project in Execution. He lay under a Necessity however, either of passing the *Somme*, or resolving to return to *Harfleur* through the very same Difficulties he had already been exposed to, and without knowing when he came there, how to maintain his Army. In this Extremity he determined to march along the River to its very Fountain-head, though by so doing, he went very far out of his Way: As he advanced, he every where found

He resolves to go to the Fountain-Head.

found the Bridges broken down, and the Fords guarded by Troops, intrenched on the other Side. 1415.

As in the preſent Caſe, there was no Remedy but Patience, *Henry* took all poſſible Care to inſpire his Troops with it, by bearing his ſhare of the Wants and Hardſhips they laboured under. It is eaſy to judge, that theſe Hardſhips were by no means proper to ſtop the Courſe of the Diſtemper they were afflicted with, but on the contrary, great Numbers fell ill in the March. In fine, to compleat his Misfortune, *Henry* had Advice that the King of *France* was come to *Roan*, and had ſent to the *Conſtable* fourteen Thouſand Men at Arms, with all the Princes and great Lords of the Kingdom, except the Dukes of *Berry* and *Burgundy*. The *Dauphin* was very deſirous of commanding the Army; but the King would not give him leave. The *Conſtable*, who had alſo drawn together abundance of other Troops, having received ſo ſtrong a Reinforcement, called a Council of War, wherein it was unanimouſly reſolved to give the *Engliſh* Battle. But as the *French* Generals thought themſelves ſure of Victory, conſidering the Superiority of their Numbers, they judged it beſt, inſtead of continuing to guard the *Somme*, to let the *Engliſh* Army paſs over, and to go and poſt themſelves in the way to *Calais*. This Reſolution being taken, they went and expected their Enemies in the Earldom of St. *Paul*, to the end they might draw them over the *Somme*, into a Place where they ſhould not be able to make a Retreat.

The Army ſuffers much in the March.

French Army reinforced.

They go and expect the Engliſh *in the Road to* Calais.

It is certain that by paſſing the River, *Henry* run into manifeſt Danger, ſince he had no other Courſe to take but to *conquer* or *dye*. It is true he might have turned back to *Harfleur*; but I cannot tell whether that was leſs hazardous, conſidering the Difficulties he muſt have encountered, and which he had not without infinite Pain and Trouble ſurmounted. Wherefore it is a Queſtion which ſeems to me hard to be decided, whether *Fighting* was more to be dreaded than *Retreating*. Be that as it will, it is to be preſumed that he choſe what to him appeared the leaſt hazardous, by continuing his March along the *Somme*, with a Reſolution to go and face the Danger which waited for him

Henry *continues his March.*

1415. *He passes the* Somme.

him on the other Side. As the Passes were no longer defended, he found one between St. *Quentin* and *Peronne*, where he caused his Army to go over. But although this Obstacle, which hitherto had seemed the greatest, was removed, the *English* Army did not find their Case one Jot altered for the better. Their Enemies, six Times more in Number, were ready to receive them upon their coming over; whom there was a Necessity of vanquishing in order to open a Way to *Calais*. The *French* Historians affirm, that *Henry* seeing himself in this wretched Situation, offered to restore *Harfleur*, and repair all the Damages he had caused in *France* since his Landing, if he might have Liberty to march on unmolested: But that his Offer was rejected. On the contrary, the *Constable* and Princes that were in the *French* Army, sent three Heralds to offer him Battle, leaving to his Choice the Time and Place. *Henry* replied, That he had been a good while upon his March to *Calais*; that it was their Fault they had not fought him, and that in case they had any such Design, there was no occasion to appoint the Time or Place; that he was resolved to pursue his March, and they should always find him ready to receive them.

Offers to restore Harfleur.

His Offer rejected.

The French *challenge him.*

His Answer.

The *French* Army being posted in his Rout, there was no possibility of going by them without fighting. He resolved therefore to prepare for a Battle. On the 22d of *October* the *French* Generals sent him Word by a Herald, that on *Friday* following (*a*), they would give him Battle. *Henry*, who had before resolved what to do, accepted the Challenge, and presented the Herald with a Robe worth two Hundred Crowns. During the three Days before the Battle *Henry* never ceased to inspire his Troops with Courage, by promising to reward their Valour, and by using all other Means most conducive to that End. He set before them the Glory of their Ancestors, who obtained the famous Victories of *Crecy* and *Poictiers*, and demonstrated to them the Necessity they were under of conquering, in order to free themselves from their present Calamities, and to

He meets the Enemy, who offer him Battle;

which he accepts.

(*a*) *October* 25th.

to avoid ſtill much greater. His Exhortations had ſo wonderful an Effect, that Officers and Soldiers, far from dreading the great Numbers of their Enemies, wanted nothing more than to join Battle with them. The Day before the Fight, *Henry* having ſent *David Gam*, a *Welſh* Captain, to view the Poſture of the Enemy, this brave Officer brought back Word, that there were enough to kill, enough to take Priſoners, and enough to run away. This couragious Aſſurance pleaſed the King mightily, as it was a good Sign that his Men were firmly reſolved to do their Duty. Mean while the *French* were making merry in their Camp, holding themſelves ſure of Victory, by Reaſon of their Numbers. *Mezerai* owns, that they were four Times as many as the *Engliſh*. *Monſtrelet* ſays ſix Times. This Diverſity may partly proceed from *Mezerai*'s reckoning all the Soldiers, ſick and well, in the *Engliſh* Army, and from the other's meaning only ſuch as were in a Condition to fight. The *Engliſh* Writers make the Difference between the two Armies much greater, affirming the *French* amounted to one Hundred and fifty Thouſand, and the *Engliſh* but to nine Thouſand. Be this as it will, it is certain the Superiority of the *French* was vaſtly great. But what Odds ſoever there was between the two Armies, as to Number, there was another and no leſs conſiderable Diſparity with regard to the different State they were in. The *Engliſh*, troubled for the moſt Part with a *Flux*, which had ſtuck cloſe to them ever ſince their Departure from *Harfleur*, were moreover harraſſed with a long march of a Month, in very bad Weather and through an Enemies Country. They had all along been in Want of Proviſions, and would doubtleſs have been all ſtarved to Death, if the exact *Diſcipline*, which the King cauſed to be obſerved had not engaged the Country People to ſupply them with Victuals, for the ſake of ſelling them at an extravagant Rate. The *French* on the contrary were freſh and healthy, abounding with plenty of Proviſions, and labouring under no Inconveniency. If we may believe the *Engliſh* Hiſtorians, ſo confident of Succeſs were the *French* Leaders, that they ſent to the King to know what he intended to give for his

1415. *Firmneſs of the King and his Troops.*

Great diſproportion between the two Armies.

Confidence of the French.

1415. his Ranſom, when he ſhould be in their Hands. *Henry* deſpiſing this Bravado, replied, as ſome tell us, That it would quickly be known, whoſe Buſineſs it was to compound for the Ranſoms.

The two Armies are drawn up in order of Battle.

Blunder of the Conſtable.

On the 25th of *October*, the Day appointed for the Battle, the two Armies were drawn up in Battalia at Break of Day. The Conſtable *D' Albret* committed on this Occaſion an unpardonable Blunder, in chuſing for the Field of Battle a narrow Piece of Ground, flanked on one Side by a Rivulet, and on the other by a large Wood. By which Means he loſt all the Advantage which the Superiority of Numbers, and eſpecially in *Horſe*, could give him. It is moſt certain that this General ought to have poſted himſelf in a large and open Place, where he might have had it in his Power to ſurround the *Engliſh*, who were but a Handful of Men in compariſon of his Army. But by drawing up his Troops in Battalia upon ſuch a narrow Piece of Ground, he was forced to make his Front no larger than that of the Enemy, and ſo deprived himſelf of a very manifeſt Advantage. Neither can it be ſaid, that the Choice of the Field of Battle was not entirely in his Breaſt. Seeing the *Engliſh* were marching for *Calais*, it was in his Power to plant himſelf in ſome ſpacious Plain, capable of containing his whole Army, and where he might have had room to fight all at once. So that one cannot enough wonder at his Blindneſs, which can be aſcribed to nothing but his Preſumption. His Deſign, it ſeems, was to dam up that narrow Paſſage, to the end the *Engliſh* might not be able to proceed, not conſidering that this Precaution could not be of any Advantage but to the weaker Side. I have dwelt a little upon this falſe Step, becauſe in all likelihood it was the principal Cauſe of the bad Succeſs the *French* had in this Day's Action. The *Conſtable*, blinded by the Number of his Troops, drew them up, as I ſaid, on this narrow Ground, but ſo cloſe together, that it was eaſy to foreſee Confuſion and Diſorder would enſue during the Battle. He divided his Army into three Bodies; the Firſt of which he commanded himſelf, and with him were the Dukes of *Orleans*, and *Bourbon*, the Earls of *Eu*, *Vendôme*,

dôme, *Richemont*, the famous Marſhal *Boucicaut* Grand Maſter of the Croſs-Bow Men, the Lord *Dampier* Admiral of *France*, the Dauphin of *Auvergne*, and ſeveral other Officers of the greateſt Diſtinction. All theſe Princes and Lords thought themſelves happy in being in the firſt Line, perſwaded as they were, that there would be nothing left for the other two to do. The Duke of *Alenſon* commanded the Second Body, with the Duke of *Bar*, the Earls of *Vaudemont*, *Nevers*, *Salines*, *Rouſs*, and *Grand-Pre*. At the Head of the Third Line, were the Earls of *Marle*, *Dampmartin*, *Fauquenberg* and the Lord *de Lauroi*. 1415.

Precautions taken by the King before the Battle.

Whilſt the *French* were drawing up in Battle-array, *Henry* detached a Body of four Hundred Spear-Men, to go and poſt themſelves out of Sight of the Enemy, behind the Wood on the Left-hand of the Field of Battle. He lodged moreover two Hundred Archers in a low Meadow-Ground covered with ſome Buſhes on the Right. In drawing up his Army, he could make but two Lines by Reaſon of the ſmall Number of his Troops. *Edward* Duke of *York* commanded the Firſt, attended by the Lords *Beaumont*, *Willoughby* and *Stanhope* *. The King put himſelf at the Head of the Second, with a Gold Crown on his Helmet, which ſerved for a *Creſt*, and near him was the Standard of *England*. In this Poſture he expected the *French* to come and attack him. In the mean Time he went through all the Ranks, exhorting his Troops not to be afraid of a Multitude of raw and undiſciplined Soldiers. He repreſented to them, that the obtaining of Victories depended not on Numbers, but on Bravery, and above all on the Aſſiſtance of God, in whom he admoniſhed them to place their whole Truſt. Perceiving that the *French* kept their Standing, he ſent for ſome of his principal Officers, and ſaid to them with a chearful Countenance, *My Friends, Since they will not begin, it is our Buſineſs to open a Paſſage with our Swords. Let us charge them in the Name of the ever bleſſed Trinity.*

* There was no Lord *Stanhope* then, Sir *Philip Stanhope* not being created *Baron of Shelford*, till the 14th of King *James*, and afterwards in the 14th of *Charles* I. Earl of *Cheſterfield*. Inſtead of *Stanhope* here, *Speed* and others read *Fanhope*.

1415. *Trinity.* Having ſaid theſe Words, he gave the Signal for Battle. Immediately the Soldiers of the foremoſt Ranks having removed the Stakes which they had ſet up before them to reſiſt the Fury of the *Cavalry*, the whole Army, ſhouting as uſual, put themſelves in Motion. Having moved forward a little, they made a Halt, expecting the Enemy to come on; but finding the *French* ſtirred not, they continued their March in good Order. As ſoon as they came within Bow-Shot, the foremoſt Ranks pitched the Stakes *, interweaving them one among another, and bending them a little towards the Enemy. At the ſame Time a Body of choſen Archers advancing ſome Paces, began at a ſmall Diſtance to let fly upon the Enemy a Shower of Arrows three Foot long, which being ſhot by Men of Dexterity and Vigour, did the greater Execution among the *French*, as they ſtood extremely cloſe together and had ſcarce room to move. The *French* Cavalry advancing at length to repluſe the Archers, theſe laſt nimbly retreated behind the Stakes with a wonderful Diſcipline, in which the King had exerciſed them himſelf for ſome Days. Mean while the two Hundred Bow-Men who lay concealed in the Meadow, riſing up on a ſudden, let fly their Arrows among the *Cavalry*, who were put in a Diſorder ſo much the greater, as the Horſes ſunk up to their Knees in the Ground ſoftened by the Rains. The *Engliſh* ſeeing them in Confuſion, threw away their Bows, and fell upon their Enemies Sword in Hand. It is affirmed, that the *Engliſh*, for the moſt Part, were fain to fight quite naked from the Waſte downwards, by Reaſon of their Diſtemper. However as the firſt Line of the *French* conſiſted of all the beſt Troops in their Army, this Charge, as vigorous as it was, was repulſed with ſome Loſs on the Side of the *Engliſh*. But that was not capable of diſheartening Men that were determined to conquer or dye. After they had taken Breath a little, they charged again with ſuch Reſolution, that it was not poſſible for their Enemies to ſtand the Shock. This

The Engliſh *begin the Charge.*

Monſtrelet

* They were ſtudded with Iron at both Ends, and about ſix Foot long. Theſe were ſet up by the Direction of the Duke of *York*.

This ſecond Attack was ſo much the more difficult to be repulſed, as at the ſame Time the *French* felt themſelves flanked by the *Engliſh Horſe*, who had lain in Ambuſh behind the Wood. Then it was that Diſorder was every where ſpread among the Troops ſo vigorouſly preſſed by their Enemies, who ſlew without Mercy all that came in their Way. The firſt Line of the *French* having at length taken to flight, after ſeeing the *Conſtable* killed, with a great Number of other Officers, and the moſt Part of the Princes and Generals made Priſoners, the *Engliſh* found themſelves ſtopped by the ſecond Line, which came to repair the Diſorder. 1415.

The firſt Line of the French *routed.*

Mean while, *Henry* having advanced with his ſecond Line, as the firſt gained Ground, ſtood ready to ſupport his Men who would have been in Danger of being put to the Rout, in Caſe he had been at too great a Diſtance. Whilſt the firſt Body after having ſo bravely fought, were filing of to the Right and Left, in order to make Way for the King, and to go and rally in his Rear, *Henry* alighting from his Horſe, preſented himſelf to the Enemy with an undaunted Countenance. The Duke of *Alenſon*, Prince of the Blood-Royal of *France*, advanced at the Head of his Body with great Intrepidity, not queſtioning but he ſhould be able by his Conduct and Valour to wipe out the Diſgrace his Countrymen had juſt received. He had detached eighteen reſolute Fellows, with Orders to keep cloſe to the King of *England*, and never leave him till they had either ſlain or taken him Priſoner. *Henry* for his Part marching on with a Fierceneſs heightened by the Succeſs of his foremoſt Troops, charged the ſecond Line with a Valour equal to that of the moſt renowned Heroes in Hiſtory. He fought on Foot at the Head of his Men, ruſhing among his Enemies, as if he had forgot that the Fate of his Army depended upon his Life.

Henry *fights on Foot at the Head of his Troops.*

Mean Time the eighteen Cavaliers who had undertaken to diſpatch him, having opened their Way to him, one of them gave him ſuch a Blow with a Battle-Ax on the Head, that it ſtunned him for a while, though the Goodneſs of his Helmet had reſiſted its Violence. At the ſame Time,

He is expoſed to great Danger.

1415. the reſt were ſtriving with all their Power to come at him. In all appearance, he would hardly have eſcaped the Fury of theſe *Deſperadoes*, had not *David Gam* the brave *Welſh* Captain, with two other Officers of the ſame Nation, ſaved his Life at the Expence of their own. The King, who had recovered his Senſes, ſeeing them extended at his Feet and ſtill alive, knighted them all three, being unable, in the Condition they were in, to reward their Loyalty any other way. At the ſame Time the eighteen *Frenchmen* who ſtill made prodigious Efforts to execute their Deſign, were all killed upon the Spot.

Henry's great Courage.

The Heat of the Battle increaſing, *Henry* ſtill more animated by the Danger he had run, gave ſignal Proofs of his Valour, and drew upon him the braveſt of the Enemies. The Duke of *Glouceſter* his Brother who fought by his Side, being knocked down with the Blow of a Club, he covered him a good while with his own Body to prevent his being killed outright. By this bold Action, he brought himſelf into ſuch Danger, that at length he received on his Head a Blow which made him fall on his Knees. But his Guard, immediately advancing, repulſed the Enemy, and gave him Time to riſe again. The Hazard the King was expoſed to, and the Wonders he performed, inſpired his Troops with a ſort of Fury. On a ſudden, as it were by Conſent, the *Engliſh* Soldiers incouraging one another, came headlong upon their Enemies, and by this violent and unexpected Attack, put them in ſuch Diſorder, that their Leaders could never repair it. *Henry* improving this Advantage, preſſed them vigorouſly in order to hinder them from recovering out of their Surprize, being well aware that this was the lucky Moment on which the Victory was to depend. Their Diſorder increaſing more and more by Reaſon of their great Numbers and want of Room, they began at length to retreat as they fought, and in ſuch a manner as plainly ſhowed they would quickly take to their Heels.

He is knocked down on his Knees.

The French *are put in diſorder.*

The Duke of *Alenſon* enraged to ſee the Battle loſt by the Flight of the ſecond Line, and deſpairing that the Third would be able to renew the Fight, generouſly reſolved to die

die honourably, rather than turn his Back and live to be a Witneſs of his Country's Diſgrace. Regardleſs of a Life he was determined to loſe, he took with him a ſmall Number of brave and reſolute Perſons, and furiouſly making Way with his Sword through the *Engliſh* Troops, he every where ſought the King of *England*, in hopes of revenging by one ſingle Stroke, the Loſs *France* had that Day ſuſtained. It was no hard Matter to find *Henry*, who thought of nothing leſs than concealing himſelf. The Moment the Duke ſaw him, he ran at him, and crying aloud that he was the Duke of *Alenſon*, diſcharged on his Head a Blow with ſuch Violence, that it carried off one half of the Gold Crown on the Top of his Helmet. *Henry* not having been able to pary the Blow, was not ſlow to revenge it. In return, he ſtruck the Duke to the Ground, and with repeated Blows ſlew two of his brave Attendants. In an Inſtant, the Duke was ſurrounded by a Crowd of Enemies who put an End to his Life, maugre all the Endeavours of the King to ſave him. The Death of the Duke of *Alenſon* having quite bereaved his Troops of all Courage, they openly took to Flight.

1415.

Alenſon *gives the King a furious Blow:*

Who knocks him down.

The third Line of the *French* being ſtill freſh and in good Order, might have renewed the Battle: But their Hearts failing at the Sight of the Slaughter which had been made and was ſtill making, it was not in the Power of the Leaders to bring them to charge. So that finding themſelves reduced to a Neceſſity of retreating without fighting, they left the Run-aways of the ſecond Line expoſed to the Fury of their Purſuers, who were cloſe at their Heels. Then it was that the *Engliſh* having nothing to do but to kill and take Priſoners, exerciſed *Pity* or *Cruelty*, according as every one was naturally inclined. As it was impoſſible for the *French* in the Diſorder they were in to rally, and as their Numbers were an Obſtacle to their Flight, they voluntarily offered themſelves to Death or Captivity, as their victorious Enemies pleaſed. Mean while the Troops that had retreated without fighting, were ſtill in Sight at ſome Diſtance, and ſeemed reſolved to ſtand their Ground againſt Enemies harraſſed with ſo long a Battle. However

The third Line of the French *retreat without fighting.*

1415. the King perceiving they were ſtill more numerous than his Army, ſent them word by a Herald, that unleſs they immediately marched off they were to expect no Quarter. This bold Meſſage had the Effect he expected. Whether their Troops were not fully reſolved what Courſe they ſhould take, or whether they were apprehenſive of falling into the Hands of an implacable Enemy, in caſe they ſhould make an Attempt and not ſucceed, they retreated and left *Henry* Maſter of the Field of Battle.

The Occaſion of the King's killing all the Priſoners.

Finding himſelf thus ſure of the Victory, he thought he had nothing more to do, when on a ſudden word was brought him, that the Enemies were in his *Rear*, and had already plundered his Camp. Surprized at this unexpected Accident, he haſtily ran to the Top of a little Hillock between the Army and the Camp, to take a View of theſe new Enemies. He beheld indeed great Diſorder among his Baggage, and ſaw the Troops which he had left to guard the Camp, diſperſed about the Field, and endeavouring to ſave themſelves by Flight. This Sight cauſing him to imagine that the Enemies had rallied in order to renew the Fight, he gave Order that the Priſoners ſhould be all ſlain, except only ſome of the greateſt Note. This Order being forthwith put in Execution, he rallied his Troops, and marched directly to the Enemies, who took care not to ſtay his Coming. They were a Company of Runaways, headed by *Robert de Bournonville*, who retiring betimes out of the Battle, and knowing the *Engliſh* Camp was but weakly guarded, went and pillaged it whilſt the two Armies were engaged. The Duke of *Burgundy* would have ſeverely puniſhed the Captain of theſe Plunderers who was his Subject, for having been the Occaſion of ſo great a Diſaſter; but the Earl of *Charolois* his Son found Means to ſave his Life. 'Tis ſaid, the Earl had been preſented with a Sword ſet with Diamonds, found among the King's Baggage. 'Tis pity ſo glorious a Victory ſhould have been ſullied by this haſty Maſſacre. It may however be excuſed by the Impoſſibility of the *Engliſh* being able to guard their Priſoners, and by the juſt Fears the King might be in, that

that theſe ſame Priſoners would turn againſt him, during the Fight he ſaw himſelf upon the Point of renewing. 1415.

Nothing more oppoſing the King's victorious Arms, his firſt Care was to return God Thanks for ſo ſignal a Victory which he had ſo little reaſon to expect, and publickly to acknowledge that it was entirely owing to the Aſſiſtance of his All-powerful Arm. After having perſormed this juſt Duty, he ſent for a *French* Herald which was in the Army, and required him to declare to whom the Victory was to be aſcribed. The Herald anſwered, that the Victory was his beyond all Diſpute. Then the King asked him the Name of a Caſtle which he ſaw before him near the Field of Battle, and being told it was called *Azincourt*, he ſaid, that to all Poſterity this Day's Action ſhould be called the Battle of *Azincourt*. As the Fight began at Ten in the Morning, and laſted till almoſt Five in the Afternoon, *Henry* not thinking fit to continue his March, for fear of fatiguing his Army too much, returned to *Maſconcelles*, where he had encamped the Night before.

Henry *returns God Thanks for his Victory.*

Calls it the Battle of Azincourt.

In this memorable Battle ſo fatal to *France*, the *French* loſt the Conſtable *d'Albret*, the Duke of *Alenſon* Prince of the Blood, the Duke of *Brabant*, and the Earl of *Nevers*, Brothers of the Duke of *Burgundy*, the Duke of *Bar*, the Earls of *Vaudemont*, *Marle*, *Rouſſi*, *Fauquenberg*, and many more Officers of Note, beſides Ten Thouſand private Soldiers. An *Engliſh* Hiſtorian ſays, that among the ſlain were one Archbiſhop *, three Dukes, ſix Earls, ninety Barons, fifteen Hundred Knights, and ſeven Thouſand Eſquires or Gentlemen. Among the Priſoners, who would have been very numerous had it not been for the Maſſacre after the Battle, the moſt eminent were the Dukes of *Orleans* and *Bourbon*, the Earls of *Eu*, *Vendôme*, *Richmont*, *Etouteville*, and Marſhal *Boucicaut*. On the Side of the *Engliſh* there were ſlain only the Duke of *York*, the young Earl of *Suffolk*, and, if we believe ſome of the *Engliſh* Hiſtorians, not above four Knights, one 'Squire, and twenty-eight common Soldiers. Some however with greater

The Loſs of the French.

and of the Engliſh.

* Of *Sens*.

1415. greater Probability affirm, the *English* loſt four Hundred Men. *Mezerai* mounts the Number to ſixteen Hundred, and brings down the Loſs of the *French* to ſix Thouſand. It is very common on theſe Occaſions to ſee the like Diverſity among the Hiſtorians of two oppoſite Sides.

Henry *continues his March to* Calais.

On the Morrow the King began his March again towards *Calais*. In going over the Field of Battle, he took Occaſion to ſpeak much in the Praiſe of his Troops: But at the ſame Time he exhorted thoſe about him not to be puffed up with a Victory which was gained purely by the miraculous Aſſiſtance of the Lord of Hoſts. During his March, he was extremely civil to the *French* Princes his Priſoners. He told them, that he had not obtained the Victory by the Superiority of his Merit, but becauſe God was pleaſed to make uſe of him as his Inſtrument, to puniſh the Sins of the *French* Nation: That the Advantages he might expect from his Victory, were ſo far from making him averſe to a Peace, that he was even more inclined to it than he was before the Battle.

Act. Pub. IX. 787.

The Duke of Burgundy *challenges the King.*

Some Days after the Duke of *Burgundy* ſent him a written Challenge, and let him know by a Herald that he intended to revenge the Death of his Brothers. Apparently the Duke of *Brabant* and Earl of *Nevers* were put to Death in the Slaughter of the Priſoners after the Battle.

The King refuſes to accept it.

Henry willing to keep fair with that Prince whom he ſtill hoped to gain to his Intereſts, returned a very mild Anſwer. He told the Herald, as he gave him back the *Gantlet* which he had at firſt received from his Hand, that the *French* themſelves could witneſs he was not guilty of the Death of the Duke's Brothers, but that his own Subjects were anſwerable for their Blood. This he ſaid, becauſe *Bournonville*, who occaſioned the killing of the Priſoners, was a *Burgundian*.

Henry *returns to* England.

About the Middle of *November Henry* embarked for *England*, taking along with him the principal Priſoners. He met in his Paſſage with a violent Storm, which put him in extreme Danger of his Life, and even cauſed ſome of his Ships to ſounder. At laſt, after enduring great Hardſhips, he arrived on the 16th of *November*. He was received in

Act. Pub. IX. 327.

England

England with the Acclamations uſual on ſuch Occaſions. The People were never tired with praiſing a Prince that had rendered the *Engliſh* Name ſo formidable and glorious. His firſt Care was to appoint a Day of publick Thankſgiving for the happy Succeſs of his Arms. Then he cauſed the Bodies of the Duke of *York*, and of the Earl of *Suffolk*, who loſt their Lives in the Battle, to be honourably interred *. The Duke of *York* leaving no Iſſue, *Richard* his Nephew, Son of the Earl of *Cambridge* beheaded at *Southampton*, was his Heir. 1415.

The Troubles are renewed in France.

The Wound *France* had juſt received was not ſo great on account of the Advantages the King of *England* reaped by his Victory, which gained him not a ſingle Foot of Land, as for its being the Occaſion of the Civil Wars breaking out a-new with more Fury than ever. The Duke of *Burgundy* reſolving to take Advantage of the preſent Juncture, claimed the Adminiſtration of Affairs again, from which he had been excluded ſome time ſince, and particularly by the Peace of *Arras*. He alledged, that now the Kingdom was threatned with utter Ruin, a Prince of the Blood, Firſt *Peer*, and doubly Peer of the Realm, was indiſpenſably bound in Duty to aid the King with his Counſels, and could not be debarred from coming to Court without Injuſtice and Danger. But as he was well aware that his Reaſons would be of no great weight, unleſs backed by Force, he approached *Paris* with an Army, and ſeized ſome Poſts about the City. The *Dauphin*, not being able to bear the Thoughts of admitting to Court the Duke of *Burgundy*, though his Father-in-law, ſent for the Earl of *Armagnac*, and gave him the *Conſtable*'s Sword. This Earl, ſworn Enemy of the Duke of *Burgundy*, did not ſpare thoſe who adhered to the Duke, and were commonly called the *Burgundians*. He ordered ſome to be hanged, and great Numbers to be impriſoned, and by that Means heightned the Animoſity of the two Factions to ſuch

The Earl of Armagnac *made Conſtable.*

He perſecutes the Burgundians.

* *Edward* Duke of *York*, Son of *Edmund de Langley*, Son of *Edward* III. was buried in his Collegiate Church at *Fotheringhay* in *Northamptonſhire*. And *Michael de la Pole*, Earl of *Suffolk*, Son of him that died of the *Flux* before *Harfleur*, was interred at *Eucelme* in *Oxfordſhire*.

1415. such a Degree, that from thence forward nothing was capable of uniting them againſt the common Enemy. The *Dauphin* ſeconded the *Conſtable*'s Revenge, and never minded the reſtoring the ruinous Affairs of the Kingdom, the Government whereof was in his Hands. Shortly after, *namely*, on the 24th of *December*, this Prince was poiſoned.

The Dauphin *poiſoned.*

John *his Brother becomes* Dauphin.

By the Death of *Lewis*, the new Conſtable remained ſole Maſter of the Perſon of the King, and of the Government of the Kingdom, till ſuch time as *John* Duke of *Tourain* ſhould return, to whom the Title of *Dauphin* was devolved, and who was then in *Hainault* with the Earl his Father-in-law. This young Prince having reſolved to eſpouſe neither Side, ſent Orders to both the Factions to lay down their Arms. The Duke of *Burgundy*, who was loſing his Time before *Lagny*, obeyed, pretending he did ſo out of pure deference to the *Dauphin*'s Orders, and retired into his Dominions. But the *Conſtable* was not ſo tractable. As he had the King's Perſon in his Power, he did not think the *Dauphin* had any Right to command him, till he ſhould be actually in Poſſeſſion of the Regency, which he was bent to oppoſe, unleſs he would declare againſt the *Burgundians*. It was this that hindered the *Dauphin* from returning to Court.

Is oppoſed by the Conſtable.

Henry *is applied to by both Parties.*

All this while it was next to impoſſible that *France* could take any juſt Meaſures for her Defence againſt the Attacks ſhe was threatned with from *England*. The Duke of *Burgundy* was privately treating with *Henry*. The Earl of *Hainault* was likewiſe courting that Monarch to put the *Dauphin* his Son-in-law in Poſſeſſion of the Regency. On the other Side, *Lewis* of *Anjou*, King of *Sicily*, who was then Head of the *Orleans*-Faction, was projecting how to deprive the *Dauphin* of his Birth-right, by procuring the Crown for *Charles* Earl of *Ponthieu* his Son-in-law. To compaſs his Ends, he thought the ſureſt Method he could take, was to make ſure of the Aſſiſtance of *England*. Thus, all *France* as it were with one Conſent, though with different Views, earneſtly ſought the Alliance of the *Engliſh*, againſt whom the whole Nation would have

have firmly united, if private Intereſt had not prevailed above the Good of the Publick. In this manner paſſed over the Year 1415, which *the Battle of Azincourt* has for ever rendered memorable. 1415.

The Conſternation *France* was under, and the Diſſentions between the Duke of *Burgundy* and the *Conſtable*, ſeemed to promiſe *Henry* freſh Laurels, if he had continued the War. Nevertheleſs, that Prince, whoſe Wiſdom equalled his Valour, very prudently ſteered a quite different Courſe. He judged, that by fomenting the Troubles of *France*, and inſpiring the two Factions with Jealouſy, he ſhould procure more certain and laſting Advantages, than by Means of his Arms. The Truth is, by puſhing the *French* too vigorouſly, he ran the Risk of uniting them all againſt him: In which caſe, in all likelihood his Advantages would have been but inconſiderable. But by giving them ſome Reſpite, he left them at liberty to deſtroy one another. Wherefore, contrary to every one's Expectation, he laid aſide his military Affairs for near eighteen Months, and betook himſelf entirely to the Buſineſs of Negotiation, which afforded him the Proſpect of leſs doubtful Advantages. He continued not however in a State of Idleneſs. The Particulars of what paſſed in 1416, and in part of the Year following, will ſhow, how diligent he was in the Proſecution of his Projects. 1416.

Henry purpoſes to gain the Duke of Burgundy.

Henry's chief Aim was to gain the Duke of *Burgundy*, who had already ſhewn an Inclination to make an Alliance with him. The ſucceeding in this Deſign he perceived would be of more Advantage to him than the gaining another ſuch Battle as that of *Azincourt*. To this therefore all his Endeavours tended, as to his main Point. In order to be able to attain his Ends, it was neceſſary that the Affairs of *France* ſhould remain in the Poſture they were in at preſent. There was a Neceſſity that the *Conſtable* and the other Heads of that Faction, ſhould always have it in their Power to perſecute the Duke of *Burgundy*. This was the only Thing which could carry that Prince to play a deſperate Game, which he beheld with Dread, and which the ſole Deſire of Revenge was capable of putting him upon. If

1416. by the continuance of the War, *France* should have lost Towns and Battles, the *Constable*, who held the Reins of the Government, would doubtless have forfeited all his Credit. By that means the Duke of *Burgundy* would have infallibly got into the Regency again, and no longer stood in need of the *English*. This is the true Reason of *Henry*'s consenting to all the Proposals offered him, either for concluding a Truce, or for renewing the Treaties of Peace. Mean while, his and the Duke of *Burgundy*'s Envoys went backwards and forwards from *London* to *Flanders*, and from *Flanders* to *London*, ever under Colour of a Treaty of Commerce, in which fresh Difficulties were continually started, the better to hide their main Design.

Why this Negotiation was kept secret.

It was not without Reason that both Sides kept secret this Negotiation. The Duke, who would not make an Alliance with the King but in the last Extremity, was afraid that the Discovery of his Intention would alienate from him the Affections of the *French*, and especially of the *Parisians*. *Henry* had Reason to fear on his Part, that in case the Court of *France* came to the Knowledge of this Negotiation, they would find Means to break his Measures. In the mean while his desisting entirely from War ever since the *Battle of Azincourt*, might well cause his Designs to be somewhat suspected. But the Arrival of the Emperor *Sigismond* rid him of his Fears, as it gave him room to pretend that he discontinued the War at the Instance of that Prince.

Sigismund *arrives in* France. Mezerai.

In the Beginning of the Year, *Sigismund* came to *Paris*. He gave out himself that the sole End of his Journey was to make Peace between the two Crowns of *France* and *England*. This Design was noble and charitable, and worthy a Christian Monarch, granting it was wholly without private Views. But several Circumstances make it suspected, that he had undertaken this Voyage to befriend *Henry* rather than *France*, and in hopes of finding his own private Benefit in it. Upon his Arrival in *France*, he proposed a four Years Truce between the two Kings; but the Court rejected his Proposal. The *French* Historians tax the Constable with refusing this Truce, out of private Interest,

He proposes a Truce, which is rejected.

but

but without ſhowing wherein the War could be of any Advantage to him. I ſuppoſe he was then projecting the Siege of *Harfleur*, which he began in *June* following. It may be he perceived that the Emperor was not an impartial Mediator. Be that as it will, *Sigiſmund* finding he could do nothing at *Paris*, came into *England* in the Month of *March*. The *Engliſh* Hiſtorians take notice, that being about to land, he was met by the Duke of *Glouceſter* and ſome other Lords, who ſtepping into the Water with their drawn Swords, ſtopped the Boat. Surpriſed at this Reception, he asked the Reaſon of it; the Duke told him, that if he was come to claim any Authority in *England*, they had Orders to forbid his landing; but if he came only as a Mediator of Peace, he ſhould meet with all the Reſpect due to his Imperial Dignity. This was to warn him not to take the Liberty of acting with any Authority in *England*, as he had done in *France* during his Stay there. 1416. *He is gone into* England.

The Arrival of *Sigiſmund* at *London* was preceeded by that of *William of Bavaria*, Earl of *Holland* and *Zealand*, who was come upon the ſame Errand. Theſe two Princes quickly ſaw they ſhould find it a difficult Matter to procure a Peace. *Henry* added to his former Demands, the Town of *Harfleur* with Part of the adjacent Territory for the Maintenance of the Garriſon. On the other Hand, *France* keeping to her firſt Offers, would not hear a word of Peace, unleſs *Henry* would reſtore *Harfleur*. So that the two Mediators perceiving it was almoſt impoſſible to make a Peace, were ſatisfied with getting the two Kings to conſent to a Truce for three Years, during which *Harfleur* ſhould remain in Truſt in their Hands, for certain *Securities* which the *French* Priſoners in *England* had obliged themſelves to give. But juſt as the Treaty was going to be ſigned, the Priſoners fell from their Word. The *Conſtable*, who was reſolved to beſiege *Harfleur*, had not agreed to this Negotiation but purely to amuſe *Henry* and hinder him from diving into his Deſign. *The Earl of* Holland *and he get the two Kings to conſent to a Truce.* Act. Pub. IX. 787. France *falls off.*

1416. *Conflict between the Earl of* Dorset, *and the Conſtable of* France.

Shortly after he carried King *Charles* to *Roan*, under ſome Pretence; his Aim was to be ready at Hand againſt the coming of ſome *Genoeſe* Ships, which were to join the *French* Fleet in order to inveſt *Harfleur* by Sea. He managed Matters ſo privately that *Henry*, not having the leaſt Suſpicion of his Deſign, neglected to reinforce the Garriſon. During the *French* Court's being at *Roan*, the Earl of *Dorſet* Governour of *Harfleur*, made an Incurſion even to the Gates of that City, and carried off a great Booty. But he could not retire ſo ſpeedily but that he was overtaken by the *Conſtable* who gained ſome Advantage over him. On the Morrow, the *Conſtable* ſtill preſſing the *Engliſh* who were haſtily retreating, conſtrained them to halt and ſtand upon their Defenſe. In this ſecond Skirmiſh, the Earl of *Dorſet*, though inferior in Number of Troops, had his Revenge, and compelled his Enemy to retire as faſt as he could to *Roan*.

The Conſtable beſieges Harfleur.

This Check prevented not the *Conſtable* from continuing his Preparations for the Siege of *Harfleur*. Immediately upon the Arrival of the *Genoeſe* Ships, he ordered his Troops whom he had diſperſed on Purpoſe, to get together again at a certain Place, where he came and headed them in Perſon. Then he marched directly to *Harfleur*, where he was not expected. So much did the *Engliſh* imagine the *French* unable to make any Attempt. Whilſt the *Conſtable* beſieged the Town by Land, the Viſcount of *Narbonne* blocked it up by Sea, ſo that nothing could go in or out, *Henry* was exceedingly vexed to be thus over-reached by the *Conſtable*. He was ſenſible then that the Negotiation was intended only to amuſe him, and therefore was the more provoked to do all that lay in his Power to break his Enemies Meaſures. He had a Mind, in his Turn, to uſe Cunning, and try to circumvent the *Conſtable*. With this View he made as if he was wholly inclined to a Peace, and demanded an Interview with his *Couſin*, for ſo he called the King of *France* then, whereas before he ſtiled him his *Adverſary*. He was in hopes that in Caſe an Interview was granted, a Truce would enſue, which would give him Time to relieve *Harfleur*; but his Demand was rejected.

Henry tries in vain to amuſe France. Act. Pub. IX. 365, 366.

After

After this, he gave *Morgan* Commiſſion directly to demand a Truce. But the Court of *France* took Care not to give him ſuch an Advantage at the preſent Juncture. In fine, perceiving that the *Conſtable* was not a Man to be played the Fool with, he commanded a Fleet to be fitted out, reſolving to go himſelf and relieve the Place. He depended upon the Valour and Experience of the Earl of *Dorſet* the Governour, well knowing he would do his utmoſt to give him Time to come to his Relief. In this he was not miſtaken; for although the Siege was begun about the Middle of *June*, it was in no great Forwardneſs at the End of *July*. So that *Henry* having had Time to equip his Fleet, was in a readineſs to embark in Perſon. But the Emperor diſſwaded him from hazarding himſelf in an Expedition of this Nature, wherein all his Prudence could not avail to prevent the Accidents which might happen at Sea. The King yielding to the Emperor's Inſtances, gave the Command of the Succours to the Duke of *Bedford* his Brother, who ſet Sail about the End of *July*. It was not long before he fell in with the Enemy's Fleet lying before *Harfleur*. The Viſcount *de Narbonne* putting himſelf in a Poſture of Defence, withſtood for ſome Time the Efforts of the *Engliſh*; but at length he was forced to yield them the Victory, after having ſeen five *Genoeſe Caracks* taken, and ſeveral of his own Ships ſunk. Nothing more preventing the Duke of *Bedford* from throwing the Succours into the Town, the *Conſtable* quitted the Siege and marched off.

1416.

He reſolves to go and relieve Harfleur.

He is diſſwaded from it by the Emperor

Sends the Duke of Bedford; *p.* 371.

Who breaks the French *Fleet.*

Whilſt theſe Things were doing, the Duke of *Burgundy* kept on his ſecret Negotiations with *Henry*, under divers Pretences. One while it was to renew the Truce between *England* and *Flanders*; another while about ſome Affairs relating to the *Church*, which were depending before the Council of *Conſtance*. In *May*, the Truce I juſt mentioned which was to expire the 15th of *June*, had been renewed for a Year, and yet the Duke of *Burgundy* ſent four Ambaſſadors more to *England*. In the Beginning of *Auguſt* the King appointed *Commiſſioners* to treat with them about ſome *Eccleſiaſtical* Affairs. This publick Commiſſion ſerved as a Blind to carry on the private Conferences. But by another

Negotiation between the King and Duke of Burgundy *continues* Act. Pub. IX. 332, 364, 374.

1416. *Aug.* 5. another of the same Date, the Commissioners were empowered to agree with the Ambassadors upon an Interview between the King and the Duke of *Burgundy*. This Negotiation must needs have been in good Forwardness already, since two Days after the King dispatched Orders to several Officers to be in a readiness to attend him beyond Sea, where he was to have an Interview with some of his Enemies. This plainly enough shows that the Duke's frequent Embassies were designed for quite another Thing than the treating about Trade or *Church*-Affairs. That Prince had now been a long Time in Suspence about concluding his Treaty with *Henry*. As he was of the Blood-Royal of *France*, and first *Peer* of the Realm, he was very sensible that an Alliance of that Nature was directly contrary to his Honour and Duty. Besides, such a Step could not but do him a Prejudice in *France* among his own Party. For these Reasons, he had hitherto been satisfied with keeping the Negotiation on Foot, in order not to bring it to a conclusion but in Case of Necessity. The Earl of *Armagnac*'s Revenge at length hurried the Duke on to enter into this Alliance, which doubtless he would have put off longer, or it may be, never done, if he had not been as it were drove to it by the Persecution of his Enemies.

Aug. 7. *p.* 375.

They agree upon an Interview at Calais.

The Dauphin *and Duke of* Burgundy *concert Measures.*

I have already taken notice that the Constable *d' Armagnac*, had under divers Pretences, prevented *John* the *Dauphin* then in *Hainault* from returning to Court. The young Prince not being able to bear to be thus over-ruled by this proud *Minister*, longed to be at the Head of Affairs, and to stand Neuter between the two Factions, the which would gain him the Esteem and Regard of both Parties. But it was not possible, since he had no Forces at his Disposal but the Earl of *Hainault*'s his Father-in-law, which were not strong enough to enable him to put such a Project in Execution against the *Constable*'s Will. Mean time, the Duke of *Burgundy* plainly perceiving there was no likelihood of his getting again into the Government as long as the *Constable* had the King's Person in his Power, thought it his best way to strengthen himself with the Assistance of the new *Dauphin*. With this View he had conferred in the

the Beginning of the Year at *Valenciennes*, with him and the Earl of *Hainault*, and they had agreed that the *Dauphin* ſhould try by fair Means to be admitted to Court, that he might take the Place due to his Birth: That in Caſe he ſucceeded, he ſhould carry the Duke along with him: But if he failed, they ſhould concert other Meaſures to out the *Conſtable* and free the King. Purſuant to this Reſolution, the *Dauphin* and Earl of *Hainault* repaired to *Campiegne*, from whence the Earl went alone to *Paris*, to mediate the Return of the Prince his Son-in-law. Upon the firſt mention of recalling the Duke of *Burgundy*, the *Conſtable* took him up ſhort, and plainly told him that the *Dauphin* ſhould never be admitted to the King his Father's Court, unleſs he openly declared himſelf an Enemy of the *Burgundian* Faction. The Earl of *Hainault* ſeeing his Obſtinacy, could not forbear uttering ſome Threats, which made the *Conſtable* and his Party ſenſible that the *Dauphin* intended to rely upon the Aſſiſtance of the Duke. This was the Reaſon, that in order to prevent the Miſchief which this Union might do them, they reſolved to diſpatch him out of the way. A few Days after the *Dauphin* was poiſoned to Death at *Campiegne* the 16th of *April* 1416, and not in 1417, as we find it in the Abridgment of *Mezerai*. The King of *Sicily* waa ſuſpected of having done this Deed, in order to make way for Prince *Charles* his Son-in-law. If he was guilty, his Death, which happened preſently after, hindered him from reaping any Benefit by it. 1416. *The Dauphin is poiſoned.*

By the Death of *John*, *Charles* his Brother Earl of *Ponthieu* became *Dauphin* and *Heir-apparent* to the Crown. This young Prince immediately eſpouſed the Party of the *Armagnacs*, for ſo the *Orleans-Faction* was then called. By that Means the Duke of *Burgundy* was more out of Hopes than ever, and the Earl of *Armagnac* kept at the Head of the Government, nothing being done without his Orders. The Hatred he bore the Duke of *Burgundy* cauſed him to let ſlip no Opportunity of perſecuting the *Burgundians*, who were very numerous at *Paris*. The ſevere and tyrannical manner in which he behaved to all the World, joined *Charles his Brother ſucceeds him*

The Burgundians perſecuted.

to

1416. to an extreme Greediness, induced at length the *Parisians* of the *Burgundian* Party to lay a Plot to introduce their Head into the City. The Conspiracy coming to light, the *Constable* took occasion from thence to exercise his Rage upon the whole Party to such a Degree, that the Duke of *Burgundy* did not think himself any longer obliged to keep any Measures with the Court. Immediately, to let the World see his Resentment, he concluded with the King of *England* a Truce for all their respective Dominions, not excepting those he held in *France*. But his Revenge did not stop here. His Ambassadors, as I said before, agreed that the King and he should meet at *Calais*, and that the Duke should acknowledge *Henry* for the true King of *France*, and do him *Liege-Homage*. This Interview was fixed to the Beginning of *October*.

The Duke of Burgundy *does Homage to* Henry. Act. Pub. IX. 383.

Mean while, the Emperor *Sigismund* having nothing more to do, departed about the Middle of *August*. In his Way to *Canterbury*, he signed a Treaty of perpetual Alliance with *Henry*, and at the same Time a League against *France*. He obliged himself to aid the King in the Recovery of the Kingdom of *France*, and *Henry* engaged to assist him in constraining King *Charles* and some other Princes to do him Homage for certain Territories not specified in the Treaty. Apparently this concerned the Kingdom of *Arles* and the *Dauphin*, to which the Emperors had some stale Pretensions. By the way, one has a Glimpse in this Treaty, of one of the Motives of *Sigismund*'s Journey to *France* and *England*. In all probability, by procuring a Peace between the two Kings, he hoped to get for himself some one of those Countries, to which he laid Claim. Be that as it will, it may be conjectured, that he expected some private Benefit from the Peace. Great Princes are seldom seen to go and spend whole Years out of their Dominions, with the sole View to mediate a Peace in which they have no manner of Concern. *Sigismund* was of all other the fartheſt from that Character. I don't know whether before his Journey to *England* he had contracted a Friendship with *Henry*; but after his Departure, it appears by several *Records* that there was between them a strict Correspondence

Treaty between Sigismund *and* Henry. ibid. P. 377.

ſpondence and mutual Confidence, very uncommon among Princes *. 1416.

The Emperor being arrived at *Calais*, ſtaid there for *Henry*, who could not come till about the end of *September*. Mean while, the Court of *France*, alarmed at the Report of the Duke of *Burgundy*'s being to go and confer with *Henry* at *Calais*, and wanting to know what the iſſue would be, ſent thither the Archbiſhop of *Rheims*, with ſome other Ambaſſadors. The Pretext was to treat about a Peace with the King; but in all Appearance the chief Aim of this Embaſſy, was to diſcover what ſhould paſs at the Interview. *Henry* was not ſorry that the Ambaſſadors of *France* would be Witneſs of the Arrival of the Duke of *Burgundy* at *Calais*, and therefore he forthwith diſpatched their *Safe-Conducts*, and preſently after their Coming, appointed Commiſſioners to treat with them. But he laid his Meaſures ſo well, that the *French* could never dive into the real Motive of his going to *Calais*, at leaſt with any Certainty. It did not appear that he had any other Deſign but to confirm the late Treaty between him and the Duke, which had been already publiſhed at *London*. It is true, that afterwards the Duke's Proceedings made him ſuſpected of being in Friendſhip with the *Engliſh*; but this was only bare Suſpicion. The *French* Hiſtorians ſpeak of this Matter in a very looſe manner, and we had properly nothing certain about it, till the *Publick Records* printed in *England* diſcovered the Secret. There we find what follows upon this Subject.

Henry *goes to* Calais.

France *ſends the Archbiſhop of* Rheims. ibid. p. 384.

The 1ſt of *October*, the King diſpatched a *Safe-Conduct* for the Duke of *Burgundy*, and eight Hundred Attendants, and ſent him the Duke of *Glouceſter* his Brother in Hoſtage. Next Day, he appointed Commiſſioners to receive in his Name, the Oaths of *John* Duke of *Burgundy*, and of *Philip* Earl of *Charolois* his Son, purſuant to the *Articles* a-

* He was whilſt in *England* ſolemnly inſtalled *Knight of the Garter*, together with the Earl of *Holland* and *Zealand*.

1416. greed upon, which were in Form of *Preliminaries*. The Articles were Word for Word thus:

Articles of Agreement between the King and Duke of Burgundy. ibid. p. 394.

" The King having acquainted the Duke of *Burgundy* " with his juſt Claim to the Crown of *France*, and his " Adverſary's Refuſal to give him Satisfaction hitherto, " told him, That by the Help of God and St. *George*, he " was reſolved to do himſelf Juſtice by Force of Arms. " Upon this Declaration, the ſaid Duke perceiving the " Juſtice of the King's Title, and conſidering the great " Victories the Lord had bleſſed him with, promiſes to " ſend him his *Letters Patents*, containing what follows:

" That although heretofore, for want of a thorough " Knowledge of Things, he had eſpouſed the contra- " ry Party, believing it juſt now that he is better in- " formed, he promiſes firmly to adhere to the King of *Eng-* " *land* and his Heirs and Succeſſors, as to thoſe who " are and ever will be the true and lawful Kings of " *France*, as much as if they were in actual Poſſeſſion of " the Crown.

" Though for the preſent the King has not deſired the " ſaid Duke's Homage, yet as the ſaid Duke owns it to be " his Due, he will promiſe that as ſoon as the King of *Eng-* " *land* ſhall be in poſſeſſion of a conſiderable Part of the " Realm of *France*, he will pay him *Leige-Homage*, and " take the Oath of Allegiance to him, juſt as every *Vaſ-* " *ſal* of the Crown of *France* ought to do to the King " of *France* his Sovereign.

" *Item*, The Duke of *Burgundy* will promiſe to endea- " vour, by all known and unknown ways, to place the " King of *England* in the Throne of *France*.

" *Item*, Whilſt the King ſhall be taken up in purſuing " his Rights, the Duke of *Burgundy* will make War with " all his Forces upon the Enemies of the ſaid King in " *France*, namely, A. B. C. D. and upon all their Do- " minions and Adherents refuſing Obedience to the King " of *England*.

" *Item*,

" *Item*, In all the Alliances and *Letters Patents* made or 1416.
" to be made between the ſaid King and Duke, wherein
" the Duke ſhould except or have excepted the King's
" Adverſary, or the Son of the ſaid Adverſary, his In-
" tent is not to do any Thing contrary to what he will
" promiſe by *theſe Preſents, which he is to give the King*,
" but will punctually perform it.

" That if out of Diſſimulation the ſaid Duke excepted
" the ſaid Adverſary, or the *Dauphin* his Son, for the ſake
" of a greater Good, and for the better accompliſhing the
" intended Project, his Will and Meaning is, that all ſuch
" Exceptions are void and of no Effect.

" And that all may know that this proceeds from his
" pure good Will, he will promiſe, and ſwear by his
" Faith and Loyalty, to obſerve without Fraud or Deceit
" *theſe Preſents*. He will write all the *Articles* with his
" own Hand, ſubſcribe them, and ſet his uſual Seal to
" them.

All theſe Articles were drawn up in Form of *Letters Pa-* p. 395.
tents, written and ſubſcribed by the Duke of *Burgundy*'s own Hand, and ſealed with his Privy-Seal.

Mezerai in his Abridgment of the Hiſtory of *France* ſays, That *the Deſire of Rule tranſported the Duke of* Burgundy *to ſuch a Degree, that he went and conferred with the King of* England *at* Calais, *and renewed the Truces for his Dominions only, whereby he tied himſelf up in ſome Meaſure from aſſiſting the King of* France. What would that Hiſtorian have ſaid, had he known all? It is further to be remarked, that the Earl of *Charolois*, who was afterwards Duke of *Burgundy*, entered into the ſame Engagements as the Duke his Father. After this there is no room left to Queſtion the ill Deſigns theſe two Princes had entertained againſt *France* their native Country. They choſe rather to behold it under the Dominion of Foreigners, than governed by their Enemies.

Before *Henry* left *Calais*, he concluded a Truce with *Truce with* *France* till the 2d of *February*: Which done, he returned *France.* to *England* about the Middle of *October*, in order to hold p. 397.

1416. the Parliament which had been called for the 19th of the ſame Month. During this Seſſion, the Parliament granted a *Subſidy* towards the carrying on of the War. But the *Subſidy* was ſo far ſhort of his preſent Wants, and ſo little proportioned to his Projects, that he was forced to pawn his Crown to the Biſhop of *Wincheſter* his Uncle, for a Hundred Thouſand Marks, and part of his Jewels to the City of *London* for Ten Thouſand Pounds *Sterling*. This is a clear Evidence how many Difficulties he would have met with in the Conqueſt of *France* with his own Forces, if the Inteſtine Troubles of that Kingdom had not paved the Way for him. Nevertheleſs, in ſpite of his preſſing Neceſſities, he aſſigned the Earl of *Dorſet*, who had defended *Harfleur*, a Penſion of a Thouſand Pounds, upon his creating him *Duke of Exeter* *.

Henry *reſolves to renew the War.*

Henry having bound the Duke of *Burgundy* by the ſecret Treaty he had juſt made with him, thought it time to renew the War. He knew, that he ſhould not only have to deal but with one half of *France*, but moreover that the *Burgundian* Party would make a Diverſion in his Favour, which could not but procure him great Advantages. In this Mind he made all the Preparations he judged neceſſary to compaſs his Ends. Mean while, as the Sum granted him by Parliament was not ſufficient for his Purpoſe, and as the Money came but ſlowly into the *Exchequer*, he was quickly in great Want. To remedy this Inconvenience, he made uſe of the following Means. After he had ſettled the Pay of each Soldier, Horſe and Foot, and of each Officer, according to every one's Rank and Character, he entered into private Contracts with ſeveral Lords and Gentlemen, whereby they were obliged to find him a certain Number of Horſemen or Footmen, for ſuch an yearly Sum to be paid quarterly. The firſt Quarterige was paid in hand; but when the ſecond came to be paid, the King had no Money. To ſupply the preſent Occaſion, he gave them in pawn all the Jewels he had left, with Letters under the *Great Seal*, empowering

His way of raiſing the Army.

* For Life only. *Dugd.*

empowering them to ſell them, if the Money was not paid within ſuch a Time. The Term allowed was Twelve or Eighteen Months, according as the Creditors were more or leſs tractable. By this Means he got time for the Payment of his Troops, which was a great Conveniency to him, as he could reimburſe his Creditors according as the Money came into the Treaſury, without being obliged to pay them all at once. People were ſo well ſatisfied of his Honeſty, that they made no Scruple to ſerve him, or lend him Money upon ſuch Securities, which would have been little worth under a Prince of leſs Probity. 1416.

State of the Court of France.

The Prepararions which were carrying on in *England*, very juſtly alarmed the Court of *France*, which was ſcarce in a Condition to make the like. The Truce which the Duke of *Burgundy* had lately made publickly with *Henry*, was a plain Sign that there was no Aſſiſtance to be expected either from the Duke or his Adherents. The Court was even apprehenſive that the Duke had gone farther at the Conference he had held with the Enemy of the Kingdom: At leaſt, he was very much ſuſpected of having ſome ill Deſigns. So that the *Conſtable* who ſat at the Helm had no ſmall Concern upon him: He enjoyed a large Share of Authority; but it was not without Uneaſineſs. Beſides, ſince the Death of *John* the *Dauphin*, he was fain to keep very fair with the new *Dauphin*, for fear that young Prince ſhould take it in his Head to govern without his Help. To all theſe Difficulties a freſh one was added, by the War the *Engliſh* were preparing to carry into *France*. As the Kingdom was in an ill Situation, and as the Enemy was like to make great Progreſs, he conſidered before-hand, that all the Blame would be laid at his Door. In this perplexed State, he thought his beſt way would be to try to put a Stop to the King of *England*'s Arms by an extraordinary Negotiation, which ſhould give that Prince room to believe, that the Court of *France* would be forced to make Peace, though never ſo unwillingly. He was well aware, that if he ſhould himſelf treat about a Peace, it would be loſt Labour, becauſe every one was perſuaded that it was his Intereſt Affairs ſhould remain embroiled, to

the

1416. the End he might preſerve his Authority. It was therefore very unlikely that the King of *England* ſhould ſuffer himſelf to be drove off by any Propoſal which could come from him. For this Reaſon he thought proper to make uſe of the Priſoners who were in *England*, and particularly the Duke of *Bourbon*. We find in *the Collection of Publick Acts*, ſeveral Safe-Conducts dated at one and the ſame time, for the Domeſticks of the Duke of *Bourbon* going to and coming from *France*, under divers Pretences. There is room therefore to preſume it was then that the Plot was formed, and that the Duke of *Bourbon* did nothing in the Buſineſs I am going to relate, but by Conſent of the Court of *France*.

Act. Pub. IX. 427. This Plot was ſo finely laid, that if the King had not always been upon his Guard, he would doubtleſs have been over-reached. But his firm Reſolution not to interrupt the Execution of his Deſigns upon the Score of any Offers that ſhould be ſhort of his Demands, cauſed him to eſcape the Snare. The Dukes of *Orleans* and *Bourbon*, the Earls of *Eu* and *Vendôme*, and ſome other Priſoners, making as if they thought the Affairs of *France* in a deſperate Condition, gave *Henry* to underſtand that they were willing to make a ſeparate Treaty with him for themſelves. This was hinted to him, not as a Thing reſolved, but as what they might eaſily be brought to. But the King, fearing that on this Pretence they had a mind to retard his Voyage, gave no great heed to this Overture.

Negotiation between Henry and the French Priſoners; Some Time after, theſe ſame Princes, who till then had tried to manage Matters ſo as the Propoſals might come from him, ſeeing they could not have their Aim, broke the Ice themſelves. At an Audience which they demanded, they made known their Mind, and entreated him to acquaint them with his Pretenſions, adding, they did not queſtion but they ſhould return him a ſatisfactory Anſwer without any Prejudice to their Honour. The King, who would not be dallied with, roundly told them, that he had no other Propoſal to make, but that they ſhould acknowledge him for King of *France*, and their lawful Sovereign. The Duke of *Orleans* exclaimed againſt this Propoſal, and plainly

plainly told him, they had no Anſwer to return to ſuch a Demand. Matters went no farther for this Time. 1416.

Particularly the Duke of Bourbon.

But a few Week after the Duke of *Bourbon* returned to the Charge. He told the King, that ſince they had the Honour to talk with him, ſeveral of the Priſoners had diſpatched Agents to *France*, to inform themſelves exactly about his Title to the Kingdom of *France*, and had received greater Light in that Matter than they had before. He added, for his Part he was fully convinced of the Juſtice of his Cauſe. Then he ſaid, he had been told, that notwithſtanding his juſt Claim to the whole Kingdom, he had offered to drop it, on Condition certain Provinces were given up to him, and in his Opinion that Offer ought not to be rejected: That the other Priſoners were of his Mind, and had reſolved to do all that lay in their Power to procure him what he deſired. That therefore he begged leave to go to *France*, and declare to King *Charles* in the Name of all the Priſoners, that as faithful Subjects they could not but adviſe him to cloſe with this Expedient for Peace, and pray him to accept ſo reaſonable an Offer. In ſhort, the Duke added, that if the Court of *France* conſented to the Offer, *Henry* might this very Year be put in Poſſeſſion of the Provinces which ſhould be yielded up. But if on the contrary it was rejected, the Princes would look upon themſelves as freed from the Oath they had taken to their King. The Duke engaged for his own Part to put all his fortified Towns in the Hands of certain Perſons, who he ſhould be ſure would deliver them up when he pleaſed. He promiſed to return to *England* by the Time which ſhould be ſet him, and own *Henry* for King of *France*, and do him Homage as his lawful Sovereign. Moreover, he added, that he would make appear ſo evidently the Juſtice of *Henry*'s Right to the Crown of *France*, that all the World ſhould be ſatisfied he could not diſpenſe with doing him Homage, without running counter to his Honour. To conclude, he entreated the King to keep the Matter ſecret till his Return, by reaſon of the Danger he ſhould run, in caſe it ſhould come out during his Stay in *France*.

Particular Engagement of the Duke of Bourbon.

Henry

1416. *Henry* could not tell what to think of this Matter. He knew very well that it was neither the Duke of *Orleans* nor the Duke of *Bourbon* that governed *France*, and that it was not the Earl of *Armagnac*'s Interest to make a Peace upon these Terms. But at the same Time, the recovering of the Provinces of *France* lost since the Treaty of *Bretigny*, without being obliged to renew the War, was a pleasing Prospect. On the other Hand, the Option put to him by the Duke, could not but be advantagious to him. All he had to do, was to take care not to break off the Execution of his Projects upon this Account. Wherefore, having resolved not to suspend his Expedition one single Day, upon any Score whatever, he believed there was no Danger in granting the Duke of *Bourbon* the Leave he desired. But first, he had one of the Duke's Sons given him in Hostage, with Security for the Sum of Two Hundred Thousand Crowns. These Particulars are in *the Collection of the Publick Acts*. We find there a Letter written with the King's own Hand to *Tiptaft*, his Ambassador to the Emperor, wherein he orders him to acquaint *Sigismund* with the Secret, ask his Opinion upon it, and assure him that the Negotiation shall not retard his Expedition against *France* one Moment. At the same Time he enjoyns him not to say a word of the Matter to any Man but the Emperor alone, on Pain of his heavy Displeasure. In all probability, his firm Resolution not to be put off by any Proposal, was the Reason this Stratagem was carried no farther. The Duke of *Bourbon* returned into *England*: but performed not his other Engagements. It was doubtless *Henry*'s Indignation against the Prisoners for endeavouring to over-reach him, that caused him to order them to be confined in *Pontfract* Castle, whereas before they were upon their *Parole*. Though there are no positive Proofs that this Plot was contrived by the *Constable*, yet it appears by several Circumstances, which taken together amount to a sort of Demonstration. It would be too long to give the Particulars here. But if one should chuse to suppose that the *French* Prisoners acted fincerely, without the Direction of the *Constable*, it must be inferred that *France*

He has leave to go to France.

The Projects comes to nothing.

Act. Pub. IX. 456.

was

was then in a very wretched Condition. King *Charles*, frequently seized with Fits of *Lunacy*, was incapable of taking Care of his Affairs. The Duke of *Burgundy*, first *Peer* of the Realm, and Head of a powerful Party, had made a secret Alliance with the Enemy of the State. The Princes of the Blood were upon the Point of acknowledging *Henry* for King of *France*. In fine, the Kingdom was governed by a young Prince of fourteen Years, and by the Earl of *Armagnac*, whose violent Temper made him mind nothing but Revenge, and caused him openly to sacrifice the publick Good to his Ambition. 1416. *Wretched Condition of* France.

Though the *Constable* had already done a good deal of Mischief to *France*, by persecuting the Duke of *Burgundy*, and forcing him as it were to throw himself into the Arms of the King of *England*, yet he did not think he had done enough to secure his Quiet. *Isabella of Bavaria*, Wife of *Charles* VI, appeared so out of Humour to see herself constrained to be ruled by a Subject, that he could not forbear being apprehensive that she would in the End find Means to strip him of his Authority. This was not impossible. The King being naturally of an easy Temper, it would have been no hard Matter to gain him, in one of his Intervals: Neither was it impracticable to persuade the *Dauphin* to cast off a troublesome Governour, that he might rule as he pleased without controul. Thus the *Constable*'s Destiny hanging by so weak a Thread, whilst he had such an Enemy at Court, he believed that in order to secure himself, it was absolutely necessary to get her removed. The Queen gave him a sufficient Handle against her by her Behaviour, which was not altogether conformable to the Rules of Decency. The *Constable* taking this Advantage, inspired the King and *Dauphin* with such strong Suspicions against her, that he got her sent away to *Tours*, where she remained as a Prisoner, not knowing who to confide in, to try to free herself out of Captivity. This fatal Policy of the *Constable* was a fresh Source of Calamities which overwhelmed *France*. The injured Mother could never forgive her Son the Affront she had received, and unfortunately for the Kingdom it was but too much in her Power to glut her Revenge.

The Constable causes the Queen to be sent off to Tours.

The Queen hates the Dauphin *mortally.*

1416. *The Duke of* Burgundy *takes up Arms.*

The violent Proceedings of the *Conſtable*, the Death of the two *Dauphin*'s laid upon him, the Baniſhment of the Queen, and a Thouſand other Things, furniſhed the Duke of *Burgundy* with a Pretence to make a Diverſion in Favour of the King of *England*. He publiſhed a *Manifeſto* againſt the *Conſtable*, wherein he aggravated his Faults and Oppreſſions with all the Reſentment of an injured Enemy. Then he wrote to the King, that as firſt *Peer* of *France*, it was incumbent upon him to endeavour to prevent the utter Ruin of the Kingdom, which was infallibly going to Deſtruction, unleſs timely relieved. By the ſame Reaſons, he tried to ſtir up the Cities of the Kingdom, and win them to his Side. In fine, perceiving that ſome of the Towns had already declared for him, he approached *Paris* at the Head of an Army, at the ſame Time that the King of *England* was ready to ſet ſail for *France*. His Aim was to bring the *Dauphin* and *Conſtable* under a Neceſſity, either of quitting *Paris*, to go and make Head againſt the King of *England*, or ſuffering the *Engliſh* to act without Oppoſition, if they had a Mind to ſave *Paris*. They thought fit to take this laſt Courſe, chuſing rather that Part of the Kingdom ſhould fall into the Hands of the *Engliſh*, than to ſee themſelves outed of the Government by their private Enemies.

He approaches Paris,

Henry *lands at* Tonque.

Henry willing to lay hold of ſo favourable a Juncture, ſet ſail about the End of *July*, and landed at *Tonque* in *Normandy*. His Army conſiſted but of twenty-five Thouſand five Hundred effective Men, too inconſiderable a Number for the Conqueſt of *France*, had he not been ſure of meeting little Oppoſition. Upon his Arrival he beſieged the Caſtle of *Tonque*, and became Maſter of it the 9th of *Auguſt*. Then after taking ſome other ſmall Places, he laid Siege to *Caen*, which ſurrendered the 9th of *September*.

Act. Pub. IX. 479---490.

Perplexity of the Court of France.

The Court of *France* was then in great Perplexity. The Duke of *Burgundy*, cloſe at the Gates of *Paris*, hindered the ſettling the Affairs of the Kingdom. The *French* ſhould have had two Armies in the Field, one to oppoſe the *Burgundians*, and another to defend *Normandy* againſt the *Engliſh*.

Engliſh. But they had hardly Troops enough to defend *Paris*, where the King, *Dauphin* and *Conſtable* were ſhut up. The only Remedy left was to renew the Negotiations with *Henry*. To that End, they demanded a Conference between the Ambaſſadors of the two Crowns, to conſult about Means to conclude a Peace. *Henry* agreed to the Propoſal, but without diſcontinuing the War, being unwilling to loſe ſo favourable an Opportunity. The Court of *France* having made choice of the Archbiſhop of *Rheims* for *firſt Plenipotentiary*, he appointed on his Part, the Earl of *Warwick* and ſome others, who were to meet together with the *French*, at *Bernonville*, in *Normandy*. This Congreſs, for what Reaſon I know not, was put off to the end of *November*. Mean while *Henry* became Maſter of *Bayeux*, *Argentan*, *Chateau*, *de l'Aigle*, *Alenſon*, and ſome other Places.

1416.

p. 494. Henry *conſents to a Conference.* *p.* 496.

He continues his Conqueſts. 501, 502.

Whilſt the King was continuing his Conqueſts, the Duke of *Burgundy* did him him very ſignal Service, not only by the Diverſion he made about *Paris*, but chiefly by increaſing the Troubles in *France*, in ſuch a manner as never more to be appeaſed. Queen *Iſabella*, baniſhed to *Tours*, had been hitherto an Enemy to the Duke of *Burgundy*; but the deſire of being revenged on the *Dauphin* and *Conſtable*, made her overlook all Cauſes of the Diſguſt ſhe had taken at the Duke. As ſhe had no other Courſe to take, ſhe diſpatched truſty Meſſengers to let him know ſhe was inclined to league with him againſt their common Enemies. The Duke readily cloſed with the Offer, and privately concerted Meaſures with her, to free her out of Priſon. Which done, he departed ſuddenly from *Corbeil*, where he was encamped, taking with him only a ſmall Body of choſen Horſemen. He made ſuch ſpeed, that before his Deſign could be known, he was at the Abby of *Marmoutier* cloſe by *Tours*, where he found the Queen, who was come thither under Colour of Devotion. As ſhe had not been ſuſpected of attempting her Eſcape, he carried her off with eaſe, and conducted her to *Troye* in *Campagne*. As ſoon as ſhe ſaw herſelf in a Place of ſafety, ſhe aſſumed the Title of

Iſabella *joins with the Duke of* Burguudy.

who carries her off to Tours.

She ſtiles herſelf Regent.

1416. of *Regent*, pretending that the King her Husband was held in Captivity by the *Dauphin* and Earl of *Armagnac*.

Henry *takes several Places.*

Whilst these Things were doing, *Henry* made several Conquests in *Normandy*, without any one's attempting to oppose him. The *Constable* chose rather to see the *State* perish, than resign his Authority, and the Duke of *Burgundy* backed *Henry* to the utmost of his Power.

Congress of Bernonville. Act. Pub. IX. 517.

The Conference between the Plenipotentiaries of the two Crowns was held at *Bernonville*, on the 28th of *November*. As *Henry* suspected that the Court of *France* sought only to make him lose Time, he resolved to make short Work of it. Immediately upon the opening of the Conference, his Ambassadors set forth his Pretensions, giving to understand, that not an Inch would be abated. The

Henry's *Demands.*

Substance of his Offers was, *That* he would marry the Princess *Catharine*: *That* King *Charles* should enjoy the Crown for his Life, but *that* after his Death, it should fall to the King of *England*: *That* during *Charles*'s Life, *Henry* should be *Regent* of *France*, by Reason of the King's Infirmity. Moreover he demanded such Securities as should render the Performance of all these Articles unquestionable. But as the *French* Ambassadors were not sufficiently impowered to treat upon these Articles, and as it was not *Henry*'s Interest to prolong to no Purpose this Negotiation,

The Conference breaks up.

the Congress immediately broke up. He was justly apprehensive that the Court of *France* would have made use of this Occasion to raise a Jealousy in his Allies, and particularly in the Duke of *Burgundy*. Mean while *Henry*

Falaise *taken.* 532, 541.

having stuck close to the Siege of *Falaise*, took the Town on the 20th of *December*; but the Castle held out till *February*.

Truce with Bretagne, &c. p. 506, 511, 512.

Some Time before the Congress of *Bernonville*, the Duke of *Bretagne* came to *Henry* and made a Truce with him for a Year, and the like in the Name of the Queen of *Sicily* as Guardian of *Lewis* her Son, for *Anjou* and *Maine*. Thus by degrees *Henry* greatly weakened *France*, by depriving her of the Assistance she might have received from her *Vassals*.

Whilst

Whilſt the King was employed in *France*, *Oldcaſtle*, of whom I have ſpoken elſewhere, was ſeized and brought to *London*, to the great Satisfaction of the *Clergy*, who were extremely incenſed againſt him. They were determined to make a Sacrifice of him, for a Terror to all the reſt of the *Lollards*. Notwithſtanding his Birth and Merit, he was ſentenced to be hung up by the Middle with a Chain and burnt alive. By the Way, his being burnt is a clear Evidence that he was condemned for *Hereſy*, rather than for conſpiring againſt the King. Be that as it will, his Sentence was executed amidſt the Curſes and Imprecations of the Prieſts and Monks, who even laboured to prevent the People from praying for him. Thus died Sir *John Oldcaſtle* Baron of *Cobham*, with a wonderful Reſolution, perfectly correſponding with the Firmneſs he had all along ſhowed in maintaining the *Doctrine* of *Wickliff* which he profeſſed. He was the firſt Nobleman that ſuffered for the ſake of Religion. After the Execution, the Parliament enacted freſh *Statutes*, in order to the utter Extirpation of the *Lollards*, the *Clergy* never ceaſing to require their Blood with all the eagerneſs imaginable. 1416. Oldcaſtle *burnt alive.*

Some Hiſtorians ſay, that in this very Year Queen *Blanch of Navarre*, Widow of *Henry* IV, and Mother-in-law of the preſent King, was accuſed of conſpiring with her *Confeſſor* againſt the King. Some add, that ſhe was condemned to a Ten-Years Impriſonmenr, and that her *Confeſſor* was killed by the Chaplain of the Tower, with whom he had entered into a Diſpute upon that Head. This is all that can be ſaid about this Matter, of which Hiſtorians ſpeak very confuſedly. *The Queen Dowager is accuſed of Conſpiracies againſt the King.* Speed. Stow.

As to the *Scotch* Invaſion which ſome place in this Year, and which as they aſſure us, was repulſed by the Duke of *Bedford*, with an Army of a Hundred Thouſand Men, I dare venture to affirm is all a Miſtake, ſince we find not the leaſt Footſteps of it, either in the *Publick Records*, or in the Hiſtories of *Scotland*. All we meet with relating to the *Scots*, is, that they threatened to attack *England* about the Middle of the Year 1415, about the Time of the King's firſt Expedition into *France*. *Pretended Invaſion of the* Scots *refuted.*

The

1418. The Poſture of Affairs in *France* made *Henry*'s Way to Conqueſt ſmooth and eaſy. Accordingly he did not fail to make the beſt of it. The Campain which he had began in *Auguſt*, laſted all the Winter, without any Interruption, ſo that his Troops had no Time to reſt. The Caſtle of *Falaiſe* having ſurrendered on the 20th of *February*, *Henry* divided his Army into ſeveral Bodies, of which he gave the Command to the Dukes of *Clarence* and *Glouceſter* his Brothers, to the Duke of *Exeter* and Earl of *Salisbury*, with Orders to go and attack ſeveral Places at once, being reſolved not to let ſlip ſo fair an Opportunity. In the Months of *March* and *April*, he became Maſter of St. *Lo*, *Carentan*, St. *Sauveur le Vicomte*, and many other Places in *Normandy*; ſo that of all the ſtrong Towns, he only wanted *Cherbourg* and *Roan* to complete the Conqueſt of that Province. *Evreux* ſurrendered in *May*, and preſently after he went and laid Siege to *Cherbourg*, which coſt him three Months.

Henry *takes ſeveral Places in* Normandy. Act. Pub. IX. 545---618.

Cherbourg *holds out* 3 *Months.*

During the Siege, the Court of *France* underwent a new Revolution, diſadvantagious to *Henry*, though at firſt it ſeemed to afford him a good Proſpect. The *Council of Conſtance*, which had been opened ever ſince the Year 1414, having depoſed the three Popes * who contended for the *Papacy*, had elected on the 10th of *November* 1417 Cardinal *Colonna*, who aſſumed the Name of *Martin* V. The new Pope upon his mounting the *Papal* Throne, ſent two *Legates* into *France*, to try to appeaſe the Troubles and unite the two Factions. The Sollicitations of theſe *Legates* were ſo powerful, that the two Parties ſent their Deputies to *Montereau-Faut-Yonne*, where it was agreed, that the *Dauphin* and Duke of *Burgundy* ſhould jointly govern the Kingdom during the King's Infirmity. If this Agreement had taken Place, and the two Parties been reconciled in good earneſt, in all likelihood *Henry*'s Affairs would have received a notable Prejudice. But the *Conſtable* and the Chancellor his

Martin V. *tries to unite the two Factions in* France.

May 17. *Agreement between the two Parties.*

* *John* XXIII at *Rome*, *Gregory* XII at *Rimini*, and *Benedict* XIII at *Avignon*. See the Hiſtory of this Council at large, at the End of Vol. VI.

his Creature, could never bear to ſee the Duke of *Burgundy* in the Adminiſtration again. So that preferring their own private Intereſts to the Good of the Publick, they managed it ſo, that the Agreement remained ineffectual. 1418. *rendered of no Effect by the Conſtable.*

This Proceeding drew the Hatred of the Publick on the *Conſtable*, and increaſed the *Burgundian* Faction in *Paris*, which from thenceforth became much more powerful. At length, *May* the 18th at Night, they found Means to introduce into *Paris*, *Liſle-Adam* Governor of *Pontoiſe*, and a zealous Stickler for the Duke of *Burgundy*. He got in with no more than eight-hundred Horſe; but upon his coming, the *Burgundians* being under Arms, made a terrible Slaughter of the *Armagnac*'s. *Tanneguy de Châtel*, Governor of the *Baſtille*, not being able to remedy the Diſorder, ran in all haſte to the *Louvre*, and carried off the *Dauphin* with only his Shirt on, in order to ſcreen him from Danger in his Fortreſs. Next Morning, the *Dauphin* fled to *Melun*, not thinking himſelf ſafe in the *Baſtile*; but the King was left in the Hands of the *Burgundians*. The ſame Day the *Conſtable*, being got into a Maſon's Houſe, was diſcovered and thrown into Priſon. *The* Burgundians *become Maſters of* Paris, *and murder the* Armagnacs. *The* Dauphin *is ſav'd, and the Conſtable taken.*

But this was only a Prelude to a much greater Commotion which happened in the ſame Place ſome Days after. Upon News of what had paſſed, the Exiles being returned to *Paris* from all Quarters, the Maſſacre was renewed *June* the 12th. The *Conſtable* was hauled out of Priſon, murdered, and ſhamefully dragged along the Streets. The Chancellor, ſeveral Biſhops, and other Perſons to the Number of above two Thouſand, underwent the ſame barbarous Treatment. The Maſſacre being pretty well over, the Queen and Duke of *Burgundy* came to *Paris*, and entered the City in Triumph on the 14th of *July*. The Plague which broke out afterwards at *Paris*, and which in three Months Space, ſwept away above Forty Thouſand Perſons, added freſh Calamities to thoſe I have juſt mentioned. Mean while the Queen and Duke having the King in their Power, iſſued in his Name what Orders they judged moſt conducive of their own Intereſts. On the other Hand, the *Dauphin* having taken the Title of *Regent*, threatened all that *Freſh Maſſacre at* Paris. *The Queen and Duke of* Burgundy *enter* Paris, *and govern in the King's Name. The* Dauphin *ſtiles himſelf Regent.*

1418. that ſhould pay Obedience to the Duke of *Burgundy*. Thus which Side ſoever the *French* eſpouſed, they were ſure of being called Rebels by one or other of the two Factions. Even ſtanding Neuter was accounted a Crime.

Agreement between the two Factions;

Mean while, notwithſtanding the Animoſity of the two Parties, the Troubles ſeemed for ſome Time likely to end. As there had not been as yet any Cauſe of perſonal Enmity between the *Dauphin* and Duke of *Burgundy*, the Duke of *Bretagne* had managed Matters ſo, that theſe two Princes had each for his Part conſented to an Accommodation.

broke off by the Dauphin.

Every Thing was agreed; but they who were about the *Dauphin*, perſwaded him not to ſign; the which was attended with fatal Conſequences. Thus the Diſſention which prevailed between the two Factions, cauſed each of them to have two Enemies to deal with, the oppoſite Party on one Side, and the *Engliſh* on the other. But *Henry* was very far from looking upon both Parties with the ſame Eye. He was ſworn Enemy of the *Armagnac*'s, and but a feigned one of the *Burgundians*.

Truce in Guienne *between* Henry *and the* Gaſcon-*Rebels.*

Henry had already begun to reap ſome Benefit from the late Revolution in the Court of *France*. The new Earl of *Armagnac*, the Lord *d' Albret*, and the other *Gaſcon* Lords of the ſame Party, who were waging in *Guienne* fierce War with the *Engliſh*, thought it their beſt Way to conclude a Truce with him, which would rid him of a troubleſome Diverſion. Theſe Lords conſidering that ſince the Death of the *Conſtable* the Government of *France* was in the Hands of the Duke of *Burgundy*, believed it repugnant to their Intereſt to continue a War, of which their Enemy would reap all the Advantage. By this Truce, inſtead of being obliged to ſend Supplies to *Guienne*, *Henry* drew from thence ſome Troops, with which he reinforced his Army in *Normandy*.

July 17 Act. Pub. IX. 602.

The taking of Cherburg. *p.* 618.

Cherburg having at length capitulated, after a three Months Siege, *France* had nothing left in *Normandy* but *Roan*, the Loſs whereof would cut off all Hopes of recovering that Province. And therefore, without delay, *Henry* went and laid Siege to that City about the latter End of *Auguſt*, or beginning of *September*. *Mezerai* ſays the Siege

Siege began in *June*, which is a Miſtake. Be that as it will, it was very remarkable, for the vigorous Defenſe of the Beſieged, who held out five Months, and endured the greateſt Hardſhips before they capitulated. They forthwith applied to the Duke of *Burgundy* for Succours; but it was to no Purpoſe. *France* in changing Governor, had not acquired new Forces. Beſides, the Duke of *Burgundy*, treading in the Steps of the Earl of *Armagnac*, was more careful how to diſappoint the Practices of his Enemies, than oppoſe the Progreſs of the King of *England*. He put however the Pope's *Legates* upon trying, whether upon a Negotiation he could interrupt the Siege of *Roan*. This Method not ſucceeding, he drew together all the Forces he had, and made as if he intended to give the *Engliſh* Battle. He even carried the King as far as *Beauvais*; but all this ended in nothing. Perhaps he did not much care to obſtruct the King of *England*'s Progreſs. It is uncertain, whether after his being at the Head of the Government, he had the ſame Thoughts of that Monarch, as he had when baniſhed from Court. It may at leaſt be affirmed, that he had not the ſame Reaſon to proſper his Arms. He could not however diſpenſe with keeping fair with a Prince who had in his Hand a *Writing* capable of ruining him in the Favour of all the *French*, of what Party ſoever. For this Reaſon, ſince the Revolution in the Court of *France*, his Behaviour was all along doubtful. He had reſolved it ſeems to do neither Good nor Hurt to the King of *England*, till ſuch Time as the Event ſhould help to determine him.

1418. *Siege of* Roan. *p.* 619. *Several Attempts to ſave that Place.*

The Duke of *Burgundy* not relieving the Beſieged, they applied to the *Dauphin*, who was no longer in a Condition to raiſe the Siege by Force of Arms. The way of Negotiation ſeemed to him more proper to produce that Effect. It is hard to know for certain whether he really intended to make an Alliance with *Henry*, as he declared he had a Mind to do, or whether he deſigned only to amuſe him. Be that as it will, he ſent him Word, that he wanted to treat with him about three Articles. Firſt, about the Means of procuring a Peace for *France*. Secondly, about

The Dauphin *offers to make an Alliance with* Henry

1418. Act. Pub. IX. 626. the Marriage already intended. Laſtly, about an Alliance between them two, againſt the Duke of *Burgundy*. *Henry* rejected not theſe Propoſals. Perhaps he did not much rely on the Duke of *Burgundy*, or elſe he had a mind to raiſe the Jealouſy of the Court of *France*, in order to procure more advantagious Offers than had yet been made him. He appointed for his Ambaſſadors at the Congreſs demanded by the *Dauphin*, the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, the Earls of *Warwick* and *Salisbury*, *Philip Morgan*, and ſome others. Their *Inſtructions* dated at the Camp before *Roan*, *October* the 26th, were in Subſtance as follows:

p. 628.

The King's Inſtructions to his Ambaſſadors.

I. That they ſhould uſe their utmoſt Endeavours to get the *Dauphin*'s Ambaſſadors to declare all they had Orders to offer, and abſolutely to reject all Propoſals tending only to the yielding up what he was already poſſeſſed of.

II. Granting that the *French* ſhould offer at length to put all things upon the Foot of the *Treaty of Bretigny*, yet he would have them ſtart Difficulties about the doing it, ſeeing the *Dauphin* was not authorized for that Purpoſe.

III. He judged, that thereby they might be brought to demand a longer Truce, in which caſe he ordered that they ſhould be asked what they were willing to give up upon that Conſideration.

IV. He expreſſly forbid his Ambaſſadors to treat of an Alliance with the *Dauphin* till the Peace or Truce was ſettled. He left them however at liberty to conclude either: but ordered notice to be ſent him when Matters ſhould be upon the Point of Concluſion, in caſe Things were carried ſo far.

V. As to the Alliance with the *Dauphin* he ſaid, that in all appearance that Prince's Aim was to get him to aſſiſt him againſt the Duke of *Burgundy*. If ſo, he forbad them to agree upon an inconſiderable Aid; but commanded them to tender Forces ſufficient to reſtore the Kingdom of *France* to a State of Tranquillity.

VI. But at the ſame Time, he expected that in Conſideration of theſe Forces, the Earldoms of *Artois*, *Bulloign* and *Flanders*, ſhould be yielded up to him. But if his Am-

Ambaſſadors could not obtain all this, he gave them leave to confine their Demands to the Earldom of *Flanders* only, provided the *Dauphin* would aſſiſt him in the Conqueſt of it. He offered on his Part to give up to the *Dauphin* whatever ſhould be conquered elſewhere upon the Duke of *Burgundy*. 1418.

It is eaſy to ſee by theſe *Inſtructions* that the King did not believe this Congreſs would end in a Peace: nay, that he did not ſo much as deſign to conclude with the *Dauphin*, who was not empowered to yield up to the King what had been taken from his Predeceſſors ſince *the Treaty of Bretigny*. There is room then to preſume, that his ſole Aim was to ſtir up the Jealouſy of the Duke of *Burgundy*, who being maſter of the King's Perſon, was alone able to make a ſolid Peace. This appears moreover by the King's Writing the very Day he ſigned theſe *Inſtructions* to the Duke of *Burgundy*, that if the Negotiation for a Peace was renewed, he would do what in him lay to bring Matters to a good Iſſue. Upon this Letter, *Charles* ſent him back word, that he had nominated the Biſhops of *Arras* and *Beauvais*, the firſt Preſident of *Morvilliers*, and ſome others, for his Plenipotentiaries. Thus *Henry* was in hopes that by treating with the two Parties at once, he ſhould raiſe ſuch Jealouſy in both, that from thence would reſult a happy Concluſion to his Affairs. *The King's View in treating wieh the* Dauphin. Act. Pub. IX. 631.

The Congreſs between the Ambaſſadors of the King and *Dauphn* was held at *Alenſon*, the 26th of *November*. The *Engliſh*, purſuant to their *Inſtructions*, abſolutely refuſed to treat about the Alliance, before the Terms of the Peace were agreed upon. At length, after having evaded all the captious Propoſals made them by the *French*, they obliged them to come to their laſt Offers; namely, the Towns and Provinces ſpecified in *the Treaty of Bretigny*, on Condition of doing Homage for them to the Crown of *France*. But the *Engliſh* rejected theſe Offers, unleſs the *Sovereignty* of the Provinces was added, according to the Tenor of *the Treaty of Bretigny*. They demanded moreover *Normandy*: raiſed Difficulties about the *Dauphin*'s *Congreſs* at Alenſon. P. 632.

1418. not being able to perform these Conditions, and wanted to know in what manner he intended to accomplish them, supposing their Master should be satisfied with them. The *French* made answer, that it was needless to talk of the manner of Performance, since the Offers themselves did not please. Whereupon they broke up the Conference.

Another between the Ambassadors of the two Kings of no Effect. Ibid. 655—659.

Hardly was this Congress over, before another was held at *Pont de l'Arche*, between the Plenipotentaries of the two Kings, or rather the Ambassadors of the two Crowns met with design to confer together in the Presence of the Pope's *Legates*. But just as they were about to begin, King *Charles*'s Ambassadors insisted that the *Records* of the Conference should be written in *French*, to which the *English* refused to agree. In fine, at the Instance of the *Legates*, who bestirred themselves mightily in the Business, *Henry* was willing to agree there should be two *Protocols*, one in *French* and another in *Latin*, of which the last only should be accounted authentick. But the *French* rejecting this Expedient, the Conference about the Peace was not so much as opened. Apparently the Duke of *Burgundy* did not intend seriously to enter into Negotiation. He was still undetermined what Course he should take, or rather he was then hatching a Design which we shall see come to light the next Year.

1419. *The* Dauphin *wants to renew the Treaty.* Act. Pub. IX. 661, 672.

This Conference however alarmed the *Dauphin*, who, no doubt, was ignorant of what passed. He was apprehensive the Duke of *Burgundy* would be beforehand with him, being very sensible that in case a Peace was made between the two Kings, it could not but tend to his Prejudice. In this Belief he sent to *Henry*, intreating him to appoint the Place where the Negotiation begun at *Alençon* might be renewed. *Henry* readily consented to his Request, not being able to wish for any thing more to his Advantage, than the mutual Jealousy of the two Factions. It was agreed therefore, that the Ambassadors should meet again at *Louviers* in the Beginning of *February*.

The taking of Roan. Ibid. p. 664.

During all these Negotiations, *Henry* had not discontinued one Moment the Siege of *Roan*, though the Sharpness of the Season made his Army suffer very much. But the Besieged

Beſieged underwent no leſs Hardſhips. Reduced to eat the Fleſh of Horſes, and all kinds of Animals; and even this ſort of Food failing them, they could hold out no longer. Wherefore, ſeeing there was no help, they capitulated on the 13th of *January*, to ſurrender on the 19th, in caſe they were not relieved by that Time. *Henry* maintained them in all their Privileges for the Sum of Three-hundred Thouſand Crowns. By the Surrender of *Roan*, all *Normandy*, a few Caſtles excepted, fell again under the Dominion of the Kings of *England*, Two-hundred and Fifteen Years after it was taken from them by *Philip Auguſtus*, in the Reign of *John Lack-land*. After the taking of *Roan*, *Henry* ſent Part of his Army to *Picardy*, under the Command of the Duke of *Exeter*, who became Maſter of *Dieppe* and *Montrevil*. 1419. February, 674—682.

Affairs were then at a *Criſis*, which could not fail of producing ſome great Change. As the Duke of *Burgundy* had not ſought the Alliance of the King of *England*, but purely in order to get the better of the *Dauphin* and Earl of *Armagnac*, he ſtood no longer in need of his Aid, ſeeing he was become Maſter of *Paris*, and the King's Perſon. On the contrary, the Station he was in could not but make him wiſh that *Henry* might not grow too powerful in *France*, and conſequently it was his Intereſt to oppoſe the Progreſs of the *Engliſh* Arms. But on the other hand, he had in the *Dauphin* a ſworn Enemy, againſt whom it was neceſſary chiefly to ſecure himſelf. Beſides, the natural Right that Prince had to govern the Kingdom during the Infirmity of the King his Father; he was moreover at the Head of a ſtrong Party: Then it was not impoſſible, that either by the King's Death, or ſome other way, he might regain the Ground he had loſt. In which Caſe the Duke would ſooner have had *Henry* Maſter of all *France*, than ſee the *Dauphin* uppermoſt. Mean while, what Turn ſoever Affairs ſhould take, he plainly perceived, it would not be in his Power to preſerve his Authority, though *Henry* ſhould ſucceed in his Deſigns. And indeed, it was not likely that *Henry* would truſt him with the Government, when once he had got Poſſeſſion. Thus ſtanding *The Duke of* Burgundy *takes new Meaſures.*

as

1419. as it were between two Precipices, he remained ſome Time unreſolved, not knowing what Courſe to take. In all probability it was this that prevented him from attempting more vigorouſly the Relief of *Roan*. He durſt not break with the King of *England*, for fear he ſhould want his Aſſiſtance againſt the *Dauphin*. After he had continued ſome Time in this State of Perplexity, he determined at length to do all that lay in his Power to be reconciled with his Enemy, that he might ſafely break with the King of *England*. This Courſe ſeemed to him both advantagious and honourable. By a hearty Reconciliation with the *Dauphin*, he might hope to have ſome laſting Share in the Government of the Kingdom, and to hold the ſecond Rank: Beſides, *France* being his native Country, he could not openly forſake her Intereſts without rendring himſelf odious to all honeſt *Frenchmen*. If he had privately made ſuch a Step already, it was not without Remorſe: The ſole Thirſt of Revenge had hurried him away. The Execution however of the Deſign he had formed, was not without its Difficulties. The *Dauphin* had conceived againſt him an inveterate Hatred, which was continually fomented by the Friends and Adherents of the late Duke of *Orleans*, who were always about him, and carefully watching all Opportunities to revenge the Death of that Prince. In ſpite of theſe Obſtacles, the Duke of *Burgundy* became more and more confirmed in his Reſolution, not ſeeing any other way to ſave himſelf and the Kingdom. He undertook therefore to bring about this Reconciliation by all ſorts of Means, even to the forcing the *Dauphin* to it, from the Fear of ſeeing *France* without it entirely loſt. In fine, if it ſhould happen that the *Dauphin*'s Hatred and Obſtinacy ſhould render their being made Friends impracticable, he was determined to take the deſperate Courſe of helping *Henry* to become Maſter of *France*.

He reſolves to be Friends with the Dauphin.

Conference of Louviers. Act. Pub. IX. 686, 701, 703.

At the ſame Time that the Duke of *Burgundy* came to his laſt Reſolution, the Conference between the Ambaſſadors of *Henry* and the *Dauphin* was held at *Louviers*. The ſame Difficulties which ariſe at the Congreſs of *Alenſon*, rendered this fruitleſs. It was only agreed, that the King

and

and *Dauphin* ſhould confer together in Perſon. But this Interview, which was twice put off, took not place, becauſe the *Dauphin* entered into other Meaſures. Mean while, to keep alive the Jealouſy of the Duke of *Burgundy*, *Henry* granted the *Dauphin* a Truce, from the 12th of *February* till *Eaſter*, for all the Country lying between the *Loire* and *Seine*, *Normandy* excepted. 1419. *Truce with the* Dauphin. P. 692.

Purſuant to the Scheme the Duke of *Burgundy* had laid, he ſent and ſued for the *Dauphin*'s Friendſhip, offering on his Part to do all that lay in his Power to deſerve and cultivate it. He let him know at the ſame Time, that it would be proper they ſhould hold a Conference together, as well mutually to confirm their Reconciliation, as to concert Meaſures for the Welfare of the Kingdom. But the *Dauphin* rejected this Propoſal with great Diſdain. He was too much afraid of ſharing the Authority with the Queen his Mother, and the Duke of *Burgundy*, or rather of ſeeing himſelf ſubject to them. The ſole Command of the Provinces which received him for *Regent*, ſeemed to him preferable to the Advantage they would have made him hope for, from a Reconciliation which could not be made without leaving the Queen his Mother, and the Duke a Share in the Adminiſtration. Thus the Duke of *Burgundy* ſaw himſelf reduced to a Neceſſity of labouring heartily to make Peace with *England*, in caſe the *Dauphin* perſiſted in his Obſtinacy. The Congreſs at *Louviers* having alarmed him, he was afraid of being prevented, and by that Means of not being ſtrong enough to make Head againſt the King of *England* and the *Dauphin*, if they ſhould happen to join in a League againſt him. He reſolved therefore, in order to rid himſelf of this Fear, to unravel Matters which way ſoever it could be done. With this View he ſent *Henry* word, that King *Charles* was inclined to a Peace; and to make the Way to it the eaſier, he propoſed an Interview, where the two Kings, aſſiſted by their reſpective *Councils*, might ſettle the Terms, and conclude the intended Marriage. *Henry* readily cloſed with the Propoſal. He even granted a Truce for three Months, that during the Interval

The Dauphin *refuſes to be reconciled with the Duke of* Burgundy.

The Duke propoſes a Peace to Henry. Act. Pub. IX. 696, 709, 724.

1419. val they might agree upon the Time, Place, and Manner of the Interview.

Fruitless Attempts to reconcile the Dauphin *with the Duke of* Burgundy.

All *France* was justly alarmed at this Resolution. People easily perceived that the Peace and Marriage could not be made at such a Juncture, without the Kingdom's being yielded up to the King of *England*. Matters standing thus, some Lords who had the Welfare and Interest of their Country at heart, left no Stone unturned to procure a Peace, or at least a Truce between the *Dauphin* and Duke of *Burgundy*. The *Dauphin* would have agreed to a Truce for three Years, but the Duke would have it only for two Months. His Aim was to strike up a Peace with *England*, if by that Time Matters could not be accommodated with the *Dauphin*. The Pains that were taken to bring them to so necessary an Union proving fruitless, the Project of the Interview between the two Kings was at length brought about, after it had been put off at several times, till the 30th of *May*. It was agreed, that it should be near *Meulant*, in a Field pitched upon for that Purpose, where a magnificent Pavilion was ordered to be erected. As King *Charles*'s Infirmity hindered him from being present in Person, it was agreed, that his Queen and the Duke of *Burgundy* should act as his *Proxies*, and that the Duke of *Bretagne* should be there. Mean time, to avoid the Heats and Contests which might arise in debating Matters, Commissioners were appointed on both Sides to settle the Particulars. *Henry* was pleased to give the Dukes of *Clarence* and *Gloceſter* the Honour of being Heads of this Commission. The Court of *France* being at *Pontoise*, *Henry* came to *Mante*, that he might be near the Place of Conference. From these two Towns it was that the two Courts repaired every Day to the Place appointed. The first Day the Queen of *France* brought along with her the Princess *Catharine* her Daughter, of whose Charms *Henry* became enamoured. The Effect of this first Sight being very visible, the Queen believed she should inflame the Desires of that Prince, by not letting her Daughter appear again. *Henry* soon perceived her Design. He found they had a Mind to make use of the Princess

for

for a Decoy to enſnare him. But, to cut off the Queen's hopes, he told the Duke of *Burgundy*, that they might depend upon it, he would never quit his Arms, till he had the King and the Princeſs his Daughter in his Power, and had driven him out of the Kingdom in Caſe he was againſt it. At any other Juncture, the Duke who was no leſs fiery than the King, would doubtleſs have returned him a ſmart Anſwer. But not to exaſperate too much the Prince, of whom he might ſoon ſtand in need, he was content with ſaying, that he did not queſtion but he ſhould give him Cauſe to be weary of the War. 1419.

The Conference of *Meulant* ran upon three Articles, which *Henry* inſiſted upon as *Preliminaries* to the Peace and Marriage.

I. That he ſhould be put in Poſſeſſion of whatever had been given up to *Edward* III by the *Treaty of Bretigny*. Henry's *Demands*. Act. Pub. IX. 762.

II. That moreover all *Normandy* ſhould be yielded to him.

III. That he ſhould hold in *full Sovereignty*, and without any Dependance, whatever ſhould be given up by the enſuing Treaty.

As *Henry* would not recede from theſe Articles, the Duke of *Burgundy* plainly ſaw, that if he directly oppoſed them, it would occaſion the breaking up of the Conference, which it was his Intereſt to continue as the only way left to bring the *Dauphin* to a Reconciliation. And therefore without diſputing, or granting the King's Pretenſions, he contented himſelf with delivering to the King the Counter-Demands of *France*. They were drawn up ſo as to be liable to great Objections, which he might either improve or drop, according as he ſaw what Reſolution the *Dauphin* would come to. In a Word, the Duke of *Burgundy*'s Aim was to give the *Dauphin* a little more Time before he concluded any Thing with the King of *England*. Theſe were the Demands of *France*, with the King's Anſwers annexed.

1419. *Demands of* France. ibid. *p.* 763.

I. That the King of *England* renounce the Crown of *France*.

The King consents to it, provided this Clause be added, [except what is yielded to him by the present Treaty.]

II. That he quit Claim to *Touraine*, *Anjou*, *Maine*, and the Sovereignty of *Bretagne*.

The King is not pleased with this Article.

The Reason was in all likelihood, because of the Sovereignty of *Bretagne*, which he claimed as Duke of *Normandy*.

III. The King of *England* shall swear, that neither he nor his Successors shall receive at any Time hereafter, upon any Account whatever, the Conveyance of the Crown of *France* from any Person who hath, or pretends to have a Right to it.

The King agrees to this, provided his Adversary will swear likewise the same Thing, &c.

IV. The King of *England* shall cause the Renunciations, Promises. and Engagements to be recorded in the manner the King of *France* and his *Council* shall think propereſt.

The King likes not this Article.

IV. As there are still in *Normandy* several Places not conquered by the King of *England*, which however are to be given up by the Treaty, he shall desist upon that Score from all his other Conquests made elsewhere.

Every one shall be restored to the Possession of his Estate in what Places soever it lies. There shall be an Alliance concluded between the two Kings.

The King approves of this, on Condition the Scots *and the Rebels shall not be included in the Alliance.*

VII. The King of *England* shall refund the six Hundred Thousand Crowns paid to *Richard* II in Part of the eight Hundred Thousand Crowns he was to have with his Queen *Isabella*. Moreover four Hundred Thousand Crowns for that Princess's Jewels detained in *England*.

The King is willing that this Article be allowed out of the Arrears due for King John's *Ransom. However he is surprized at the Demand of four Hundred Thousand Crowns for Queen*

Queen Iſabella's *Jewels, when they were not worth a Quarter of that Sum.* 1419.

It is eaſy to perceive by the Nature of theſe Demands, that the Objections were not conſiderable enough to hinder the Concluſion of a Peace, if both the Parties had been alike willing. But on the other Hand they were ſufficient to keep the Treaty depending, as long as the Court of *France* ſhould pleaſe. In the State the Duke of *Burgundy* was in, he did not inſiſt upon the Articles which the King was averſe to, any further than was neceſſary for his Deſign. He was well pleaſed to let the King believe that the Peace was juſt going to be concluded, as indeed it would have been, had the *Dauphin* perſiſted in his Obſtinacy. *Henry* ſo little queſtioned it, that on the 5th of *July*, that is, about a Month after the opening of the Congreſs, he gave full Power to the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury* to go to *Paris* and conclude the Peace in his Name with King *Charles*. *The Duke of Burgundy's Deſigns.*

But whilſt *Henry* was pleaſing himſelf with this Proſpect, Endeavours were uſing on the other Side to break all his Meaſures. As he had made uſe of Negotiations now with the *Dauphin*, then with the Duke of *Burgundy*, in order to ſtir up the Jealouſy of both, and attain his Ends, he was himſelf over-reached in his own Way. The Congreſs of *Meulant* wherein the Duke of *Burgundy*'s chief Aim had been to frighten the *Dauphin*, produced the Effect he expected. The young Prince alarmed at ſeeing upon the Point of Concluſion a Peace ſo diſadvantagious to *France* and himſelf, did not think proper obſtinately to refuſe any longer to be reconciled with the Duke of *Burgundy*, ſince their Reconciliation was the only Means to prevent ſo great a Miſchief. Wherefore after ſeveral private Conferences between ſome truſty Friends of the two Princes, a Reconciliation, ſo earneſtly wiſhed for by all honeſt *Frenchmen*, was at length brought about. On the 11th of *July* they met about three Miles from *Meulant* in the Road to *Paris*, and embraced one another. After that they ſigned a Treaty, whereby they mutually promiſed *to love one another like* Act. Pub. IX. 776.

1419. *Brothers, and jointly to withstand the damnable Enterprize of the* English, *the old Enemies of the Kingdom.*

This Step being made, the Duke of *Burgundy* took new Measures. As he no longer desired the Conclusion of the Peace, he strenuously insisted in the Conferences which were still kept on at *Meulant* upon the Demands of *France*. But for fear *Henry* should desist from the Objections he had made to them, he added some fresh Articles. In explaining the third Demand of *France*, he clogged it with so many Conditions, that in all possible Cases for the future, neither *Henry* nor his Successors Kings of *England* could ever have any Claim or Share in it. But *Henry*, who was very willing to quit his Pretensions to the Kingdom of *France*, as descended from *Edward* III, thought it very unreasonable that he should be obliged to extend his Renuntiation for himself and Successors, to all Cases that might happen for the Time to come, and which it was not possible to foresee. He complained moreover that the Duke of *Burgundy* demanded some Things which he could not grant without sinning against God, and breaking his Oaths. I do not know what this was. In fine, to render the Conclusion of the Peace impracticable, the Duke fell upon the King's Demands, against which he took Care not to alledge any Thing before he was Friends with the *Dauphin*. He affirmed that in general, they were extravagant, obscure, ambiguous, and unreasonable, without mentioning any Instances. At the same Time he pretended that *Henry* should accept the Offers of *France*, absolutely and simply, without any manner of Explanation. For fear however of being taken at his Word, he refused to consent that the Articles already agreed upon, should be committed to Writing.

The Duke of Burgundy *breaks off the Conference of* Meulant. *p.* 786.

Hitherto *Henry* had imagined, upon what Grounds I know not, that the Duke of *Burgundy*'s Reconciliation with the *Dauphin*, would be no Obstacle to the Peace. We find in the *Collection of Publick Acts*, that on the 18th of *July*, that is, seven Days after their Interview, *Henry* impowered the Archbishop of *Canterbury* to conclude his Marriage with the Princess *Catharine*. One would think he knew nothing yet of what had passed on the 11th be-

ibid. 774, 775.

tween

tween the *Dauphin* and Duke of *Burgundy*, if it did not appear by a Letter in the ſaid *Collection*, that ſome of his Courtiers had received Intelligence of it on the 14th. He was ſo prejudiced on this Occaſion, that on the 19th he gave Power to Commiſſioners to prolong the Truce. But the new Demands of the Duke of *Burgundy*, or rather his Cavils at the Treaty, broke off the Conferences, and each Party went and prepared for War. 1419. *p.* 779. *p.* 782.

July the 28th, *Henry* ordered a Detatchment, headed by the Duke of *Clarence*, to ſtorm *Pontoiſe*. This Enterprize was attended with the Succeſs he expected, *L' Iſle Adam* the Governor, not dreaming of being attacked, was ſurpriſed and fain to fly with Part of the Garriſon. As the Court of *France* had reſided in this Town during the Congreſs of *Meulant*, and had been gone but a few Days, the *Engliſh* Soldiers found the Place full of the Baggage of the Courtiers. The Booty is ſaid to amount to above two Millions of Crowns. Henry *takes* Pontoiſe. Juven. des Urſins Hiſt. of Charles VI. *A great Booty.*

The taking of *Pontoiſe* opened the King a Way to the very Gates of *Paris*. But however the Poſture of Affairs was not changed for the better, ſince the Union of the two Factions which had divided *France*. Whilſt they were worrying one another, an Army of Twenty-five Thouſand Men had been ſufficient for the Conqueſt of *Normandy*. No Enemy had appeared to offer to diſturb him in his Sieges. What is more, one of the Factions had all along countenanced him, either openly or underhand. But ſince their Reconciliation, he could hardly expect, with his own Forces alone, to compaſs his Ends. He aimed at no leſs than the Conqueſt of the whole Kingdom, or at leaſt what *England* had loſt ſince the *Treaty of Bretigny*. And yet after a ſix Years War, and at ſo favourable a Juncture, he was not Maſter but of one ſingle Province. He was alſo ſenſible, that in *England* every Body did not applaud his being bent upon continuing ſo hazardous a War, and that it was openly ſaid, the Conqueſt of *France* would be the Ruin of *England*. But this was not the only Thing that gave him Uneaſineſs. He had juſt received a Letter from *Bayonne*, of the 22d of *July*, informing him, that a powerful Fleet *The Poſture of* Henry's *Affairs.* Act. Pub. IX. 783.

was

1419. 791, 794. was equipping in *Castile* for the Aid of the *Dauphin*. Shortly after he received another from the *Mayor* of the same Town, acquainting him, that *Arragon* had declared for the *Dauphin*; that the *Castilians* and *Arragonians* had already entered *Bearn*, ravaged the Country about *Bayonne*, and seemed to have a Design to besiege the Town. The Letter added further, that the *Castilian* Fleet was ordered to sail for *Scotland*, to take on Board there a Body of Troops which were to be transported into *France*, to serve under the Command of the *Dauphin*. On the other Hand, he could not doubt but the *Flemmings*, who had refused to serve the Duke of *Burgundy* against *France*, would be ready to obey him, when the Business was to assist that Kingdom. Maugre all these Difficulties which had started up on a sudden, he persisted in his first Resolution. He had even the Assurance to offer King *Charles*, as a sort of Favour, that he would be contented with what he had demanded at *Meulant*, provided he should be left in Possession of *Pontoise*, which he had just taken. It is however undeniable, that he should have been at a great Non-plus. When he took the War in Hand, he depended upon the Dissentions of the *French*. And to these Dissentions was he indebted for his going on so smoothly hitherto. Mean while he saw himself obliged to undertake with the help of an inconsiderable Army, the Conquest of a Kingdom, of which he possessed as yet but a small Part. But the good Fortune, or rather the Animosity of the *Dauphin* against the Duke of *Burgundy*, happily brought him off at this Pinch.

The Dauphin *causes the Duke of* Burgundy *to be assassinated.*

In the Interview between the *Dauphin* and Duke of *Burgundy*, they had agreed to meet again upon the Bridge of *Montereau-Faut-Yonné*, on the 28th of *August*, in order to consult about the manner of carrying on the War against the *English*. The Duke was extremely loath to go to the Place appointed. One would think he had some Misgiving of what was to happen to him. However, as too great a Distrust might have broke his Measures, and rendred all he had done of no Effect, he resolved to stand to his Engagement. Not to enter into the Particulars related by all the *French* Historians, I shall content my self with saying, that the *Dau-*

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phin cauſed the Duke to be aſſaſſinated upon the very Bridge they had pitched upon for their Conference. I ſay, the *Dauphin*, how much Pains ſoever ſome Hiſtorians have taken to clear him; the Deed was done before his Eyes, and at his Feet, and he kept for all that the Murderers in his Service, who were the chief Officers of his Houſhold. There would be need of no other Proof of his Guilt, ſuppoſing there had not been Hiſtorians honeſt enough freely to own it. 1419.

The Face of Affairs changed.

This Accident changed on a ſudden the Face of Affairs. In all likelihood the Duke of *Burgundy* at the Time of his Death was well-affected to *France*. But *Philip* his Son and Succeſſor, ſuffering himſelf to be hurried away with the Deſire of revenging the Death of his Father, did not ſtick to ruin the Kingdom in order to gratify his Paſſion. The ſpeedieſt and moſt effectual Means to attain his Ends, was to make a League with the King of *England* and Queen *Iſabella*, mortal Enemy of the *Dauphin* her Son. Accordingly, all the reſt of the Year was ſpent in ſecret Negotiations, which tended in the long Run to the giving up the Kingdom into the Hands of the *Engliſh*. Mean while, the new Duke of *Burgundy* held the ſame Place the Duke his Father had been in: That is to ſay, being Maſter of the King's Perſon, he was looked upon as *Regent*, by thoſe who were not in Obedience to the *Dauphin*. Act. Pub. IX. 805, 806.

The Pariſians *apply to* Henry.

Since the taking of *Pontoiſe*, the Court of *France* was removed by reaſon of the continual Inroads of the *Engliſh* up to the very Gates of *Paris*. Mean while the *Pariſians* ſaw themſelves in manifeſt Danger. The Duke of *Burgundy*'s Thoughts being wholly engroſſed by Revenge, he took no care for the Defence of *Paris*. Whereupon, the Inhabitants juſtly alarmed at ſo dangerous a Neighbourhood, thought it their wiſeſt Courſe to try to prevent their Ruin, by coming to an Agreement with *Henry*. There were ſeveral Negotiations which ended in a ſeparate Truce for *Paris*, from the 20th of *November* to the 25th. This was but ſmall comfort to the *Pariſians*: but as the Treaty between the King and Duke of *Burgundy* was upon the Point of Ibid. 747, 810.

They obtain a ſhort Truce. P. 815.

1419. of Concluſion, they had no need of a longer Truce, ſince they were included in the Treaty. Beſides, *Henry* did not intend to deprive himſelf of the Advantage which the Neighbourhood of *Pontoiſe* gave him upon the *Pariſians*, in caſe the Treaty he was negotiating with the Duke of *Burgundy* ſhould come to be violated by ſome unexpected Accident. Since the Death of the Duke of *Burgundy*, nothing but Envoys and Couriers were continually going backwards and forwards between the King and Duke. *Henry* was willing to make the ſame Alliance with him, as he had done with the deceaſed. But having been over-reached by the Father, he did not care to run the Hazard of being ſerved in the ſame Manner by the Son: And therefore, before he joined in League with him againſt the *Dauphin*, he was reſolved to be ſure of a Peace with King *Charles*.

Henry *claims the Crown of* France.

At the Congreſs of *Meulant*, *Henry* had limited his Pretenſions to the Articles of *the Treaty of Bretigny*, and to *Normandy*. But although, after the breaking up of the Conferences, he ſeemed reſolved to ſtand his ground without relaxing in the leaſt. 'Tis to be ſuppoſed, if the Murder of the Duke of *Burgundy* had not unexpectedly happened, he would have fallen very conſiderably in his Demands. At leaſt, the Poſture of Affairs would have left him no room to expect, that he ſhould ever be able to compel *France* to grant him ſo great Advantages. After the Death of that Duke, the *Scene* was changed in his Favour. Wherefore, finding he was earneſtly applied to by Queen *Iſabella*, and the new Duke of *Burgundy*, he did not queſtion but it would be in his Power to impoſe upon *France* what Terms he pleaſed. He forgot therefore the Offers he had made at *Meulant*, and reſumed his former Claim to the Crown of *France*, with the ſame Condition that *Charles* VI. ſhould be King during his Life. Theſe are the Articles which he propoſed as a Foundation for a Peace.

Preliminary Articles of the Peace. Act. Pub. IX. 816.

I. That he would eſpouſe the Princeſs *Catharine*, without any charge to her Relations, or the Kingdom.

II. That

II. That he ſhould not diſturb King *Charles* in the Enjoyment of the Crown, or Poſſeſſion of the Revenues of the Kingdom, during the ſaid King's Life. That Queen *Iſabella* his Spouſe ſhould likewiſe enjoy, during her Life, the Rights annexed to her Dignity. 1419.

III. That after the Death of King *Charles*, the Crown of *France* ſhould fall to the King of *England* and his Heirs for ever.

IV. That by reaſon of King *Charles*'s Infirmity, which prevented him from attending to the Government of the State, the King of *England* ſhould take upon him the Adminiſtration of Affairs, as Regent, during the Life of the King his Father-in-law.

V. That the Princes, Nobles, Corporations, Burghers, *&c.* ſhould take an Oath to the King of *England* as Regent, and bind themſelves by the ſame Oath to own him for Sovereign after the Death of King *Charles*.

VI. That for Security of the Performance of theſe Articles, the King of *France* ſhould give the King of *England* his *Letters Patents* under his *Great Seal*; That he ſhould cauſe the like *Letters* of Approbation to be given him by the Queen his Spouſe, by the Duke of *Burgundy*, by the Peers, *&c.* in clear and plain Terms, as ſhould be agreed upon by the Parties.

VII. That the King of *England* ſhould give and cauſe to be given the like.

Henry's Pretenſions being thus ſettled in theſe few fundamental Articles, the Duke of *Burgundy* ſigned *Letters Patents*, whereby he approved of theſe Articles as good, beneficial, reaſonable, and tending to the Welfare of *France* and all *Chriſtendom*. This done, a general Truce was publiſhed from the 24th of *December* to the 1ſt of *March* next. As ſoon as the Buſineſs of the Peace was over, the Plenipotentiaries of the King and Duke of *Burgundy* ſigned a private Treaty of Alliance, containing theſe ſix Articles: *Approved by the Duke of* Burgundy. Sept. 25.

1419.

Treaty between Henry and the Duke of Burgundy. Act. Pub. IX. 825, 840.

I. That one of the King's Brothers ſhould marry one of the Duke of *Burgundy*'s Daughters.

II. That the King and Duke ſhould love and aſſiſt one another like Brothers.

III. That they ſhould jointly endeavour to bring to Puniſhment the *Dauphin*, and the reſt of the Murderers of the late Duke of *Burgundy*.

IV. That if the *Dauphin* or any other of the ſaid Murderers ſhould be taken Priſoners, they ſhould not be releaſed without the Conſent of the Duke of *Burgundy*.

V. That the King of *England* ſhould cauſe to be aſſigned to the Duke and his Dutcheſs, Daughter of King *Charles*, Lands of the yearly Value of Twenty Thouſand *Livres*, lying as nigh as poſſible to his *Demeſns* in *France*; and that they ſhould do Homage for them to the Crown. That they ſhould have *Letters* under the *Great Seal* to that Purpoſe, which the King of *England* ſhould confirm upon his entering upon the Regency.

VI. That if any Perſon hereafter, under colour of his marrying a Daughter of *France*, ſhould claim the like Aſſignment of Lands, the Duke ſhould aſſiſt the King to the utmoſt of his Power to prevent it.

1420. This Treaty was ratified by the two Princes in the Beginning of *January*, 1420.

Although the Peace was not yet ſigned, it was looked upon however as a done Thing, ſince the Terms were agreed on. *Henry* was ſo ſure of it, that *January* the 24th, that is, four Months before the ſigning of the Treaty, he promiſed by his *Letters Patents* to the *Pariſians*, to maintain them in their Privileges when he ſhould come to be King of *France*.

Act. Pub. IX. 854.

The Truce prolonged in order to draw up the Treaty.

Mean while, as it was neceſſary to draw up the Articles agreed upon in the moſt exact Form, and to avoid all obſcure and equivocal Expreſſions, ſome Time was ſpent in doing it. This occaſioned the frequent prolonging of the Truce. All that while *Henry* had Ambaſſadors at *Troye*, to draw up the Treaty of Peace jointly with the Duke of *Burgundy*.

Burgundy. For the greater Precaution, it was firſt reduced to the Form of Preliminary Articles, to the End every one might examine what was to be added, retrenched or explained. This done, *Charles* confirmed all the Articles by his *Letters Patents*, dated *April* the 9th. It is remarkable, that by the XXI. *Henry* was to ſwear, that upon no Occaſion whatever, during the Life of King *Charles*, he ſhould take upon him the Title of *King of France*. And yet we find in the *Collection of Publick Acts*, an Order of his dated *April* 18. for coining a new Sort of Money in *Normandy*, with an *H* on one Side, and theſe Words round it: *Sit Nomen Domini Benedictum*; and on the other, *Henricus Francorum Rex* (*a*).

1420. *Articles preliminary approved by King* Charles. p. 877.

Henry *takes the Title of King of* France *on a new Coin*, p. 888.

After the Preliminaries were approved of, an Interview between the two Kings was agreed on for the ſwearing and ſigning the Treaty. This Interview was to be ſomewhere near *Troye*: but afterwards *Henry* agreed it ſhould be in *Troye* itſelf. As King *Charles* was not fit to appear in publick, the Queen and Duke of *Burgundy* were empowered to ſwear the Peace in his Name. *Henry* being come to *Troye*, *May* the 20th, found there the King of *France*, his Queen, and the Princeſs *Catharine*, to whom he made a Preſent of a Ring of great Value. Next Day the Treaty was ſigned and ſworn with the uſual Formalites; and the ſame Day *Henry* betrothed the Princeſs, but the Marriage was not conſummated till the 2d of *June*. The Subſtance of this famous Treaty was as follows;

p. 894.

Henry *comes to* Troye, *ſigns the Treaty, and betroths* Catharine. p. 907.

TREATY *of* TROYE.

I. THE King of *England* being become Son of the King of *France*, by his Marriage with the Princeſs *Catharine*, ſhall honour the King and Queen of *France* as his Father and Mother, *&c.*

Treaty of Troye. p. 896.

(*a*) There are ſome Pieces ſtill in Being in the Hands of the Curious.

1420. II. He ſhall not hinder the King of *France* during his natural Life, from preſerving the Royal Dignity, and receiving the Revenues of the Crown. In like manner, as long as the Queen *Iſabella* ſhall live, ſhe ſhall enjoy the Royal Dignity, and the Rents, Revenues, Honours and Prerogatives belonging to the Queens of *France*.

III. Queen *Catharine* ſhall have for her Dowry in *England*, Forty Thouſand Crowns a Year, as the Queens of *England* uſed to have.

IV. This Dowry ſhall be ſo ſettled upon her, that ſhe may enter upon it the Day of the King her Husband's Death.

V. If ſhe out-lives the King her Husband, there ſhall be made over to her in *France* an yearly Revenue of Twenty Thouſand *Livres*, iſſuing out of the Lands belonging formerly to Queen *Blanch*, Wife of *Philip*.

VI. After the Death of King *Charles*, the Crown of *France*, with all its Apurtenances, ſhall deſcend to the King of *England* and his Heirs.

VII. As the King of *France* is frequently hindered by his Infirmity from attending to the Government of the State, the King of *England* ſhall from this Day be Regent of the Kingdom, and govern it according to Juſtice and Equity, with the Advice of the Princes, Peers, Barons, and Nobles of the ſaid Kingdom.

VIII. The Parliament of *Paris* ſhall be maintained in the Juriſdiction they enjoyed over the Places ſubject to the King.

IX. The King of *England* ſhall preſerve the Privileges, Rights, Liberties, Immunities and Cuſtoms of the Peers, Nobles, Corporations, and of all the King's Subjects in general.

X. Juſtice ſhall be adminiſtred according to the Laws, Cuſtoms and Uſages of the Realm.

XI. All the Poſts as well civil as military ſhall be filled with Perſons duly qualified, according to the Laws of the Realm.

XII. The King of *England* ſhall endeavour to the utmoſt of his Power, to reduce to the Obedience of the King all the Provinces, Cities, Towns, which have withdrawn

their

their Allegiance, and joined the Party commonly called, the *Dauphin*'s or *Armagnac*'s. 1420.

XIII. All the Princes, Peers, Barons, Nobles, States, as well Spiritual as Temporal, Cities, Corporations, Burghers, *&c.* ſhall ſwear, 1. Punctually to obſerve what ſhall be injoined by the two Kings and the preſent Queen. 2. To obey the King of *England* as Regent. 3. To recognize him after the Death of King *Charles* for their lawful Sovereign, and to obey none but him. 4. Not to aid or abett any Plot againſt his Perſon, and to inform him of all ſuch Plots as ſhall come to their Knowledge.

XIV. All the Conqueſts which ſhall be made hereafter, in the Kingdom of *France*, *Normandy* excepted, ſhall be to the uſe of the preſent King. *Item*, all the Lands and Lordſhips, which ſhall be conquered, ſhall be reſtored to their Right Owners, being in Obedience to the King, and having ſworn to keep the preſent Treaty.

XV. All the *Eccleſiaſticks* of *Normandy*, ſubject to the King of *England*, and paying Obedience to King *Charles*, or that are of the *Burgundian* Party, upon ſwearing the preſent Treaty, ſhall enjoy their *Benefices* as well in *Normandy* as elſewhere.

XVI. All the *Norman Eccleſiaſticks* holding *Benefices* in *France*, ſhall be continued in them upon the ſame Terms.

XVII. The Univerſities and Colleges, as well in *Normandy* as in *France*, ſhall be preſerved in their Rights and Privileges, on the Conditions above ſpecified, ſaving to the Crown of *France* its Prerogatives.

XVIII. Upon the King of *England*'s coming to the Crown of *France*, *Normandy* and all his other Conqueſts ſhall be re-united to the Crown.

XIX. If the King of *England* has already diſpoſed in *Normandy* of any Lands, Revenues, or Poſſeſſions belonging to any of the *Burgundian* Party, they ſhall have an equivalent in *France*, out of the Lands of the Rebels. And if they receive not this Equivalent before the ſaid King is in Poſſeſſion of the Crown of *France*, he promiſes to give it the Moment he aſcends the Throne. But what he has

1420. has not disposed of, shall be restored to the Owners, as is said in Article XIV.

XX. All publick *Acts* shall run in King *Charles*'s Name. However as some unforeseen Cases might happen, wherein the King of *England* should be obliged to dispatch Orders, then he shall be allowed to join his Name as Regent to the present King's.

XXI. The King of *England* shall forbear, on all Occasions during the Life of King *Charles*, assuming the Title of *King of France*.

XXII. In publick *Acts*, the King of *France*, speaking of the King of *England*, shall use this Form, *Our dearly beloved Son*, Henry *King of* England, *Heir of* France.

XXIII. The King of *England* shall lay no Taxes on the *French* without just Cause, and for the good of the Publick, according to the Laws and Customs of the Kingdom.

XXIV. When he himself or his Heir shall come to the Crown of *France*, the two Kingdoms of *France* and *England* shall be united for ever, under the Dominion of one and the same Prince. There shall not be a King in each Kingdom; but one and the same King shall be Sovereign of both the Realms, without however subjecting the one to the other; but the Laws and Liberties of each of the two Kingdoms shall be preserved entire.

XXV. Henceforward Friendship and a good Understanding shall be established between *France* and *England*, and the two Kingdoms shall assist one another with all their Power.

XXVI. All the Allies of the two Crowns shall have eight Months to get themselves included in the present Peace, if they desire it; saving to the two Crowns, and their Subjects, the proper Remedies any ways belonging to them against the said Allies (*a*).

XXVII. The Officers and Domesticks of the present King shall be *French*, or Natives of Places where the *French* Tongue

(*a*) *Henry* probably inserted this obscure Reservation, with regard to *Scotland*.

Tongue is ſpoken *(b)*, and ſhall be able and reputable Perſons. The King his Son and the Duke of *Burgundy* ſhall take Care, ſurely, laudably, and honeſtly, that the ſaid King have all Things anſwerable to his State and Dignity. 1420.

XXVIII. He ſhall keep his Reſidence in ſome conſiderable Place within his own Dominions, and no where elſe.

XXIX. Upon Conſideration of the Crimes committed by *Charles*, who ſtiles himſelf *Dauphin of Viennois*, it is agreed, that no Peace ſhall be made with him without the unanimous Conſent of the two Kings, and Duke of *Burgundy*.

XXX. For the Security of the Performance of the foreſaid Articles, *Letters* under the *Great Seal* ſhall be given the King of *England* by the King of *France*. *Item*, The Queen, the Duke of *Burgundy*, the Princes of the Blood, Peers, Nobles, Towns, Cities, Corporations, ſubject to the King, and all in general of whom the King of *England* ſhall require it, ſhall give the like *Letters* of Approbation.

XXXI. The King of *England* ſhall likewiſe do the ſame for himſelf, for the Princes his Brothers, the reſt of the Princes of the Blood, and others whom the King of *France* ſhall deſire it for.

Given at Troye, May *the* 21ſt. *in the Year of our Lord* 1420, *and of King* Charles *the* 40th.

The Marriage being conſummated *June* the 2d, the two Courts ſat out together next Morning for *Sens*, which was already inveſted. This Place having held out but ten or twelve Days, the Army marched to *Montereau*, where the Duke of *Burgundy* had been murdered, and took the Town in a ſhort Time. The Duke of *Burgundy* found there the Body of the Duke his Father, buried in his Doublet after an indecent Manner, and ordered it to be removed to *Dijon*. Sens *taken*. Act. Pub. IX. 910. *and* Montereau.

About the Middle of *July* the Army went and laid Siege to *Melun*. which was defended by the Lord *Barbazan* the Governor Melun *beſieged*, Act. Pub. X. 4.

(b) This was not to exclude the Inhabitants of the Provinces belonging to the King of *England*, as *Normans*, &c.

1420. Governor four Months. The King of *England* kept with his Army on the Side of *Gatinois*, and the Duke of *Burgundy* commanded on the Side of *La Brie*. This Siege became famous by the brave Defenſe of the Beſieged, who repulſed ſeveral Aſſaults, and whom Famine compelled at length to capitulate about the Middle of *November*. A *French* Hiſtorian ſays, the Capitulation was not kept, by which the Garriſon were to have their Lives without Ranſom, except ſuch as had a Hand in the Murder of the Duke of *Burgundy*, but that inſtead of being left at Liberty, they were thrown into Priſon at *Paris*, and ſtarved to Death. To be able to judge of the Truth of this Fact, one ſhould ſee the Articles of Surrender, and be certain whether they that were carried to *Paris*, were not of the Number of thoſe that were expreſſly excepted. It is ſo much the more likely that they were really ſo, becauſe the ſame Author ſays, that the King and Duke of *Burgundy* had demanded four and twenty Hoſtages by Name, and that theſe Hoſtages were conducted to *Paris*, *with as many more as could be ſeized*. This ſeems to hint that the Garriſon had been ſuffered to march off, and that none but ſome private Perſons were ſeized, who might be ſuſpected, as well as the Hoſtages, of being concerned in the Death of the Duke of *Burgundy*. Be that as it will, as *Henry* is not to be excuſed in caſe he broke his Word on this Occaſion, ſo likewiſe I think we are not to be too haſty in giving Credit to a ſingle Hiſtorian, who appears in other Reſpects exceeding partial againſt *Henry*, and even refrains not from abuſive Language. After the Surrender of *Melun*, the two Courts ſet out for *Paris*, where the two Kings made their Entry together, on the firſt Sunday in *Advent*, and the Queens the next Day.

and taken.

Juven. des Urſins Hiſt. of Charles VI.

The two Courts make their Entry into Paris.

In the Beginning of *December*, the *States*-General met at *Paris*. King *Charles* going to the Aſſembly on the 6th, told them, that of his own free Will he had made a Peace with the King of *England*; that he was perſwaded it would be beneficial to *France*, and deſired them to confirm it by their Authority. The King's Declaration in the Condition he was in, was not a ſufficient Reaſon to induce the

The States *of* France *confirm the Peace of* Troye. Act. Pub. X. 30.

States

States to ratify a Peace, which according to their Notions, violated the moſt ſacred Rights of the Kingdom, in order to ſet the Crown on the Head of a foreign Prince. But in the State they themſelves were in, it was hardly in their Power to examine the Conſequences, or freely to ſpeak their Minds. Wherefore it was unanimouſly reſolved, that the Peace of *Troye* ſhould be kept, and enacted as a Publick Law, and that all the *French* ſhould be obliged to take the Oaths ſpecified in the Treaty. This is not a proper Place to examine *Henry*'s Pretenſions to the Crown of *France*. They were the ſame that *Edward* III had formerly aſſerted, and of which I have amply ſpoken in the Hiſtory of his Reign. But however it may be ſaid, that at the very Time the *French* ſwore the Peace, they thought it very unjuſt, and conſequently there could be but little Reliance on Oaths which they conſidered as involuntary. Accordingly they plainly ſhowed afterwards that they made no great Account of them. And yet *Henry*, as great a Politician as he was, depended upon theſe extorted Promiſes, as if the *French* then ſhould have been more ſcrupulous than thoſe who had ſworn the *Peace of Bretigny*. 1420.

Sentence upon the Murderers of the Duke of Burgundy.

On the 23d of the ſame Month, King *Charles*'s Council being ſummoned for the Purpoſe, the Duke of *Burgundy* appeared in a Mourning Habit, and demanded Juſtice againſt the Murderers of the Duke his Father. *Mezerai* ſays, that the *Dauphin* was ſolemnly called to the *Marble-Table*, and not appearing, he was attainted and convicted of cauſing the Duke of *Burgundy* to be killed, pronounced unworthy of all Inheritance, particularly of the Succeſſion to the Crown, and baniſhed the Realm for ever. It is hard to believe that ſuch an Hiſtorian as he, ſhould advance ſuch a Fact without good Authority. And yet this *Sentence*, which is extant in the *Collection of Publick Acts*, ſays not a Word eirher of the Succeſſion to the Crown, or the Baniſhment of the *Dauphin*. The *Sentence* is General againſt all the Murderers of the Duke of *Burgundy*, without expreſſly naming the *Dauphin* or his Accomplices, at leaſt in the enacting Part. It is true, that before the *Acts* there is mention of the Treaty between the *Dauphin* and Duke of *Burgundy*, ibid. p. 33.

1420. *Burgundy*; and that afterwards it is ſaid, the Duke of *Burgundy* was killed *by him*; which Words, *by him*, manifeſtly relate to the *Dauphin*, mentioned ſeveral Lines above. It appears however, that the *Sentence* was worded in ſuch a manner that the *Dauphin* was included only in the general Notion of the Murderers of the Duke of *Burgundy*, and that it does not ſeem to point particularly at him. Conſequently it was not natural to ſpeak of the Succeſſion to the Crown. So that in all Appearance, *Mezerai* had a greater Regard to the Intent of the Decree, than to the Words themſelves.

The Dauphin *appeals to God and his Sword.*

The *Dauphin* finding that all ſorts of Means were uſed to deprive him of the Crown, appealed to God and his Sword, from whatever had been hitherto, or ſhould be for the future, tranſacted againſt him in the Name of the King his Father, and continued ſtill to aſſume the Title of *Regent*. As ſuch he removed the *Parliament* and *Univerſity* of *Paris* to *Poictiers*, where ſome of the Members of theſe two Bodies repaired. Thus were ſeen at the ſame Time in *France*, two Kings, two Queens, two Regents, all the Officers of the Crown double, ſeven or eight Marſhals of *France* on each Side, two Parliaments, and two Univerſities of *Paris*.

1421. France *divided between two Factions.*

Though *Henry* was declared *Regent*, and *Heir* of *France*, yet was it only by the *Burgundian* Party, who having the King in their Power, thought they had a Right to diſpoſe of the Affairs of the Kingdom. The *Dauphin* had ſtill a ſtrong Party left, who, far from complying with what had been ſettled by the *Peace of Troye*, maintained, that ſuppoſing the King had been under no Reſtraint, and in perfect Health, he would have had no Right to diſpoſe of the Crown as he had done, much leſs, being diſtempered and a Captive. The Provinces at a Diſtance from *Paris*, not being awed by the *Engliſh* Arms, adhered for the moſt Part to the *Dauphin*. Even the Country about the Metropolis was all divided. In one and the ſame Province, there were ſome Places for the *Engliſh*, and others for the lawful Heir of the King. In ſpite therefore of the Peace, the War was not yet over, ſince the two Kings were under a Neceſſity of driving the *Dauphin* out of all the Towns

and

and Provinces he was poſſeſſed of. This was no eaſy Task, though the joining of the *Engliſh* Forces to the *Burgundian* Party, made them vaſtly ſuperior. 1421.

Guienne, of which *Henry* was in Poſſeſſion of Part, was moreover of great Advantage to him, as it ſerved to keep in Awe the Provinces beyond the *Loire*. Till the Death of *Armagnac* the Conſtable, this Province had rather been a Charge than a Benefit to the *Engliſh*. There had been conſtant Occaſion for a ſtanding Army, to defend it againſt the continual Attempts of the Party which had declared for *France*, about the End of the Reign of *Edward* III. The Houſes of *Armagnac* and *Albret*, who were at the Head of this Party, had created the King of *England* a great deal of Trouble, particularly after the Earl of *Armagnac* came to have the Management of the Publick Affairs. But after the Death of that Earl, the Heads of the Party thought fit, as I before obſerved, to make a Truce with *Henry*, to the End he might not help the Duke of *Burgundy* by their Diverſion. After the Concluſion of the *Peace of Troye*, they ſued for Peace, becauſe they believed they ſhould be able to hold out no longer. *Henry* hoping to reap great Benefit by the quiet Poſſeſſion of *Guienne*, readily received them into Favour, and ordered *Letters* of Pardon to be given them, upon their renouncing, by a Publick *Inſtrument*, the Appeal of their Anceſtors to the Court of the *Peers* of *France*, in the Time of *Edward* III. Some ſay that by the *Peace of Troye*, *Guienne* was to be united to the Crown of *France* after the Death of *Charles* VI. But beſides that in the Treaty of *Troye* there is no mention of *Guienne*, it plainly appears by what has been juſt related, that *Henry* had no ſuch Intention. On the contrary it is evident, that he ſtuck to the Treaty of *Bretigny*, in order to preſerve as King of *England*, the Sovereignty of *Guienne*, independent of the Crown of *France*.

Pardon granted to the Gaſcon *Rebels.*

Act. Pub. X. 41,

Choiſy Hiſt. of Charles VI.

Henry having ſettled his Affairs in *France*, in a manner ſo glorious for himſelf and his Nation, reſolved to return into *England*, where three Things required his Preſence. Firſt, He had a mind to have his Queen crowned. Secondly, It was neceſſary he ſhould call a Parliament, as well to get

Henry *returns to* England.

1421. get the *Peace of Troye* confirmed, as to demand an Aid of Money which ſhould enable him vigorouſly to carry on the War againſt the *Dauphin*. Laſtly, There was Occaſion to take ſome Meaſures againſt the *Scots*, who had ſent Supplies to his Enemy, under the Command of the Earl of *Buchan* the Regent's Son. Upon leaving *France*, *Henry* gave the Command of his Troops to the Duke of *Clarence* his Brother. Then he ſet Sail, taking the Queen along with him, and ſafely arrived in *England* about the End of *February*. A few Days after, the Queen was crowned, and a Parliament called, which was to meet at *Leiceſter* the 2d Day of *May*.

Act. Pub. X. 49.

The Queen crowned. p. 63.

A Parliament called.

Whilſt People were buſy in chuſing their *Repreſentatives*, the King took a Progreſs into ſeveral *Counties*, and ſtayed ſome Weeks at *York*. His Aim was, under Colour of ſhowing the Queen the Country, to procure by his Preſence ſuch *Members* to be elected as ſhould be favourable to him. He was very ſenſible that the Nation was diſguſted at being obliged to defray the Expences of the Conqueſt of *France*. Some ſay, that it was during this Progreſs that the King iſſued a *Proclamation*, prohibiting the admiting into *Benefices* any *Eccleſiaſticks* upon the Pope's *Proviſions*, contrary to the Rights of the Patrons. But it is moreover likely, this *Proclamation* was not iſſued till after the Parliament of *Leiceſter*, purſuant to an *Act* made for that Purpoſe. Be that as it will, this was a mortal Blow to the Court of *Rome*, to whom the Clauſe *Non-obſtante*, ſo frequently made uſe of by the Popes, became unſerviceable, at leaſt, with regard to the Collation of the *Benefices*.

The King goes to York.

A Proclamation againſt the Pope's Collations.

The Duke of Clarence is ſlain.

Before the meeting of the Parliament, *Henry* received the fatal News, that the Duke of *Clarence* his Brother was ſlain *April* the 3d, in a Battle fought in *Anjou*. The Duke had led ten Thouſand Men into that Province, with Deſign to reduce it to the Obedience of the King. Whilſt he was taken up in this Expedition, he was informed that the Earl of *Buchan*, with ſeven Thouſand *Scots*, had entered the Province, and was encamped at *Baugé*. At the ſame Time, he had falſe Intelligence that the Vanguard of the *Scotch* Army was at ſo great a Diſtance from the main Body, that it would

would be an eaſy matter to put them to Rout, provided they were ſpeedily attacked. Upon this Information, he ſuddenly put himſelf at the Head of his *Cavalry*, leaving the Earl of *Salisbury* Orders to follow him with the reſt of the Army. When he came to *Baugé*, he found indeed ſome *Scotch* Troops intrenched in the Church-yard. He charged them immediately, and diſmounted in order to head his Troops. But he loſt ſo much time in forcing the *Scotch* Intrenchments, that the Earl of *Buchan* had leiſure enough to come to their Relief. Then the Duke having mounted his Horſe again, furiouſly attacked the new Comers in ſpite of the Unequality of his Forces. He gave, on this Occaſion, Proofs of an uncommon Valour; but at length, over-powered by Numbers, and unable to bear the Thoughts of flying, he was wounded in the Face by a *Scotch* Knight, and killed by the Earl of *Buchan* himſelf. His Death brought on the entire Defeat of the *Engliſh Cavalry*, whereof Fifteen Hundred were ſlain, and many taken Priſoners. Among the Slain were the Earl of *Kent*, the Lords *Grey* and *Roſs*, and ſeveral other Officers of Diſtinction. The Earl of *Salisbury* not being able to come ſoon enough to aſſiſt the Duke of *Clarence*, had however the Comfort to take from the Enemy the Body of that Prince, which he ſent to the King his Brother. 1421.

The Advantage gained by the *Scots* made the King's Preſence neceſſary in *France*. But he had ſtill in *England* ſome Affairs which were no leſs urgent. The Parliament being met the 2d of *May*, readily confirmed *the Peace of Troye* ſo glorious to *England*. A *Subſidy* was alſo granted for carrying on the War againſt the *Dauphin*: but at the ſame time was preſented to him a *Petition*, wherein they told him, that it was but too true that *the Conqueſt of France proved the Ruin of England*. To obtain this *Subſidy*, the King had laid before the Parliament a State of the *Revenues* and *Charges* of the Crown. By which Account, a Fragment whereof is inſerted in *the Collection of Publick Acts*, it appears, that the King's Revenue amounted but to 55743 *l. Sterling*; and that the ordinary Expences ran away with 52235 *l.* ſo that there remained but 3508 *l.* to provide

The Parliament confirms the Peace of Troye, *and grants a Subſidy.* Act. Pub. X. 110.

They preſent a Petition to the King.

State of the publick Revenues and Expences. p. 113.

1421. provide for a Dozen extraordinary Articles mentioned in the Account. The Parliament's *Petition* could not but be very diſpleaſing to the King. One half of *France* was ſtill unconquered, and the Provinces ſubject to the King were ſo drained, that there was no Proſpect of being able to get from thence the Supplies neceſſary for continuing the War. Wherefore, the Burden was ſtill to fall upon *England*. But the Parliament grew weary of furniſhing Money, at a Time when there was more need of it than ever, by reaſon of the Diverſion the Kingdom was threatned with from the *Scots*.

Affairs of Scotland *with regard to* England, *ſince the Beginning of this Reign.*

I have deferred till now ſpeaking of the Affairs of *Scotland*, becauſe ſince the Acceſſion of *Henry* V. to the Crown of *England*, nothing had paſſed in *Scotland* which made it worth the while to break the Thread of the Hiſtory. But at preſent it will be neceſſary to ſay a word or two about them, for the better underſtanding of what is to be related in the Sequel. We have ſeen in the late Reign, that in 1406, *James Stuart*, then Prince of *Scotland*, was detained in *England*, and that ſhortly after he became King of *Scotland* by the Death of his Father. This new Dignity was ſo far from turning to his Advantage, that it ſerved only to cauſe him to be the more ſtrictly guarded. The Duke of *Albany* his Uncle, who had taken upon him the Regency, taſted the Sweets of it too much, to be overſollicitous in procuring him his Liberty. Not a Year paſſed but he ſent Ambaſſadors to *England*, under colour of ſolliciting the Freedom of the King his Nephew; but his real Intention was very far from what he ſeemed to deſire. The chief Motive of theſe frequent Embaſſies was to negotiate the Exchange of the Earl of *Fife* his Son for young *Percy*, Son of the Earl of *Northumberland*. The Earl had been Priſoner in *England* ever ſince the Battle of *Halidon*: *Percy* was ſeized in *Scotland* by way of Repriſal for the King. This Exchange was effected, and yet the Embaſſies were no leſs frequent. It was ever on Pretence of treating about the Freedom of the young King, but in reality to influence the King of *England* to detain him in Priſon. *Buchanan* affirms, *Henry* was to do it upon Condition

dition the Regency would engage not to disturb him by Diversions in favour of *France*: Otherwise the *Scots* would never have sat still and seen *France* attacked by the *English*. Mean while, as it was necessary, in order to induce the *Scots* to sit down in Quiet contrary to their Interest, to give them some seeming Satisfaction, the Regent demanded publickly and earnestly the Liberty of the King his Nephew. But *Henry* very well knew he should not oblige him in granting his Demand: On the contrary, the Difficulties he started in this Affair were a sure Means to prevent Diversions from the *Scots*. 1421.

In 1415, whilst *Henry* was preparing to pass over into *France*, he received Advice from the Frontiers of the *North*, that the *Scots* were resolved to besiege *Berwick* with Sixty Thousand Men, whereupon the Duke of *Bedford* had Orders to levy an Army. But it does not appear, either that the *Scots* did then besiege *Berwick*, or that the Duke of *Bedford* marched against them. The *English* Historians relate, that the King, upon the Advice I just mentioned, called a Council, in order to debate whether it would be proper to lay aside the intended Expedition against *France*, and heartily apply to the Conquest of *Scotland*; and that it was resolved the first Project should be pursued *. This may be true; but it is very probable the King was then agreed with the Duke of *Albany*, and that the Rumour of the Invasion, and calling of the Council in *England*, was only to make the People of *Scotland* believe that the Regent acted with Sincerity. And indeed, we do not find in the History of *Scotland* any Signs of so considerable an Armament in the Year 1415, or of a Resolution to besiege *Berwick*: Besides, that very Year a Truce was made between the two Kingdoms, whilst all *Henry*'s Forces were employed in *France*. In short, *Buchanan* affirms, it cannot be laid that Act. Pub. IX. 307.

* *Ralph Neville* Earl of *Westmorland*, and *Lord President of the North*, made a long Harangue to persuade the King to disable the *Scots* before he carried the War into *France*. But *John* Duke of *Exeter*, the King's Uncle, replied to the Earl, and was backed by the Dukes of *Clarence*, *Bedford*, and *Gloucester*; upon which the War with *France* was resolved. *Duc. in vit. Chich. p.* 14, &c.

1421. that during the whole Reign of *Henry* V, there was any War between *England* and *Scotland*, all the Hoſtilities committed in that Time being nothing elſe but mere Robberies. He alledges as a Reaſon, that the Duke of *Albany* took care how he diſobliged the King of *England*, for fear he ſhould ſet the King of *Scotland* at Liberty. *Henry* was however afraid that it would not always be in the Regent's Power to keep the *Scots* quiet, whoſe Intereſt it was to prevent the Ruin of *France*. It was doubtleſs from this Conſideration, that in 1416, he gave King *James* leave to go and paſs ſome Time in his own Kingdom, upon giving Security for his Return. He was in hopes this Journey would create between the Uncle and Nephew ſuch Diſſentions, as would divert the *Scots* from all Thoughts of aſſiſting *France*.

Act. Pub. IX. 417.

The Affairs of *Scotland* continued in this Poſture till 1419, when the *Dauphin* ſent thither the Duke of *Vendôme* to crave Aid. The *States* being met upon this Account, the Regent could not hinder the decreeing a Levy of Seven Thouſand Men, which were ſent into *France* under the Command of the Earl of *Buchan*. The Victory that General gained over the Duke of *Clarence* at *Baugé*, procured him the Sword of *Conſtable of France*.

Henry could not without Concern ſee the *Scots* declare ſo openly for the *Dauphin*. He perceived, either that the Duke of *Albany* had not the Credit he had formerly, or that he had altered his Meaſures. Wherefore, in order to countermine the *Dauphin*'s Friends in *Scotland*, he believed it neceſſary to gain the King of *Scotland* to his Intereſt, and make him his Inſtrument. This was partly his Deſign in returning to *England*. Upon his Arrival, he let that Prince know that it was his own Fault if he was not at Liberty, on Condition he would uſe his Authority in recalling his Subjects, which were in the Service of *France*, and make a League with him againſt the *Dauphin*. *James* paſſionately longing to be free, after a fifteen Years Impriſonment, very readily complied with whatever *Henry* deſired of him. A private Agreement therefore was made between theſe two Princes, the Articles whereof are unknown,

Act. Pub. X. 125.

known, except one, which was that *James* ſhould go to *France* along with *Henry*, and ſtay with him till the War was over. *Henry*'s Aim was to interpoſe the King of *Scotland*'s Authority, in order to oblige the ſeven Thouſand *Scots* in the *Dauphin*'s Service to return to their own Country. Accordingly *James* attended him to *France* with this View. But when he commanded the Earl of *Buchan* to return to *Scotland*, the Earl replied, he did not think himſelf bound to obey him, as long as he was in Subjection to another. For this Reaſon *Henry* from that Time treated as Rebels all the *Scots* that fell into his Hands. 1421.

Henry having finiſhed the Affairs which called him into *England*, took his leave of the Queen then great with Child, and appointing the Duke of *Bedford* his Brother Regent in his Abſence, went back to *France*, where his Preſence was neceſſary. He ſet ſail the 10th of *June* with a new-raiſed Army, amounting as ſome ſay, to four Thouſand *Men at Arms*, and Twenty-four Thouſand Archers. Upon his landing at *Calais*, he ſent out ſeveral Detatchments to take ſome Caſtles, the *Dauphin* had ſtill in *Picardy*. At the ſame Time he ordered a conſiderable Body to march to the Relief of the Duke of *Exeter*, who was as it were blocked up in *Paris*. Then having begun his March with the reſt of the Army, he came to *Bois de Vincennes*, from whence he went and joined his Father-in-law at *Paris*. *The King returns to* Paris. ibid. 127, 129.

A few Days after he had notice that the *Dauphin* was before *Chartres*, and had begun to batter the Town. As he wiſhed for nothing more than to decide the Quarrel by a Battle, he immediately drew his Troops together, and marched directly to *Chartres*. But his Forces were ſo much ſuperior, that the *Dauphin* did not think fit to ſtay his coming. *Henry* purſued him with all the ſpeed poſſible; but finding he could not overtake him, fell upon *Dreux*, and took the Town upon Terms. It is ſaid that during this Siege a certain *Hermit* came and boldly reproached him with the Calamities he brought on *France* by his Ambition, and threatened him with the Judgments of God. Some add, that *Henry*'s Death, which happened the next *The* Dauphin *beſieges* Chartres, *but retires upon* Henry's *Coming*. Henry *takes* Dreux.

1421. Year, was a plain Proof that the *Hermit* was inſpired. But ſuch Conſequences are not always juſt.

He returns to Paris. After the Siege of *Dreux*, the *Flux* being got into his Army, *Henry* ſent his Troops into Summer-Quarters, and went and refreſhed himſelf at *Paris*.

He beſiegss Meaux. He drew them together again in *October*, in order to go and lay Siege to *Meaux*, though the Seaſon was ſcarce fit for ſuch an Undertaking. *Mezerai* and ſome others were miſtaken in ſaying, that this Siege was laid before the King went to *England*. It is certain, it was not begun till four Months after his Return (*a*). The ſame Hiſtorian ſays further, that this Place held out three Months, but he ſhould have ſaid ſeven, ſince the Siege began the 6th of *October* 1421, and ended not till the 2d of *May* 1422. It is true, as the Town was divided into two Parts, namely, the *Town* and the *March* *, the firſt was taken by Storm during the Winter; but the *March* held out till *May*.

Monſtrelet. Act. Pub. X. 212.

Birth of Prince Henry. Whilſt the King was taken up in the Siege of *Meaux*, he received the agreeable News of his Queen's being ſafely brought to Bed at *Windſor* of a Prince, who was named *Henry*. The Duke of *Bedford*, and the Biſhop of *Wincheſter*, ſtood Godfathers, and *Jaquelina* Counteſs of *Hainault* Godmother. This Princeſs, who had united under her Dominion *Hainault*, *Holland*, *Zealand*, and *Frieſland*, had been married firſt to *John* Duke of *Tourain* ſecond Son of the King of *France*. This Prince dying in 1416, ſhe eſpouſed *John* Duke of *Brabant*, Couſin-German to the Duke of *Burgundy*. She ſoon grew weary of her ſecond Husband, and under Colour of their being too near akin, formed a Deſign to get the Marriage annulled. To that Purpoſe, ſhe procured ſome *Knights* to carry her off to *England*, that ſhe might act the more freely. Her being thus carried off was no Secret to the King, ſince we find in the *Collection of Publick Acts* a Safe-Conduct for this Princeſs. Beſides upon her Arrival in *England* the King aſſigned her a Penſion of a hundred Pounds *Sterling* a Month. His Intent was to marry her to the Duke of *Glouceſter*,

Counteſs of Hainault *ſtands Godmother.*

1422.

Her Adventures.

Act. Pub. X. 67. *p.* 134.

(*a*) *Juvenal des Urſins* in his Hiſtory of *Charles* VI led *Mezerai* into this Error.

* Where the Caſtle ſtood.

Glouceſter, and by that Means put his Brother in Poſſeſſion of four of the beſt Provinces of the *Low Countries*. The Duke of *Burgundy* was extremely offended at the little Regard the King had for the Duke of *Brabant* his Couſin, in affording *Jaquelina* Refuge in his Dominions. This Affront in his Opinion reflected upon himſelf. Beſides it was his Intereſt that *Jaquelina*'s Marriage with the Duke of *Brabant* ſhould not be annulled. Mean while *Henry* preferring the Intereſts of the Duke of *Glouceſter* to thoſe of the Duke of *Burgundy*, did not ſeem to trouble himſelf much about the Occaſion of Complaint he gave that Prince. 1422.

Henry was exceeding deſirous of doing well for his two Brothers, who were both Princes of great Merit, and with whom he was well pleaſed. In 1419 he had a ſecret Negotiation with *Joan* Queen of *Naples*, who being preſſed by her Enemies, promiſed to adopt the Duke of *Bedford* and declare him her *ſole Heir*. This Buſineſs having miſcarried upon Queen *Joan*'s Affairs taking a new turn, *Henry* had a Mind to procure the Duke of *Bedford* the only Daughter of *Frederick* Burgrave of *Nuremberg*, and afterwards a Daughter of the Duke of *Lorrain*. At the ſame Time, he treated about a Match between the Duke of *Glouceſter* and *Blanch* of *Navarre* Queen Dowager of *Sicily*, who claimed a Right to that Kingdom. In fine, an Opportunity offering to get this Prince *Jaquelina* Counteſs of *Hainault*, he was willing to lay hold of it, as this Marriage could not but be advantagious to *England*. But as her Marriage with the Duke of *Brabant* was firſt to be cancelled, this Affair could not be brought about before the King's Death.

The King projects Matches for his Brothers. Act. Pub. X. 701--705. ibid. 716, 741.

It was not till the Beginning of *May* 1422, that the Beſieged of the *March of Meaux* demanded a Capitulation: but they could obtain no other Terms but to the Priſoners of War. The King even excepted all the *Engliſh*, *Iriſh*, and *Scots*, who were in the Place, and all that had a Hand in the Death of the Duke of *Burgundy*; and likewiſe all thoſe who had any Towns or Caſtles in their Power, till they had delivered them up to him. In fine, he reſerved four Officers of the Garriſon, namely, *Lewis du Guaſt*,

The taking of Meaux. Act. Pub. X. 212.

The King's Severity to the Beſieged.

1422. *Guaſt*, *Dennis de Vauris*, the Baſtard of *Vaurus*, and another, in order to bring them to Juſtice. They were all four executed. *Du Guaſt* was beheaded, and the other three ſuffered a more ſhameful Death. The Baſtard of *Vaurus* was hanged upon a certain Tree, which from him was called the *Tree of Vaurus*, becauſe he had cauſed many *Burgundians* to be hanged on it, in revenge for the Death of the Earl of *Armagnac*. This was a ſevere Capitulation, which gave occaſion to the Beſieged to repent of their holding out ſo obſtinately, when in all likelihood they had no Proſpect of being relieved.

Queen Catharine *returns to* France.

About the Time of the ſurrender of *Meaux*, Queen *Catharine* arrived from *England*, attended by the Duke of *Bedford*, who had left the Regency to the Duke of *Glouceſter* his Brother. The two Courts being joined at *Bois de Vincennes*, went from thence a little after, in order to keep the *Whitſun*-Holy-days at *Paris*. *Henry* lodged in the *Louvre*, and *Charles* in the Palace of St. *Paul*, where he had but a ſmall Court, whilſt the Regent-King's was numerous and ſplendid. On *Whitſunday* they dined together in Publick, the two Kings and the two Queens with Crowns on their Heads. Thoſe of the *French* who had auy Regard left for their Country, could not without Grief behold the King of *England*, though outwardly paying ſome Deference to the King his Father-in-law, ruling *France* with an abſolute Power. Their Diſguſt was ſtill increaſed by a Tax *Henry* impoſed for the coining of a new ſort of Money *. The *Pariſians* murmured at it very much, but to no Purpoſe. Their Condition was very different from what it was a few Years before, when their Adherents to one of the Parties decided the Fate of both.

The Dauphin takes la Charité and beſieges Coſne.

Whilſt *Henry* was preparing to renew the Campaign, which had been interrupted by the Queen's Arrival, News came that the *Dauphin* had taken *la Charité*, which opened him a Paſſage over the *Loire*. Shortly after Advice was

The two Courts join at Paris.

A new Coin in France.

* The *new Coin* was called a *Salute*, whereon was ſtamped the *Angel* ſaluting the *Bleſſed Virgin*, one holding the Arms of *France*, the other of *England*, with the King's Title. On the Reverſe, *Chriſtus Vincit*, *Chriſtus regnat*, *Chriſtus imperat*.

was brought that he was beſieging *Coſne* upon the ſame River, and that the Beſieged had already capitulated to ſurrender, unleſs relieved by the Duke of *Burgundy* before the 18th of *Auguſt*. The Duke finding he was engaged in Honour to relieve that Place, deſired the King to ſend him a Supply of Troops; to whom the King returned in Anſwer, that he would himſelf make one, and accordingly ſet forward immediately at the Head of his Army. But whilſt he was pleaſing himſelf with the flattering Proſpect of a Victory which would render him Maſter of all *France*, he was ſeized with a *Flux*, which obliged him to halt at *Senlis*. However for fear his Illneſs ſhould hinder *Coſne* from being relieved, he ordered the Duke of *Bedford* with the beſt Part of his Troops to go and join the Duke of *Burgundy*. The *Dauphin* being informed of their joining, and not being ſtrong enough to give them Battle, retreated, and the two Dukes having nothing more to do there, marched towards *Troye*. In the mean Time *Henry* hoping his Diſtemper would wear off, had taken Litter in order to go to the Army. But finding he grew worſe rather than better, he reſolved at length to return back to *Vincennes*.

1422.

The King falls ſick.

The Dauphin *retires.*

Henry *goes to* Vincennes.

The Duke of *Bedford*, hearing of the ill State the King his Brother was in, ſat out immediately from *Troye*, in order to come to him. He found him at the Point of Death, but expecting his approaching Diſſolution with great Firmneſs of Mind. Before he breathed his laſt, he ſent for the Dukes of *Bedford* and *Exeter*, the Earl of *Warwick*, and ſeven or eight *Engliſh* Lords more, to give them his laſt Inſtructions. He told them, " That his Reign had been ſhort but " Glorious; That although his Claim to *France* had cauſed " a great deal of Blood to be ſpilt, it could not be laid to " his Charge, ſince nothing but Force could have brought " the *French* to a reaſonable Peace; That for his Part, he " beheld his approaching Death without Concern; but " however could not but lament the Fate of the Prince his " Son, who by Reaſon of his Age was uncapable of finiſhing " a Work ſo happily begun; That therefore he intreated " them for God's Sake to continue ſtrictly united together " for the Service of the Infant-Prince, who was going to

His dying Speech.

" be

1422. "be their King; to take Care of his Education, and to "give the Queen all the Conſolation that lay in their Pow- "er, and of which ſhe had ſo great Need. He added, that "his laſt Advice to them was, to cultivate diligently the "Friendſhip of the Duke of *Burgundy*, and be ſure not to "releaſe the Priſoners of *Azincourt*, till his Son was of "Age to hold the Reins of the Government himſelf. "That in Caſe they ſhould think fit to conclude a Peace, "it ſhould not be without ſecuring the Sovereignty of "*Normandy* to the Crown of *England*. He concluded "with ſaying, That it was his Deſire the Duke of *Bedford* "ſhould take upon him the Adminiſtration of the Affairs "of *France*, and the Duke of *Glouceſter* be Protector of "*England* during his Son's *Minority*".

His Steddineſs at the Approach of Death.

Having ſpoken theſe Words, he asked his Phyſicians how long they thought he had to live. Upon which one of them kneeling down, ſaid with Tears in his Eyes, that without a Miracle he could not live above two Hours. This terrible Sentence giving him no manner of Concern, he ſent for his *Confeſſor*, and having made his *Confeſſion*, ordered his Chaplains to read the *ſeven penitential Pſalms*. When they came to theſe Words of the 1ſt, *Build thou the Walls of* Jeruſalem, he interrupted them, and declared upon the Words of a dying Prince, that after he had ſettled a firm Peace in *France*, he had reſolved to go and wage War upon the *Infidels*, and endeavour to free *Jeruſalem* from their Yoke. The Moment they had done Reading, this great Prince expired on the 31ſt of *Auguſt*, in the Thirty-fourth Year of his Age, after a triumphant Reign of nine Years, four Months and eleven Days. His Body was brought into *England* and buried at *Weſtminſter* among his Anceſtors, with a Funeral Pomp ſuitable to the Grandeur he had enjoyed whilſt alive, and to the Eſteem his Subjects had conceived for him. His Queen, to honour in a particular Manner the Memory of ſo illuſtrious a Spouſe, cauſed to be laid on his Tomb a Statue of Silver gilt, as large as the Life, and extremely like him. *.

He declares he deſigned to have warred againſt the Infidels.

He dies.

If

*. The Statue was only covered over with Silver-Plate gilt, but the Head

If in order to know the Character of the Monarch whoſe Reign we have juſt gone through, a Man ſhould keep cloſe, without any further Examination, to the Commendations given him by the Writers of his own Nation, he could not help repreſenting him to his Mind as a Prince ſurpaſſing all the moſt accompliſhed that had ever appeared in the World before him. Not one *Engliſh* Hiſtorian aſcribes to him the leaſt Defect, but all with one Mouth ſpeak of him as of a perfect Hero. On the other Hand, the *French* have endeavoured to draw in his Portraiture certain *Shadows* which tarniſh the Luſtre. It will be neceſſary therefore, in order to form a juſt Repreſentation of him, to conſider his Actions with their Circumſtances, abſtracted from the Admiration of ſome, and the Envy of others. 1422. *Character of* Henry V.

In the firſt Place, with reſpect to the Government of his own Kingdom, he ought not to be denied his due Praiſe, in that he avoided to tread in the Steps of *Richard* II, and even of his own Father, and conſtantly refrained to incroach on the Liberties and Privileges of the People. His readineſs at all Times to give the Royal Aſſent to ſuch *Acts* as the Parliament judged neceſſary for the Welfare of the Kingdom, was a clear Evidence of his having the Good and Happineſs of his People at Heart. Nevertheleſs in this very Thing, he was to blame to ſuffer himſelf to be carried to ſo great Lengths, as contrary to his own Inclination and the Dictates of his Reaſon, to conſent to the Perſecution of the *Lollards*, out of pure Condeſcenſion to the *Clergy*. Indeed it was next to impoſſible, that being endowed with an excellent Judgment, he ſhould not be ſenſible on how ſlender a Foundation the Charge againſt them was built, in the Beginning of his Reign; and yet rather than publickly retract his Opinion, he all along feigned to believe it, juſt at the very Time when he ſhowed Favour to ſome that were ſentenced to Death, who had perſiſted in pleading not Guilty of the pretended Crime.

But

Head was all of Maſſy-Silver. All which at the Abby's Suppreſſion was broken off, ſo that there is nothing to be ſeen now but a Headleſs Monument, with two Latin Verſes on his Tomb.

1422. But it is not chiefly for what he acted in *England*, that Hiſtorians have been ſo laviſh of their Praiſes; his warlike Exploits are the main Subject of his *Panegyrick*. And yet it may be ſaid perhaps without magnifying Matters, that his Martial Deeds were what he was the leaſt remarkable for, notwithſtanding the glorious Succeſs that attended his Arms. The Conqueſt of *France* conſidered in it ſelf, has ſomething Grand and Marvellous. But the View of the Poſture of Affairs in that Kingdom renders it doubtleſs not ſo wonderful as it appears to be when abſtracted from all its Circumſtances. *Lewis* VIII, Father of St. *Lewis*, conquered *England* at a like Juncture, and yet no one ever took it in his Head to aſcribe the Conqueſt ſolely to his Wiſdom or Valour. *Henry* formed the Project of his Enterprize at a Time when the Civil Diſſentions of the *French* rendered them unable to ſtand upon their Defence. The Towns he took from them were defended only by the Beſieged themſelves, without any Army ever appearing to relieve them. And yet ſome of theſe Places took him up ſeveral Months, and ſurrendered not till compelled by Famine.

The Battle of *Azincourt* is then the great and almoſt only warlike Exploit which can juſtly afford Matter for *Panegyrick*. In this famous Action it was that he gave Proofs of an uncommon Conduct, Reſolution and Bravery. But this very Battle, the Iſſue whereof was to him ſo Glorious, affords likewiſe a Handle to tax him with Imprudence. It may be ſaid, that if he came off Conqueror, it was becauſe he had reduced himſelf to a Neceſſity of vanquiſhing or dying, to which a General never expoſes himſelf, without cauſing his Conduct to be ſeverely cenſured. Whatever the Event may be, his undertaking to retire to *Calais* without weighing beforehand the Difficulties of the March, and without being ſure of a Paſſage over the *Somme*; his Wilfullneſs in reſolving to paſs that River in order to Force his Way through an Army ſo ſuperior in Number to his own, ſeem not to be excuſed but by the Succeſs of the Battle of *Azincourt*, which was a ſort of Miracle. Had he loſt the Day, as he ſhould naturally have done,

done, the World would not have failed to charge him with Indiſcretion or Raſhneſs. The Neceſſity he was reduced to during his March, if we may believe the *French* Hiſtorians, of offering to reſtore *Harfleur*, and repair the Damages he had done to *France*, plainly ſhow how much he himſelf was convinced of the falſe Step he had made. This Battle therefore was more glorious to him on account of his perſonal Valour, than with regard to his Capacity in the Art of War. It muſt be confeſt, that never did Prince expoſe himſelf more in a Battle, and give more ſignal Proofs of true Valour than did *Henry* in that Day's Action. 1422.

As to his other Conqueſts in *France*, I do not know whether his greateſt Admirers have Reaſon to wiſh he had met with more Oppoſition. What might have happened in that Caſe, is beyond humane Knowledge. It cannot however be denied but that the Victory of *Azincourt* ſtrongly prepoſſeſſes us in his Favour. But what may be extolled in him, without Danger of being deceived, is the Excellency of his *Genius*, and the Solidity of his *Judgment*. He knew how to manage the great Undertaking he had formed with wonderful Prudence and Addreſs, wiſely taking Advantage of the ſeveral Revolutions which happened in *France*, and making them all turn to his Benefit. Few Princes would have known like him how to hold their Hand after ſo glorious a Victory as that of *Azincourt*, and ſit down in Quiet, the which, though in appearance not ſo honourable as the continuation of the War, was in reality to him more advantagious. This Piece of *Policy* in my Opinion, is one of the beſt Things he ever did in his Life, and the ſtrongeſt Proof of the Soundneſs of his *Judgment*. His Negotiations with the *Dauphin* and Duke of *Burgundy* at one and the ſame Time, and his *Inſtructions* to his Ambaſſadors are plain Indications of his Abilities, and how difficult it was to over-reach him.

It is no great Wonder that the proſperous Iſſue of his Undertakings ſhould gain him extraordinary Commendations from his own Nation, eſpecially as it cannot be denied that his Succeſs was no leſs owing to his Prudent Conduct, than to the favourable Junctures he met with. In a Word,

1422. a Word, he forced the *French* to own him for *Regent* and *Heir* of their Kingdom. And this is one of those Actions which seldom fail of being praised beyond Measure. Accordingly Historians have not been satisfied with comparing him to *David*, *Alexander*, and *Cæsar*, but have ranked him far above these Great Men. But without going so far for Comparisons, which after all seem not altogether just, methinks he might with more Reason be put in Parallel with *Edward* III his Great-Grandfather. However, I should scarce make any Scruple to give the Preference to *Edward*. *Edward* had to deal with all *France* united against him, and the Difficulties he encountered in his Conquests were incomparably greater, and required an abler Head to surmount them than did those which opposed the Progress of *Henry* V.

What I have been saying of this Prince properly relates only to the main Business of his Life, his War with *France*. I shall now describe his other Qualifications, which though not so glaring, are no less worthy of Admiration than the glorious Success of his Arms, which has almost wholly engrossed the Attention of the Publick. It is certain he had all the Endowments of Body and Mind necessary to the forming of a Great Man. He was tall and majestick of Stature, though a little too slender and somewhat long-necked. His Hair was Black, and his Eyes of the same Colour were exceeding bright and lively. He was strong and robust, very expert in all bodily Exercises, chaste, temperate, at least after he came to the Crown, inured to Hardships, and patiently bearing Hunger and Thirst, Heat and Cold. In all these Things he was a standing Example to his Troops of Moderation and Constancy. A great Lover of *Justice*, he followed it himself, and saw it observed very punctually. Religious without Disguise, persevering in Piety, and constant in his private as well as publick Devotions. A great Friend of the *Church* and *Clergy*; he won by these Qualities, the Esteem and Affections of the *Ecclesiasticks*, who did not a little contribute to set off the Lustre of his Glory. He was prudent in Council, bold in Undertaking, and resolute in executing. As to his Valour, he

gave

gave continual Proofs of it throughout the whole Courſe of his Life. There is another Thing likewiſe for which he ought to be praiſed, he cauſed *military Diſcipline* to flouriſh again, which had been almoſt entirely neglected in *England*, ever ſince the Reign of *Edward* III. Never did the *Engliſh* Nation ſhine with ſuch Luſtre as under this renowned Prince. To this we may add, he was ſo fortunate, as to finiſh his Days in the midſt of his Proſperity, and not live to ſee with *Edward* III. the Fruits of all his Labours come to nothing. 1422.

Having related what the *Engliſh* ſay to this Prince's Advantage, the Faithfulneſs of an Hiſtorian requires that I paſs not over in Silence ſome Imperfections which the *French* upbraid him with, and which Envy and Diſguſt have perhaps cauſed them to aggravate. In the firſt Place, they tax him with Cruelty, and making War in a barbarous Manner. They ground their Charge not only upon the Slaughter of the Priſoners of the Battle of *Azincourt*, but alſo upon his putting to Death ſeveral Officers after the taking of *Caen*, *Melun* and *Meaux*. But as to the Priſoners of *Azincourt*, there is no diſpute but the Maxims of War, and the Neceſſity of providing for his own Safety, will juſtify the Orders he gave upon that Account, granting they were not too haſty. As to his Treatment of the Burghers and Garriſons of the Places he became Maſter of, I confeſs it is not impoſſible but he might be ſwayed a little by Revenge, on the Score of the Time theſe brave Men made him loſe; but this can only be ſaid by Conjecture. That he uſed Severity toward ſome we know; but the Reaſons why he did ſo we cannot ſay. To diſcuſs ſuch Matters of Fact, more Circumſtances are required than are come to our Knowledge. However, with regard to thoſe of *Meaux*, 'tis certain they had incurred the Guilt of ſeveral Murders, for which doubtleſs they deſerved to be puniſhed. It was neither unjuſt nor barbarous to order *the Baſtard of Vaurus* to be hanged on the ſame Tree whereon he himſelf had cauſed to be hanged all the Adherents of the Duke of *Burgundy* that fell into his Hands. For the other three that were executed at the ſame Time, I know not the *Reaſon*:

1422. but it is to be presumed, that they were not pitched upon out of all the rest of the Garrison, purely to be Instances of the Severity of the Conquerors. As for the *English* and *Irish* which were in the Service of the King's Enemies, their being excepted in the Capitulation, needs no Apology. It were to be wished for *Henry*'s Reputation, that he could be as easily justified in refusing to give Quarter to the *Scots*, on Pretence that they had refused to obey their King who was actually his Prisoner.

The *French* accuse moreover this Prince of excessive Pride, even to the causing, as they assure us, the Marshal *de l'Isle-Adam* to be committed to the *Bastile*, for having dared to look in his Face whilst he was speaking to him. It is true, if he had no other Reason, this was a high Strain of Haughtiness and Rigour. But can it be denyed that a Look, a bare Gesture, may be sometimes very offensive? And who knows but the Marshal, as he spoke, used some aggravating Circumstance, or rash Expression, which rendred him worthy of Chastisement, and which they have thought fit to conceal, in order to make what the King did appear the more odious?

Avarice is another Blemish they confidently reproach him with. They affirm, that after he was declared *Regent* and *Heir* of *France*, he never did one Act of Generosity either to any of the *Burgundian* Party who had served him, or to those of the *Dauphin*'s, who had voluntarily submitted to him. I shall not take upon me to clear him from this Charge, especially as it does not appear that he was very liberal to the *English* themselves who served him, either by reason of the great Expence he was at, or because his Inclination did not lie that way. Though he had abundance of good Officers, and excellent Generals, we do not find that he rewarded them according to their Merit and Services. We must however except the Earl of *Dorset*, to whom he assigned a Pension of a Thousand Pound a Year, when he created him Earl of *Exeter*; *Falstaff*, to whom he gave a considerable Estate near *Harfleur*; *le Captal de Buch* of the House of *Foix*, who had the Lordship of *Longueville*; and the Earl of *Salisbury*, to whom he gave

gave the Earldom of *Perch*. But after all, it is very poſſible that *Henry*'s want of Liberality was the Effect of his Prudence. I have hinted before, that the Revenue of the Crown amounted not to above Fifty-ſix Thouſand Pounds, and that he was fain to pawn his Jewels to ſupply what the Sums granted him by Parliament wanted to defray the Charges of the War. Was it proper to appear liberal in ſuch Circumſtances? Upon many Occaſions it would be well if Sovereigns would ſtint their Bounties, which are but too often beſtowed at the Expence of the poor People. 1422.

Laſtly, An unbounded Ambition is a Vice which the *French* think they may juſtly tax him with. In order to know whether this Charge be well-gronnded, a Man ſhould examine whether he was in the Right to renew, or rather to continue a War againſt *France*, which ſhe herſelf was the Occaſion of by the Breach of the Treaty of *Bretigny*, and which ſhe herſelf had commenced. But this Inquiry would be needleſs, after what has been ſaid upon this Subject in the Reign of *Edward* III. to which recourſe may be had. However, it cannot be denied but that *Henry* was very ambitious. His firſt Project was only to reſtore *the Peace of Bretigny*. But as ſoon as he had a Glimpſe of being able to aſcend the Throne of *France*, his Ambition hurried him beyond the Bounds he had ſet to himſelf in the Beginning of the War. I have already taken notice, that he had Thoughts of making one of his Brothers King of *Naples*, and the other of *Sicily*; and that in order to procure the Duke of *Glouceſter* four Provinces of the *Low-Countries*, he made uſe of a Means which certainly was not very honourable. We find in *the Collection of Publick Acts*, that he had a Deſign to purchaſe the Dutchy of *Luxemburg* of the Emperor *Sigiſmund*, and to treat with him about the pretended Claim of the Emperors to the *Dauphin*. In fine, it appears there alſo, that he would have paid the Ranſom of a Lord of the *Houſe of Blois*, who was Priſoner to the Marquiſs *de Bade*, apparently, in order to aſſert one Day the Pretenſions of that *Houſe* to the Dutchy of *Bretagne*.

By

1422. *His Iſſue.*

By *Catharine* of *France* his Queen, *Henry* left but one Son, of the ſame Name with himſelf, about eight or nine Months old. The Queen his Widow, forgetting ſhe had been Wife to ſo great a Prince, and was deſcended from the moſt Illuſtrious *Houſe* of *Europe*, married ſome Time after a *Welſh* Gentleman, one *Owen Tudor*, not without giving great Offence both to the *Engliſh* and *French*. 'Tis pretended that this Gentleman was deſcended from the antient Kings of *Wales:* but I do not know whether his Extraction be well made out *. *Owen Tudor* had by the Queen three Sons, namely, *Edmund*, *Jaſper* and *Owen*. The eldeſt married *Margaret*, only Daughter of *John Beaufort* Duke of *Sommerſet*, Grandſon of *John* of *Gaunt* Duke of *Lancaſter*, and *Catharine Roet* his Third Wife. He was Father of *Henry* VII, whom we ſhall ſee hereafter mount the Throne, and leave it to his Poſterity.

Charles VI. King of *France* out-lived *Henry* but two Months. The Death of theſe two Monarchs is going to open a Scence very different from that we have juſt beheld.

* It is likewiſe ſaid that he was the Son of a *Brewer* But the Meanneſs of his Extraction was made up by the Delicacy of his Perſon, being reckoned the handſomeſt Man of his Time.

The End of the Reign of HENRY V.

THE

BRITISH MUSEUM



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THE HISTORY of *ENGLAND.*

BOOK XII.

The Reign of HENRY VI; *with a Diſſertation on the* MAID *of* ORLEANCE.

15. HENRY VI, *Sirnamed of* WINDSOR.



IT looked as if *Henry* V had been taken out of the World juſt as he was within Reach of the Prize he had been contending for, by the particular Direction of Divine Providence, which is ſometimes pleaſed to put a Stop to the beſt concerted Undertakings when upon the very Point of being accompliſhed. The Peace of *Troye* not being yet firmly ſettled, and the Prince who was to mount the Throne, but an Infant of nine Months old, every Thing ſeemed to concur to take from the *Engliſh* the Proſpect of ever ſeeing the two Kingdoms of

HENRY VI. 1422. *It is reſolved in* England *to maintain young* Henry's *Right to* France.

1422. to be made with the Arms of *France* and *England*, and the Effigies of the young King holding a Scepter in each Hand.

The French *Lords swear Allegiance to* Henry.

The Peace of *Troye* having ſettled the Succeſſion of the Crown of *France*, the Regent thought he might, upon that Foundation, and without demanding afreſh the Conſent of the *States*, put the King his Nephew in Poſſeſſion of the Kingdom. Wherefore, contenting himſelf with convening at *Paris* all the great Men which eſpouſed the *Engliſh* Party, he made a Speech to them, exhorting them to recognize young *Henry* for their Sovereign. He inſiſted on *the Peace of Troye*, and the Oath they had taken to obſerve it; and endeavoured to convince them, that it was for their own as well as the Kingdom's Intereſt inviolably to keep it. This done, all that were preſent ſwore Allegiance to *Henry*, and did Homage to him, in the Perſon of the Regent, for the Lands they held of the Crown. The ſame Thing was afterwards required of thoſe that were abſent, and of the Towns in Subjection to the *Engliſh*.

A Deputation to Henry.

This Ceremony being over, the Regent, the Council of *France*, and City of *Paris*, ſent Deputies to *London*, of whom the Biſhop *Terouenne* was the Chief, to congratulate the young King upon his Acceſſion to the Crowns of the two Kingdoms. At the ſame Time all the Deputies had Orders to go by the *Low-Countries*, and exhort the Duke of *Burgundy* to ſtand firm to the Alliance. It was feared the Death of *Henry* V. and of *Charles* VI. might cauſe him to alter his Meaſures.

The Dauphin *takes the Title of King of* France, *and is crowned at* Poictiers.

Whilſt the Duke of *Bedford* was taking all neceſſary Precautions to keep the Affairs of the King his Nephew in a good Poſture, the *Dauphin* was no leſs intent upon his. He was at *Eſpaly*, a Houſe belonging to the Biſhop of *Puy*, when he heard of his Father's Death. He ſhed abundance of Tears at the News; whether Nature rouzed herſelf upon that Occaſion, or whether he had all along preſerved a filial Love for a Father, who was not to blame for the Hurt he had done him. The firſt Day he appeared in Mourning; but on the Morrow he put on Scarlet, and was proclaimed King of *France*, with all the Solemnity the State of his Court, and the Place he was in would admit of. After which,

which, he came to *Poictiers*, whither he had removed the Parliament of *Paris*. He was crowned there in the Beginning of *November*, becauſe the City of *Rheims*, where the Coronation of the Kings of *France* is uſually performed, was in the Hands of the *Engliſh*. 1422.

Thus *Henry* VI. and *Charles* VII. aſſumed both at the ſame Time the Title of *King of France*, and diſputed with one another the Poſſeſſion of the Throne during Thirty Years. This makes the Hiſtory of the preſent Reign ſo interwoven with that of *France*, that there is no ſeparating them. The *Engliſh* were bent upon keeping for their young King the Crown of *France*, which the King his Father had obtained by his Labours, and which they believed his Anceſtors had been unjuſtly deprived of. On the other Hand, *Charles* propoſed likewiſe to take Poſſeſſion of the ſame Crown, which they had reſolved to take from him, and which, in his Opinion, he had not ſo much from the King his Father, ſeduced by ill Counſels, as from a long Train of Anceſtors who had enjoyed it before him. This important Quarrel produced numberleſs Events, for the better Underſtanding of which, a pretty exact Knowledge of the Poſture of the Affairs of both the Kings, in the Beginning of their Reigns is very neceſſary. It is no leſs requiſite to know the Characters of the Perſons that were at the Head of Affairs, as well *Civil* as *Military*, in the two Kingdoms. In fine, to have a clear Notion wherein conſiſted the Advantages and Diſadvantages of each of the two Kings during this tedious War, it will be abſolutely neceſſary to have a general Idea of the State *France* was in, with regard to the Succours each of the two Kings might have, as well from the Princes and *Vaſſals* of the Crown, as from Foreigners. This Review ſeems to me indiſpenſable, in order to avoid the Obſcurity which would inceſſantly occur, in a Recital made up of ſo many various Events.

Neceſſity of joining together the Hiſtories of France *and* England.

In the firſt Place then, for the Perſons of the two Kings, *Charles* was one and twenty Years old, and *Henry* but an Infant of nine Months. However, in this very Thing the Advantage lay on *Henry*'s Side, whoſe Affairs were

Situation of the Affairs of both Kings.

1422. managed by two Uncles of great Abilities, and by the wiſeſt *Council* then in *Europe*. On the contrary *Charles*, who never paſſed for an extraordinary *Genius*, was by reaſon of his Age more difficult to be ruled, his Paſſions hindering him from following the beſt Advice. To the Time he aſſumed the Title of King, he had diſtinguiſhed himſelf neither by his Valour or Conduct. More prone to Pleaſures than War, he appeared very unfit to reſtore the Affairs of the *French* Monarchy, which was upon the Brink of Deſtruction. The Murder of the Duke of *Burgundy* committed before his Face, and no doubt by his Orders, had raiſed a great Prejudice againſt him. He had acted with no more Conſcience with regard to the Duke of *Bretagne* his Brother-in-law. This Prince, whom the Earl of *Pontievre* by a notorious Piece of Treachery had carried away by Force and long detained in Priſon, came to know after his Deliverance, that the Plot was contrived againſt him with the Knowledge and Conſent of the *Dauphin*. And therefore it might be ſaid, that it was not *Charles*'s Fault that the Duke of *Bretagne* did not undergo the ſame Fate with the Duke of *Burgundy*. Theſe Things made a deep Wound in his Reputation, which was not otherwiſe ſupported by any bright Virtue or Action. All that could be ſaid to his Advantage was, that he was not ſo mean-ſpirited as to ſtoop to his Enemies. But there was no need of being a great *Genius*, to refuſe caſting himſelf down a Precipice which he ſaw before his Eyes.

As to the Forces of the two Kings, it is eaſy to ſee that *Henry* had vaſtly the Advantage of his Rival in that Reſpect, ſince together with what he held in *France*, he had all *England* for him too. *France* was then ſhared between them in ſuch a Manner, that each had whole Provinces under his Obedience, and in others, each had his Strongholds and Adherents. In the Provinces thus divided, there was ſcarce a walled Town but what had a Garriſon for one or other Side. The which made them for above thirty Years together the Seat of the War.

Charles

Charles was poſſeſſed of all *Languedoc*, from whence he had not long ſince driven out the Earl of *Foix*, whilſt *Henry* V. was employed in the Siege of *Melun*, and where he had appointed for Governor the Earl of *Clermont*, eldeſt Son of the Duke of *Bourbon*. Since that Time the Earl of *Foix* had attempted in vain to recover that Province. 1422.

The *Dauphiné* was likewiſe all ſubject to *Charles*, who held alſo *Berry*, *Auvergne*, *Touraine*, Part of *Saintonge*, the City of *Rochel* and *Poictou*. Beſides, theſe Provinces he conſidered as Countries dependent of him, *Provence*, *Maine* and *Anjou*, for Reaſons mentioned hereafter.

Henry was in Poſſeſſion of *Normandy* and *Guienne*, the two beſt Provinces of the Kingdom. *Picardy*, *Champagne*, *Brie*, the *Iſle of France* were his, excepting a few Places which ſtill held out for King *Charles*. In fine, he was Maſter of *Paris*, the Metropolis of the Kingdom, which alone might be put in the Balance againſt a great and rich Province. He could likewiſe rely upon the two *Burgundies*, *Flanders* and *Artois*, which belonged to the Duke of *Burgundy* his Vaſſal and Ally.

From what has been ſaid it is eaſy to perceive, that the War might be carried on in all the Provinces of *France*, *Bretagne* excepted, which hitherto had ſtood Neuter. But there were ſome Places more expoſed than others to the Fury of the Sword, as *Picardy*, *Champagne*, *Brie*, and the *Iſle of France*. The Reaſon is, becauſe the *Engliſh* wanted before all things to clear theſe Provinces of King *Charles*'s Garriſons, to the End they might attack him afterwards beyond the *Laire*, without being forced to leave any thing behind them. For the ſame Reaſon, it was *Charles*'s Buſineſs to keep up the War in the ſame Provinces, that he might prevent his Enemies from carrying on their Conqueſts into the *Southern* Provinces, which were his laſt Refuge.

Having taken a View of the State of the Provinces, it will be neceſſary to examine the Situation the *French* Princes immediate *Vaſſals* of the Crown were in. And firſt of the Duke of *Bretagne*.

Ever

1422. *Situation of the Duke of* Bretagne.

Ever since the Beginning of the War, *John* V. Duke of *Bretagne*, had stood Neuter, having avoided the being concerned in a Quarrel which could not fail of drawing the War into his Country, if he had been so ill-advised as to declare for either of the two Kings. But after the Peace of *Troye* was signed and sworn, he believed it would be no longer in his Power to continue in a State of Neutrality. *Charles* VI. and *Henry* V. being united together by the Peace, and there being but one King of *France*, he could not help acknowledging him, unless he would openly espouse the Side of the *Dauphin*. But that would have been a very imprudent Step, since the *Dauphin*'s Affairs were in so low a Condition, that there was little Appearance of his ever being able to lift up his Head again. Upon these Accounts, as soon as the Duke saw the two Kings united, he sent *Henry* V. word, that he was ready to sign the Peace of *Troye*, and do homage for his Dutchy to King *Charles*. This Negotiation, though begun in 1420, could not be ended before *Henry*'s Death. Apparently the Duke of *Bretagne* spun out the Time on purpose to see how the War against the *Dauphin* would go. Be that as it will, *Henry*'s dying before this Affair was finished, the Duke of *Bretagne* saw himself in the same State he was in before the Peace of *Troye*, that is, at liberty to chuse Sides, or stand Neuter, as the Issue of Things should determine him. There was however one very good Reason for his being averse to side with the *Dauphin*, and that was, the Discovery he had made that the *Dauphin* had a great Hand in the Conspiracy of the *Pontievrians*. Nevertheless, preferring the Peace of his Subjects to the gratifying his Revenge, he had not thought fit to declare for *England*.

Act. Pub. X. 176, 206, 228.

The State of the Earl of Richmont.

Arthur Earl of *Richmont*, Brother of the Duke of *Bretagne*, was taken Prisoner at *Azincourt* in 1415, and carried into *England*, where he remained till 1420. In the mean while, the Duke his Brother being seized by the *Pontievrians*, he demanded of King *Henry* Leave to go and work his Deliverance. Leave was granted him upon certain Terms, namely, *That* on *Michaelmas-day* 1422, *Arthur* should return back to *London*, and appear before the King,

Act. Pub. X. 8.

King, or his Succeſſor, the Lord *Chancellor*, or the *Mayor* of *London*. 1422.

That during the Time he was gone, he ſhould make no Alliance with the *Dauphin*, or any other Perſon whatever, againſt the King of *England* or Duke of *Burgundy*, neither ſhould he attempt any thing contrary to *the Peace of Troye*.

That *Alan de Rohan* the Duke of *Bretagne*'s Lieutenant, the States and Barons of the Country, ſhould promiſe the ſame Thing during the Earl's Abſence from *England*.

For Security of the Performance of theſe Conditions, the Earl of *Montfert* was to be delivered to the King, whom he promiſed to reſtore upon the Earl of *Richmont*'s Return to *London*.

The Earl ratified and ſwore all theſe Articles, and then ſat out for *Bretagne*. The Death of *Henry* V. happening a Month before the Time of his Leave was expired, inſtead of coming back to *England* according to his Oath, he ſtayed at the Duke his Brother's Court, who was freed from his Impriſonment. Thus at the Time of the Death of *Charles* VI. he was really Priſoner of the *Engliſh*, though he was not actually in their Power; and moreover, liable to the Reproach of having broke his Word. Some have imagined they could juſtify him by ſaying, that he only ſtood bound to the Perſon of *Henry* V. and therefore upon that Monarch's Death looked upon himſelf as freed from his Oath. But this pretended Limitation of his Engagement is deſtroyed by the Articles above.

Hiſt of Ch. VII. *by* J. B. J. Tom. I. 195.

Beſides, the Situation the Duke of *Bretagne* was in with reſpect to the two Rival Kings; he was moreover ſpurred on to ſide with the *Engliſh*, by the Earl of *Richmont* his Brother, who had a great Influence over him. *Arthur* not only deſigned by that Means to free himſelf from the Engagement he was under; but had alſo ſome other Views which ſhall be mentioned hereafter. It may therefore be ſaid, that although the Duke of *Bretagne* ſtood Neuter, or was deſirous of ſtill paſſing for ſuch, he was however upon the Point of declaring for *England*.

As

1422. *State of the Duke of* Burgundy.

As for the Duke of *Burgundy*, there is no Occaſion to repeat here the Reaſons he had to keep firm to the Alliance of the *Engliſh*. It will ſuffice to ſay, that he did not think the Death of the Duke his Father ſufficiently revenged, whilſt the *Dauphin* enjoyed any Part of *France*.

Of the Duke of Anjou *King of* Sicily.

Lewis III Duke of *Anjou* and King of *Sicily*, who was poſſeſſed in *France*, of *Provence*, *Anjou*, and *Maine*, was entirely in the Intereſts of King *Charles* his Brother-in-law. But he was ſome Time ſince taken up at *Naples* in ſecuring the Inheritance of *Joan* II, Queen of that Country, who had adopted him for her Son. In his Abſence *Violante* of *Arragon* his Mother had the Adminiſtration of Affairs, and remained firmly attached to King *Charles* her Son-in-law.

Of the Earl of Foix *and his Brothers.* Olhag. Hiſt. *of* Foix *and* Bearn.

The *Houſe* of *Foix* made then a very great Figure in the Kingdom *. *Matthew of Caſtlebon*, Earl of *Foix* and Sovereign of *Bearn*, dying without Iſſue in 1399, *Elizabeth* his Siſter, Wife of *Archembald de Grailly*, Captal of *Buch* in *Guienne*, took Poſſeſſion of his Dominions. *Charles* VI attempted to deprive the *Captal* and his Wife of this noble Inheritance; but they found Means to keep Poſſeſſion. *Archembald* died in 1413, leaving five Sons, all of eminent Note. *John* the eldeſt was Earl of *Foix* and *Bigorre*, and Soveraign of *Bearn*. *Gaſton*, who bore the Title of *Captal of Buch*, adhered to *Henry* V, who made him *Knight of the Garter* and Earl of *Longueville*. From him ſprung the *Houſe* of *Candale*. *Archembald* Lord of *Noailles*, the third Son, was killed on *Montereau*-Bridge with the Duke of *Burgundy*, *Matthew* the fourth Brother married the Heireſs of *Comigne*. We ſhall ſee hereafter that a Quarrel

* The Earls of *Foix* (Part of *Gaſcogne*) were in ſo high Eſteem in the Court of *France*, that they took Place of the Earls of *Vendôme*, though a Prince of the Blood, and lived in a State equal to moſt Kings in Chriſtendom. *Francis Phabus* by marrying the Heireſs of *Navarre* added that Kingdom to *Foix* in 1479. And by *Antony* of *Bourbon*, Duke of *Vendôme* marrying *Joan* Heireſs of this *Houſe* became King of *Navarre*, Earl of *Foix*, and Sovereign of *Bearn*, whoſe Son *Henry* II. King of *Navarre*, &c. ſucceeded to the Crown of *France* in 1589, being Grand-Father to *Lewis* XIV, late King of *France*.

a Quarrel between him and his Wife was the Occaſion of the Country of *Cominge* falling into the Hands of *Charles* VII. *Peter* the youngeſt of all, was at firſt a *Franciſcan Fryar*, then Biſhop of *Leſcar*, and at laſt Cardinal and *Legate a Latere* in *France*, under the Pontificate of *Martin* V. He founded the College of *Foix* at *Thoulouſe*. 1422.

It appears from hence that the *Houſe of Foix* was very conſiderable, as well for the Extent of its Dominions in the *Southern* Parts of *France*, as for the Merit of the four Brothers it conſiſted of. The Neighbourhood of *Guienne* obliged the Earls of *Foix* to pay great Regard to the Kings of *England* who were Maſters of that Dukedom. *Foix*, *Bearn*, and *Bigorre*, could with Eaſe be invaded by ſo powerful Neigbours, and not without Difficulty be aſſiſted by the Kings of *France*. Beſides the *Captal* of *Buch* and the Earl of *Cominge* were *Vaſſals* of the King of *England*. An old Quarrel between the *Houſe* of *Foix* and the Earls of *Armagnac* was a further Inducement to that *Houſe* to continue under the Protection of the *Engliſh* and Duke of *Burgundy*, ſworn Enemy of the *Armagnacs*. Theſe Conſiderations made *Henry* V, upon his entering upon the Regency of *France*, to give the Government of *Languedoc* to the Earl of *Foix*. He bound the Earl by certain Articles to find a conſiderable Number of Troops, to keep that Province in Obedience to *Charles* VI. We have ſeen before that he was outed by the *Dauphin*, and the Earl of *Clermont* put in his Room. Upon the Death of *Henry* V, the Earl of *Foix* renewed the Articles of Agreement with his Succeſſor, who made him Governour again. But it was not in his Power to diſpoſſeſs the Earl of *Clermont*. Afterwards the Earl of *Foix*, ſeeing *England* did not obſerve the Articles, ſided with King *Charles*. But in the Beginning of the preſent Reigns, he and his two Brothers had openly declared for the *Engliſh*. Act. Pub. X. 2.

Of Armagnac *and* Albret.

On the other Hand, the *Houſes* of *Armagnac* and *Albret*, very powerful in *Guienne*, declared for *Charles* VII, though a little before they had been Time-ſervers, and made their Peace with *Henry* V.

1422. *Of the Duke of* Orleans *and Earl of* Angoulême.

The *Houſe* of *Orleans* conſiſted of two Princes, *Charles* Duke of *Orleans*, and *John* Earl of *Angoulême* his Brother, both Priſoners in *England*. The firſt had been there ever ſince the Battle of *Azincourt* in 1415. The ſecond was given in Hoſtage to the Duke of *Clarence* in 1412, for Security of the Payment of the *Engliſh* Troops, which King *Henry* IV ſent to aid the Princes in League againſt the Duke of *Burgundy*. Theſe two Princes being Priſoners, did as to their Perſons neither good nor hurt to either of the Parties; but their ſtrong Towns were in the Diſpoſal of King *Charles*. There are Authors who affirm, that the Duke of *Orleans* had made a Treaty with *Henry* V, whereby in Conſideration of a great Penſion which he paid yearly for his Expence, he had obtained of that Monarch a Neutrality for his City of *Orleans*, and all his other Towns. But this pretended Treaty is a mere Fiction, ſeeing the Foundation on which it is built, namely the Penſion, had never any Exiſtence. The IX and X Volumes of the *Publick Acts* of *England* are full of Pieces relating to the Duke of *Orleans*; and yet among ſo great Numbers there is not one that gives the leaſt hint of any ſuch Penſion; much leſs of the pretended Treaty. Beſides it is not very likely that *Henry* V ſhould be willing in the Time of his Proſperity, to grant ſuch a Neutrality for Places ſituated in the Heart of a Kingdom he was undertaking to conquer.

Hiſt. of Charles VII.

Of the Duke of Alenſon.

John Duke of *Alenſon* about thirteen or fourteen Years old, Son of the Duke of *Alenſon* ſlain in the Battle of *Azincourt*, began to give Tokens of an uncommon Valour and Conduct, which cauſed him to be looked upon as a very hopeful Prince. He was firmly attached to King *Charles*'s Side, as well as *Peter* his Baſtard-Brother, who paſſed for one of the ſtouteſt Warriors in the Kingdom.

Of the Earl of Eu.

Charles d' Artois, Earl of *Eu*, was Priſoner in *England* ever ſince the Battle of *Azincourt*. As he was not releaſed till 1434, he made no Figure in *France* in the firſt Part of this Reign.

Of the Duke of Bourbon

John Duke of *Bourbon*, Head of the illuſtrious Houſe of *Bourbon*, which was divided into ſeveral Branches, was Priſoner in *England* ſince the Year 1415. So that although

he

he was a Prince of great Merit, he had no Share in what passed in *France*. But the Earl of *Clermont* his eldest Son firmly adhered to King *Charles*, with all the Towns of the Duke his Father. 1422.

Lewis Earl of *Vendôme*, of the House of *Bourbon*, was likewise Prisoner in *England* since the Battle of *Azincourt*. It is true he agreed with *Henry* V about his Ransom, whereof he had even paid some Part already. But as he could not pay the rest, he was not yet released. The *French* Authors say, that in 1423 he made his Escape out of Prison in a miraculous Manner, and that in Memory of this Event he instituted an annual *Procession* at *Vendôme*. I do not know the manner of his Escape. But I find in the *Collection of Publick Acts*, that in *May* 1423, he was taken out of the *Tower of London* by the King's Order, and delivered to Sir *John Cornwal* who took him Prisoner at the Battle of *Azincourt*; that in *July* of the same Year, he got leave to go to *France*, to provide the rest of his Ransom, that upon Payment of the whole he might have Liberty to go where he pleased. In all likelihood, he satisfied the King in full, for it does not appear that he had any Demands made upon him. Wherefore I do not see what Miracle there could be in his Escape, without it was his not making an ill use of his *Passport*, in which Case the Miracle would not be very great. This does not hinder but that he might institute a *Procession* at *Vendôme* in Memory of his eighteen Years Captivity. *Of the Earl of Vendôme.* Act. Pub. X. 289. p. 297.

Having spoken of the Princes of the Royal Family of *France*, it will be proper to say a Word or two of the other Lords and Generals in the Service of King *Charles*.

The Earl of *Buchan* a Scotchman, Son of the Regent of *Scotland*, and First-Cousin to King *James* I, was *Constable* of *France*; a Dignity conferred upon him by the *Dauphin*, after the Fight of *Bauge*. *The Earl of Buchan.*

Among the other Generals, the most noted were the Marshals of *Fayette*, and *Severac*; *Andrew de Laval* Lord of *Loheac*, *John d' Harcourt* Earl of *Aumale*, *John de la Haye* Lord of *Colonge*, *Culant* afterwards High-Admiral, *Aymeri* Viscount of *Narbonne*, *Pothon* of *Xantrailles*, *Ste-* *Other Generals.*

1422. *phen de la Hire*, ſirnamed *Vignoles*, *Gravanille* and ſome others of an inferior Rank or leſs Note. To theſe I add the *Baſtard of Orleans*, natural Brother of the Duke, though as yet he did but begin to appear in the World, becauſe he rendered himſelf very famous in the Hiſtory of this Reign.

State of Charles's Court. After having mentioned the Generals, it will be further neceſſary to ſay ſomething of the moſt eminent Perſons belonging to the Court of the new King. I have already ſpoken of the Perſon and Qualities of King *Charles*. *Mary of Anjou* his Queen was a Princeſs of exceeding great Beauty, but much more valuable for her extraordinary Merit. Notwithſtanding he loved her not as he ought, and as ſhe deſerved, being continually drawn aſide by other Amours, which poſſeſſed in his Heart the Place ſhe ought to have held. How grievous ſoever the King's Coldneſs to her might be, ſhe bore it with a great deal of Firmneſs, without the leaſt Murmur or Reproach, hoping at length to gain his Affection by her Patience, Moderation, and dutiful Behavour. If this Conduct was not capable of inſpiring the King with a Tenderneſs for ſo accompliſhed a Spouſe, it engroſſed at leaſt all his Eſteem, and forced him to ſhow it by conſulting her generally in his moſt important Affairs.

Mary *Queen of* France.

The Queen of Sicily. *Violante* of *Arragon*, Queen of *Sicily* and Mother of the Queen, was almoſt always at the Court of *Charles*, where her Merit and Capacity gained her great Credit.

Tannegui du Châtel. *Tannegui du Châtel* was the King's chief Favourite. It was he that firſt ſtruck the late Duke of *Burgundy* on *Montereau*-Bridge. There was no Queſtion but as he was the foremoſt in the Execution, ſo he had been the Principal in adviſing that deteſtable Treachery. However all the *French* Writers will have him paſs for a very honeſt Man. I do not know how that Character can be reconciled with that Deed, which let them ſay what they pleaſe, was but too much premeditated.

Louvet. *Louvet* Preſident of *Provence* was next in the King's Favour. He had the Management of the *Finances*. As he was very greedy, and exceeding ambitious, he generally pre-

preferred his own to his Maſter's Intereſts. It is ſaid he was one of the Adviſers of the Duke of *Burgundy*'s Murder. On the other Hand, the Duke of *Bretagne* looked upon this *Miniſter*, as well as *d' Avaugour* another of *Charles*'s Courtiers, as the chief Authors of the *Pontievrian* Conſpiracy, becauſe they had prevailed with the *Dauphin* to approve it. 1422.

La Trimouille, of a very antient Family, was very much in the King's Good-Graces, though not ſo much as *Du-Châtel* and *Louvet*. He was a Lord of great Ambition, who in ſpite of his High-Birth, regularly made his Court to the Favourites, in order to increaſe his Credit. La Trimouille.

De Giac and the *Camus de Beau-lieu*, Creatures of *Louvet*, were conſiderable at Court, by Reaſon of their Patron's Intereſt. De Giac *and* Beaulieu.

Theſe were the moſt noted Perſons of *Charles*'s Court, which commonly was not very numerous. Moſt of the Princes of the Blood were Priſoners in *England*, and the other Great Men found it more for their Advantage to be in the Army, the King's Circumſtances not affording them any great Proſpect at Court.

I ſhall now conſider the chief Managers of the Publick Affairs of the *Engliſh*, both at Court and in the Army. *The* Engliſh *Lords.*

John Duke of *Bedford* Regent of *France* under the young King his Nephew, was the moſt accompliſhed Prince then in *Europe*: Wiſe, Judicious, of great Valour, Solidity and Penetration, Maſter of his Paſſions, and of a *Genius* ſuperior to all about him; he ſeemed born for a Throne, though *Providence* had placed him in the Claſs of Subjects. To all theſe Qualities he added a majeſtick Statelineſs, which became his Birth and the high Rank he held in *France* and *England*. But this he never carried beyond what was neceſſary to command a due Reſpect and Regard for his Perſon and Authority. In fine, to ſum up his Character in a Word, he was perfectly like the late King his Brother, and in all his Actions took him for his Pattern. He had with him in *France* the Earls of *Warwick*, *Salisbury*, *Arundel*, the Duke of *Somerſet*, *Falſtaff*, *Talbot*, and many others, all eminent for their Valour and Experience in the Art of War. The *French* Authors who have writ the Engliſh *Generals.*

Life

1422. Life of *Charles* VII, seldom speak of these Generals without an honourable *Epithet*. For my Part I shall content my self with barely mentioning these illustrious Persons. Their Names became so famous in the History of those Days, that all the Encomiums I can bestow on them, would add nothing to their Glory and Reputation.

Generals of the Duke of Burgundy. The Duke of *Burgundy* had at the same Time three Generals, whom I shall rank among the *English*, because they were in the Service of the same Prince. Their Actions will deserve that honourable mention should be made of them.

Earl of Ligny. The first was *John de Luxemburg* Earl of *Ligny* Son of *Valeran de Luxemburg* Constable of *France*. This General signalized himself during the whole War.

Lisle-Adam. *Lisle-Adam*, Marshal of *France*, was a bold and enterprizing Warrior, and withal capable of managing the most difficult Undertaking. It was he that in 1419 made the Duke of *Burgundy* Master of *Paris*. After that his too great Haughtiness having caused him to incur the Displeasure of *Henry* V, he was committed to the *Bastile*, from whence the Duke of *Bedford* had lately freed him at the Instance of the Duke of *Burgundy*.

Toulongcon. *Toulongcon*, commonly called Marshal of *Burgundy*, was in high Esteem with the Duke his Master, on the Score of his Valour and Abilities.

The Court of England. I must now return to *England*, and briefly mention some of the Princes and Great Men who had the largest Share in the Administration of the young King's Affairs.

Duke of Glouceſter. *Humphrey* Duke of *Glouceſter*, younger Brother of the Duke of *Bedford*, was a Prince equally qualified for the *Field* and the *Cabinet*. His noble Endowments, set off by an extensive Knowledge of the *Sciences*, would have put him upon an equal Foot with the Duke his Brother, had he been more Master of his Passions, or less ambitious and haughty. I shall have frequent Occasion hereafter to make known more fully the Character of this Prince.

The Princes of Lancaſter. The Princes of the *House* of *Lancaster*, legitimated by the Name of *Beaufort*, held the next Rank to the Duke of *Glouceſter*. *Thomas Beaufort* Duke of *Exeter*, and *Henry* his

his Brother Biſhop of *Wincheſter*, were Sons of *John of Gaunt* and *Catharine Roet* his third Wife. *John* Earl of *Somerſet* their elder Brother was dead, and had left four Sons, of whom *Henry* the eldeſt bore the Title of *Earl of Somerſet*. Of the other three, *Thomas*, *John*, and *Edmund*, the laſt only was at Court, the other two being Priſoners in *France*. 1422.

Richard Duke of *York*, Son of *Richard* Earl of *Cambridge* beheaded at *Southampton* in 1415, and Grandſon of *Edmund de Langley* Duke of *York* fourth Son of *Edward* III, was the only Male-Iſſue of this Family. He was very young at the Time I am ſpeaking of, but I ſhall often have occaſion to mention him before this Reign is over. *Duke of* York.

Humphrey Earl of *Stafford* was Son of *Ann* of *Glouceſter* Daughter of the unfortunate Duke of *Glouceſter*, whom *Richard* II his Nephew cauſed to be ſtrangled at *Calais*. *Other Lords.*

Henry Earl of *Eſſex*, Half-Brother of the Earl of *Stafford* had married *Iſabella* Siſter of the young Duke of *York*.

Ralph Neville Earl of *Weſtmorland* was allied to the Royal Family by his Marriage with *Joan Beaufort* Siſter of the Duke of *Exeter* and Biſhop of *Wincheſter*.

Thomas Courtney Earl of *Devonſhire*, had for Wife a Siſter of the Duke of *Somerſet*.

Henry Talbot had married a Siſter of the Earl of *Eſſex* before-mentioned.

Henry Holland Earl of *Huntington*, deſcended from a Half Siſter of *Richard* II, was Priſoner in *France* ſince the Battle of *Baugé*, wherein the Duke of *Clarence* was ſlain.

Henry Percy Earl of *Northumberland* and *John Fitz-Alan* Earl of *Arundel* had taken to Wife a Princeſſes of the *Houſe* of *March*.

Nothing more remains, in order to give a general Knowledge of the Affairs of the two contending Kings, but to ſee how ſome foreign Princes ſtood affected upon their Account. *How the Princes of* Europe *ſtood affected with regard to the two Kings.*

It is pretty ſtrange, that during this long War, which laſted thirty-eight Years, no Prince in *Europe* ſhould have any Concern in it. Immediately after the Peace of *Troye*, *Henry*

1422. *Henry* V sent Ambassadors to several Parts to make Alliances with Design to render himself so much superior to the *Dauphin*, that it might be out of his Power to make any Resistance. But we do not find that he succeeded in his Purpose. If he made Alliances with some Princes, they were so worded, that they did not oblige them to have any Thing to do with the Wars in *Franee*. So that he reaped but little Advantage from thence.

The Emperor. The Emperor *Sigismund* might by Virtue of his League with *Henry* V have assisted his Son. But he was himself embroiled in Troubles on the Score of Religion in *Bohemia*, which wholly engrossed him. The rest of the *German* Princes were unconcerned at what passed in *France*. They were not sorry to see the *English* and *French* unable, by Reason of their Dissention, to disturb their Neighbours.

Italy. All *Italy* stood Neuter. The Duke of *Milan* alone inclined to King *Charles*'s Side, but hitherto he had sent him no Supplies.

Spain. *Castile*, *Arragon*, and *Portugal* were at Peace, or in Truce with the two Rival Kings, and assisted neither. Their Policy was to let them Battle one another in order to Side afterwards with the Conqueror.

Duke of Lorrain. The Duke of *Lorrain* was inclined to King *Charles* on the Score of the Alliance between their Families. But he durst not aid him, for fear of drawing the War into his Country.

Among all the neighbouring Princes of *France*, *Amadeus*, first Duke of *Savoy*, and *Lewis de Châlon* Prince of *Orange*, were those on whom the Eyes of both Parties were chiefly fixt by Reason of the Diversions which it was in their Power to make in *Provence* and *Dauphiné*. Mean while these two Princes stood Neuter as yet, pleased with being courted by both Sides. It was however no hard Matter to see that they leaned towards the *English*, on account of the Duke of *Burgundy*, the Prince of *Orange* being his Nephew, and the Duke of *Savoy* his *Vassal*.

The Low-Countries. As for the Neighbours of *England*, there were none but the Princes of the *Low-Countries* and the *Scots*, that could be concerned in the War to any great Purpose, either for

or againſt the two Kings. The Duke of *Burgundy* poſ- 1422.
ſeſſed *Flanders* and *Artois*. *John of Burgundy* his firſt Couſin, held *Brabant* and the Earldom of *Limbourg*. Moreover, by his Marriage with *Jaquelina* of *Bavaria*, Daughter of the late Earl of *Hainault*, he had acquired the Sovereignty of *Hainault*, *Holland*, *Zeland* and *Friſeland*. The firſt of theſe two Princes was firmly united with the *Engliſh*, and the other took care how he declared againſt them, for fear of depriving his Subjects of the Benefit of trading with *England*, which was very great.

As for the *Scots*, the War in *France* was not to them an Scotland.
indifferent Thing. It is certain, their Intereſt required that they ſhould to the utmoſt of their Power endeavour to put a Stop to the Progreſs of the *Engliſh* in that Kingdom. Beſides their old Alliance whereby they were obliged to aſſiſt the *French*, it was eaſy for them to perceive that it could not but be very dangerous to their *State*, to ſuffer the King of *England* to grow ſo very powerful. And yet the private Intereſts of the Regent had hindered them from taking the Courſe which beſt ſquared with the Good of their Country, till at length they ſent an Aid of Seven Thouſand Men to the *Dauphin*. Since that time, being grown more and more ſenſible of their Error, in permitting the *Engliſh* to become Maſters of *France*, they had reſolved to ſend thither a more powerful Supply. But the Duke of *Albany* dying in the mean Time, and *Mordac* his eldeſt Son, a Prince of a narrow *Genius*, having ſucceeded him in the Regency, inteſtine Troubles aroſe which prevented the *Scots* from executing their Purpoſe. So that till the Death of *Henry* V. they had acted nothing in that Reſpect, and King *James* was returned to *England* Priſoner as before.

Here I ſhall end this Digreſſion, which will not appear needleſs, when we come to ſee the Relation it bears to the Events hereafter mentioned. And thus having laid down a general Plan of the Affairs of the two Kings, it is time to reſume the Thread of our Hiſtory.

1422. *The Parliament meets.* The Parliament met on the 9th of *November*, pursuant to the Summons. The Duke of *Glouceſter* by a *Patent* under the *Great Seal*, was commiſſioned to hold it in the King's Name, according to the uſual Practice, when the Sovereign is not in a Condition to be preſent in Perſon. The firſt Thing the Parliament did was to ſettle the Government during the King's Minority. They nominated the Members of the Council, filled the Offices of the Crown, and gave the *Great Seal* to the Biſhop of *Durham*, and not to the Biſhop of *Wincheſter*, as ſome affirm. To purſue the Scheme which had been formed, it was neceſſary to appoint a *Protector*, who ſhould take upon him the Adminiſtration of the publick Affairs during the Minority. *Henry* V. had ordered as he lay a dying, that this high Dignity ſhould be conferred on the Duke of *Glouceſter* his Brother. But this could not be done without great Injury to the Duke of *Bedford*, who was the eldeſt of the two Brothers; the firſt Perſon in the Kingdom next the King, and Heir-apparent of the Crown as long as *Henry* ſhould be without Iſſue. By this Means he would have been below the Duke of *Glouceſter* his younger Brother. It is true, he was Regent of *France*: But it was very poſſible he might return to *England* during a Minority which was to laſt ſo many Years. Wherefore they were obliged to find out ſome Expedient to perform the deceaſed King's Will, without derogating from the Right of the elder Brother. After a ſerious Debate, the Parliament nominated the Duke of *Bedford Protector of* England, *Defender of the Church, and firſt Counſellor to the King*. But a *Clauſe* was added, that this Prince ſhould not exerciſe this Office but whilſt he was in the Kingdom, without having any thing to do with the Government in his Abſence. At the ſame time the *Protectorſhip* was likewiſe conferred on the Duke of *Glouceſter*, with Power to act only in the Abſence of the Duke of *Bedford* his Brother, who upon his Return to *England* was to be acknowledged for *ſole* Protector. The Protector's Salary was ſettled at Eight Thouſand Marks a Year.

The Privy-Council ſettled.

The Duke of Bedford *is made Protector;*

and in his Abſence the Duke of Glouceſter.

Act. Pub. X. 261. p. 268.

It

1422. *Jealouſy of the Council againſt the Duke of* Glouceſter.

It has been already obſerved, that the Duke of *Glouceſter* was not ſo great a Maſter of his Paſſions as the Duke of *Bedford* his Brother. He could but ill brook any Oppoſition to his Will. For this Reaſon the Privy-Council were always upon their Guard to hinder him from aſſuming a greater Authority than his Station entitled him to. As they held not their Places of Him but of the Parliament, they were not ſo much afraid of diſpleaſing him, knowing it was not in his Power to turn them out. And therefore, in the Council-Hall there was a ſort of Confederacy againſt him, at the Head of which was the Biſhop of *Wincheſter* his Uncle. The Oppoſition of the Biſhop againſt the *Protector*, ended at length in a Quarrel; the ſad Effects whereof we ſhall have Occaſion to mention in the Sequel of this Reign.

Governours appointed for the King.

Having ſettled all Matters relating to the *Protectorſhip*, the Parliament appointed Governors to take care of the King's Perſon and Education. Theſe were *Thomas Beauford* Duke of *Exeter*, and *Henry* his Brother, Biſhop of *Wincheſter*, both Great-Uncles of the King. I know not the Qualities of the Duke of *Exeter*, having met with no Hiſtorian that gives us his Character.

Character of the Biſhop of Wincheſter.

As for the Biſhop of *Wincheſter*, he was a Prince cut out for the *World* and a *Court* rather than for the *Church*. However, he is placed by ſome in the Claſs of the Learned of thoſe Days. Ever ſince he was made Biſhop of *Wincheſter* in 1405, his main Buſineſs was to heap up Riches; wherein he had ſucceeded ſo well, that he was reckoned the wealthieſt of all the *Engliſh* Nobles. *Henry* V. his Nephew had ſome Regard for him: but however was apprehenſive of his intrigueing Temper. Hence it was that he was againſt the Pope's making him a *Cardinal*, for fear that Dignity might afford him too much room to exerciſe his Talents. The Truth is, he was a Man of Senſe, and well-skilled in all the Means *Human Prudence* ſuggeſts to the Ambitious in order to compaſs their Ends. His Birth, Parts, Riches, and Office of Governor to the King, gave him great Credit in the Council, and of Courſe in all the reſt of the Kingdom. In a word, he knew how to ma-

1422. nage Matters so well, that he had a better Interest than the Duke of *Glocester* his Nephew, though Protector, and ruined him entirely. The Occasion of their Quarrel is not fully known. Some say that the Bishop, angry that the Duke of *Glocester* was preferred before him in the Government of the Kingdom, which he would rather have had than the Tutorship of the King, never ceased plotting how to supplant him. Others on the contrary affirm, that the Duke of *Glocester* hated him only because he always found him ready to oppose his assuming too great an Authority as Protector, which might in the End prove fatal to their common Master.

Jealousy between the Duke of Gloucester *and Bishop of* Winchester.

Few warlike Exploits during the rest of the Year, 1422.

Whilst the Courts of the two new Kings were equally busied in Affairs which would admit of no Delay, the War went on but faintly in *France*. Besides, the Season permitted not, that after the Death of *Charles* VI. on the 21st of *October*, great Armies should keep the Field. From that time therefore to the End of the Year 1422, the Troops of the two Kings took some rest in order to prepare a-fresh for the War. There is nothing then remarkable in this Interval, but the taking of St. *Valery*, a Place of great Importance, which was surrendred to the *English* pursuant to a Capitulation made some Months before, and of *Bussi* in the Earldom of *Guise*, by the Earl of *Ligny*, the Duke of *Burgundy*'s General. On the other Hand, *James de Harcourt* became Master of *La Rue* in *Picardy*, and *La Hire de Vitry* in *Champagne*.

1423. The Duke of *Bedford*'s Design, according to the Scheme laid down by the late King his Brother, was to reduce all the Towns *Charles* had still left in the *Isle of France* and the adjoining Provinces, that he might afterwards attack him beyond the *Loire*. It was the more necessary to proceed in this Manner, because, whilst *Charles* held any Towns in the Country about *Paris*, the *English* durst not go from the Metropolis without leaving behind a very strong Garrison, which would very much weaken their Army. At the Time the Regent was preparing to execute his Design, he received the ill News that *Granville*, one of King *Charles*'s Captains, had taken *Meulan* by Storm, the

Meulan taken by storm by the French.

4th

4th of *January*. The Loſs of this Town vexed him heartily, as well becauſe it retarded the Execution of his Projects, as by reaſon of its Neighbourhood to *Paris*, it not lying about ſix Leagues off. Beſides, the taking of a Place juſt under his Noſe, was a ſort of Affront he could hardly brook: And therefore he determined to open the Campaign with the Siege of *Meulan*. 1423.

Shortly after King *Charles*'s Troops took likewiſe *La Ferté-Milon*, a little Town lying between *Meaux* and *Soiſſons*. But the Caſtle making a brave Reſiſtance, the Marſhal *de L'iſle-Adam* had time to come to their Relief, and drive the *French* out of the Town. *They take alſo* la Ferte-Milon.

In the Beginning of *February* the Regent went in Perſon and laid Siege to *Meulan*. As it was King *Charles*'s Intereſt to keep up the War in the *Iſle of France*, and the Neighbouring Provinces, he ordered the Earl of *Aumale* to go and join *Stuart*, who commanded the *Scotch* Troops, and march with him to the Relief of that Town. The *French* give *Stuart* the Title of *Conſtable of Scotland*; but it does not appear that he was ſtiled ſo by the Hiſtorians of his own Nation. I imagine the Miſtake of the *French* ſprung from their Ignorance of the *Engliſh* and *Scotch* Tongue, wherein the Title of *Conſtable* may be given to every Leader or Commander in chief of a Body of Troops, without his being for all that *Conſtable of the Kingdom*. Be that as it will, the Earl of *Buchan* being then in *Scotland*, *Stuart* commanded the auxiliary Troops of that Kingdom. The two Generals were actually joined. But a Conteſt ariſing about the Command, they parted again without doing any thing. *Granville* hearing of it, capitulated the 2d of *March*. The Capitulation ran, that ſuch of the Beſieged as had any Caſtles in their Hands, were to yield them up to the Regent. Purſuant to this Agreement, the Regent took Poſſeſſion of *Marcouſſi*, *Montleri*, and ſeveral other Places. *The Regent beſiegs* Meulan; *which capitulates.*

Though theſe Towns are of little Conſequence at this Day, yet were they then of great Importance, chiefly on account of their lying near *Paris*, and keeping the *Engliſh* at a Diſtance from the *Loire*, the which was of great Advantage

1423. vantage to King *Charles*. For this Reason he managed so, that his Adherents fortified themselves in those Parts, in all the Towns and Castles which were capable of making any Resistance, to the End he might continue the War there. This was the very Thing that had induced the Regent to form the Project of clearing the *Isle of France* of all these Garrisons. However, he could not have opened the Campaign so early, had not the Loss of *Meulan* obliged him to it. He had a Design in his Head of much greater Moment, which he put in Execution immediately after the retaking of that Place.

Interview of the Dukes of Bedford, Burgundy, Bretagne, *and Earl of* Richmond *at* Amiens. April. Act. Pub. X. 280.

I have already observed, that the Duke of *Bretagne* had made some Advances towards swearing *the Peace of Troye*, but that the Death of *Henry* V. had broke off the Negotiation. The Duke of *Bedford* perceiving of what Consequence it was to the King his Nephew, to gain this Prince to his Interests, had spent the whole Winter in treating about an Alliance with him, by the Mediation of the Duke of *Burgundy*. This Negotiation having succeeded to his Wish, he came to *Amiens*, where he met the Duke of *Burgundy* and the Duke of *Bretagne*, with the Earl of *Richmond* his Brother. According to the Plan they had formed before, they signed a Defensive and Offensive League against King *Charles*. To render their Union the more firm, they concluded two Matches; namely, between the Duke of *Bedford* and *Ann*, fifth Sister of the Duke of *Burgundy*; and between the Earl of *Richmond* and *Margaret*, eldest Sister of the same Duke, and Widow of *Lewis* the *Dauphin*, who died in 1415. As the Earl of *Richmond* had been the Means of engaging the Duke of *Bretagne* in this Alliance, it was but reasonable the Earl should find his Account in it. The young Earl having an extraordinary Opinion of his own Merit, his Vanity was agreeably flattered by this Marriage. The Truth is, it was no small Honour to him to espouse a Sister of the Duke of *Burgundy*, Widow to a *Dauphin* of *France*. But to obtain the Princess's Consent, he was fain to agree, that according to the Custom of *England* she should keep the Title of *Dauphiness*, because she absolutely refused to take that of *Countess of Richmond*, which

They sign a League against King Charles.

Marriages.

which would have given her a Rank below what ſhe had before. The Treaty between theſe Princes was concluded *April* the 8th. 1423.

Soon after the Duke of *Bedford* went to *Troye*, where he conſummated his Marriage. An Hiſtorian ſays, that the Duke of *Burgundy* had promiſed him the Earldom of *Artois*, in caſe he died without Male-Iſſue; but there was no Occaſion to perform this Engagement. In conducting his Bride to *Paris*, the Regent ſtayed ſome Time in *Champagne*, to form the Siege of *Pont-Surſeine*, a ſmall Town there, which was carried by Storm. After that, he came to *Paris*, and took up his Lodging in the *Hôtel des Tournelles*, which he had taken care to repair and furniſh in a ſplendid Manner. *The Regent conſummates his Marriage.* Monſtrelet.

Since the Beginning of the Year, the Earl of *Salisbury* had been inveſted with the Government of *Champagne* and *Brie*, and had received Orders from the Regent to clear theſe two Provinces of King *Charles*'s Garriſons. This General having taken the Field in *April*, went and beſieged, or rather blockaded *Montaigu*, an exceeding ſtrong Caſtle, ſeated upon a narrow Piece of Land belonging to the Province of *Burgundy*, but running into *Champagne*. There were but Sixſcore Men in the Caſtle, and yet by reaſon of its Situation it was almoſt impregnable. The Earl of *Salisbury* having formed the Blockade, left the Earl of *Suffolk* there with ſome Troops, and marched himſelf to other Conqueſts. In *June* he became Maſter of *Vertus*, *Sezanne*, *Epernay*, and ſeveral other Places. *The Earl of* Salisbury *beſieges* Montaigu. April. *He leaves the Siege to the Earl of* Suffolk.

Mean while, King *Charles*, to whom the keeping of ſome Towns in thoſe Quarters was of great Conſequence, ordered *Tannegui de Châtel* to go and relieve *Montaigu*. The Earl of *Salisbury*, who had left but few Men before that Caſtle, fearing they might be worſted, poſted immediately to their Aſſiſtance. He made ſuch ſpeed, that *Tannegui du Châtel*, who was already very far advanced, finding he was not a Match for the *Engliſh*, was fain to retire into *Burgundy*, where the *French* had lately ſurprized *Mâcon* and *Crevant*, in the two utmoſt Borders of that Province. *Salisbury* Tannegui *attempts to relieve* Montaigu.

1423. *lisbury* followed, but not being able to overtake him, he resolved to beſiege *Crevant*, a ſtrong Place upon the *Yonne*, three Leagues from *Auxerre*.

Salisbury *beſieges* Crevant.

Charles *prepares to relieve it.*

Charles had no ſooner received News of this, but he ordered *Stuart*, who had juſt been reinforced by freſh Supplies from *Scotland*, to draw ſome Troops out of the neighbouring Garriſons, and go and join *du Châtel*, in order to attempt the Relief of *Crevant*. All theſe Forces together made up a Body of Ten Thouſand Men, whereof by order of the King, the Marſhal *de Severac* went and took the Command. But as it required ſome Time before they could be joined in one Body, *Salisbury* had leiſure enough to make himſelf Maſter of the Place. After which, not knowing yet the Deſigns of the *French*, he went and joined *Suffolk* before *Montaigu*.

Crevant *is taken.*

Orſay *taken by the* Engliſh.

Whilſt theſe Things were doing in *Burgundy*, the Duke of *Bedford* laid Siege to *Orſay*, a ſmall Place between *Paris* and *Montleri*. The Garriſon having held out ſix Weeks, and not having ſurrendered but at Diſcretion, he reſolved to make them an Example, for a Terror to the reſt of the little Towns. All the Officers and Soldiers were carried away Priſoners to *Paris*, and ordered to be put to Death. But luckily for them, the Dutcheſs of *Bedford* meeting them as they were going to the Place of Execution, ſtopped the Proceedings and got their Pardon.

The French *beſiege* Crevant.

In the mean Time, the *French* Army which had been drawn together in *Auxerrois*, marched towards *Crevant*, which he had not been able to relieve, and laid Siege to it. The Army was commanded by Marſhal *de Severac*, who had under him *du Châtel*, *Stuart*, *Ventadour*, and ſome other Officers of note. The Dutcheſs Dowager of *Burgundy*, who was then at *Dijon*, ſent immediately to the Marſhal *Toulongeon* and all the *Burgundian* Lords and Nobles to go and try to relieve *Crevant*. At the ſame Time ſhe deſired the Earl of *Salisbury* to join her Generals in order to raiſe the Siege. *Salisbury* was very ſenſible how neceſſary it was to comply with the Requeſt of the Dutcheſs, and therefore leaving Part of his Troops before *Montaigu*, the Garriſon whereof was reduced to Twenty Men, he march-

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ed to *Auxerre* and joined the *Burgundians*. Next Day they went together towards *Crevant*. They were not in all above ſix Thouſand Men; but however ſome of the beſt Soldiers then in *Europe*. The Beſiegers having had Intelligence of their Coming, raiſed the Siege in order to go and meet them, and poſted themſelves at ſome Diſtance from *Crevant* upon a Hill, where it was very difficult to break through them. The Reſolution of the *French* Generals ſurprized the *Engliſh* and *Burgundians*, who ſeeing no Proſpect of attacking them in that Poſt, altered their Rout, and as if they had ſome other Deſign, went and paſſed the *Yonne* at *Cologn-le-Vineux*, with Intent to repaſs the ſame River at ſome other Place, in order to proceed to *Crevant*. The *French* finding that by this March the Station they had taken on the Hill was become uſeleſs, came down and poſted themſelves by the River-Side in order to defend the Paſs. The two Armies ſtood above three Hours facing one another with the River between them. At length a Body of *Engliſh* having made themſelves Maſters of a certain Bridge, withſtood the Efforts of the *French* Army with uncommon Reſolution, and gave the reſt of the Forces Time to come to their Succour. This Action, which was one of the boldeſt, was performed with that Bravery, Order, and Conduct, that it was not poſſible for the *French* to beat back theſe Troops from the Bridge. As ſoon as ever all the *Engliſh* and *Burgundians* were got over, they fell upon their Enemies ſo vigorouſly that they put them to Rout. The Marſhal *de Severac* was blamed for retiring too ſoon, and leaving *Stuart* engaged in the Battle with his *Scotch* Troops. There were ſlain on the Spot about five Hundred, moſt of them *Scots*. As many more were made Priſoners, among whom were *Stuart* and *Xaintrailles*, with forty Officers of note.

1423.

The Battle of Crevant, *where the* French *are worſted.*

The Loſs the *French* ſuſtained on this Occaſion rendering them unable to keep the Field before a victorious Army, the Earl of *Salisbury* returned to the Blockade of *Montaigu*. A few Days after his Arrival, the Place capitulated, and he demoliſhed the Fortifications. Then as he was apprehenſive of no Oppoſition from the *French*, he divided his Ar-

Mâcon *and other Places taken by the* Engliſh.

1423. my with the Earl of *Suffolk*, who took *Mâcon* whilſt the Earl of *Salisbury* finiſhed the Conqueſt of *Champagne*. After that *Salisbury* entered the *Iſle of France*, and took *Coucy* and ſome other Caſtles.

Siege and Capitulation of Crotoy. Monſtrelet.

In the mean Time, the Regent had laid Siege to *Crotoy*, a Town in *Picardy*, ſituated upon he *Somme* overagainſt St. *Valery*. *Ralph Boteler* had the Management of this Siege, which took him up till *October*. At laſt *James d' Harcourt*, Governour of the Town, agreed to yield it up on the 1ſt of *March* next, if not relieved by that Time. This ſort of Capitulations were very common in thoſe Days. On the Day fixed for the Relief or Surrender of the Place, the Beſiegers drew up in order of Battle juſt under the Walls, expecting their Enemies. If no Army appeared that Day to give them Battle, the Place was ſurrendered according to the Capitulation. Though the Governour of *Crotoy* had given Time enough to prepare for his Relief, *Charles* was not in Condition to attempt it, ſo the Town was ſurrendered to the Duke of *Bedford*.

The Battle of *Crevant* was the more prejudicial to *Charles*'s Affairs, as it made him loſe a great many Officers of Diſtinction, ſome whereof were ſlain, and the reſt Priſoners in the Hands of the *Engliſh* or *Burgundians*. Among the Priſoners, *Xaintrailles* was the Perſon for whom the King was the moſt concerned, knowing him to be one of the braveſt Officers in the Kingdom, and the moſt capable of doing him Service. Though he had no great Stock of Money, he ſent him however enough to pay his Ranſom. *Xaintrailles* very thankfully received this Favour, and to give the King ſenſible Marks of his Gratitude, preſently after his being releaſed, he found Means to take *Ham* and *Guiſe* by Surprize. At the ſame Time *La Hire* or *Vignolas* did the like by *Compiegne*.

Charles ranſoms Xaintrailles.

Ham, Guiſe, *and* Compiegne *taken by Surprize.*

They are retaken.

The Loſs of theſe Places gave the Regent no ſmall Uneaſineſs, as it obliged him to keep near *Paris*, in ſpite of the Projects he had formed. As he could not execute his Deſigns till the *French* were drove out of the Northern Provinces, he gave orders to have the three Towns juſt taken by Surprize, to be beſieged all at once. If a Man ſhould

ſtay

ſtay to relate the Particulars of all the Sieges on both Sides during this War, he would be inſenſibly led into a Thouſand Circumſtances which few People would think worth Notice. The beſt Way will be to keep to general Matters, and only mark in two Words the Beginnings and Iſſues of the Sieges. 1423.

The Regent's Deſign being, as I was ſaying, to retake theſe three Places, the Earl of *Ligny* inveſted *Ham*, and the Marſhal *de l'iſle-Adam* beſieged *Compiegne*. But *l'iſle-Adam* falling into an Ambuſh laid for him by *La Hire*, loſt three Hundred of his Men. Nevertheleſs he conſtrained his Enemy to keep within the Walls. After *Ligny* had taken *Ham*, he went and inveſted *Guiſe*. *Xaintrailles* who commanded in that Place, perceiving that with the few People he had, he ſhould be able to make but a faint Reſiſtance, went away to ſee to get a Supply. But inſtead of ſucceeding in his Deſign, he fell himſelf into the Hands of the *Burgundians*, and *Guiſe* ſurrendered immediately. Then *Ligny* went and joined *l'iſle-Adam* before *Compiegne*, and *la Hire* was forced at length to capitulate. So that all the Advantage *Charles* got by taking theſe three Places, was the making the Regent loſe Time. The which however was no ſmall Matter, conſidering the Poſture of his Affairs. Since the Duke of *Bretagne* had ſided with the *Engliſh*, *Charles* had no Body left in *France* able to back him. And this made him reſolve upon applying to foreign Princes for Aid. He could have no Proſpect but from *Philip-Maria Viſconti* Duke of *Milan*, and from the *Scots*. *Philip* was Uncle to the Duke of *Orleans*, and conſequently a Friend of the *Houſe* of *Valois*. His Affairs being then in a good Situation, he ſent King *Charles* an Aid of a Thouſand *Men at Arms*, and five Hundred *Lances*, juſt at the Time when the Loſs of the Battle of *Crevant* had made him deſpair of being able to keep the Field. Theſe Troops being arrived on the Borders of *France*, *Grolee* Governour of *Lyonnois*, and *Culant* lately made High-Admiral, went to receive them. As they were about to enter *Baujolois* the Governour of *la Buſſiere* ſent the Generals Word, that he was upon a Negotiation with *Toulongeon* Marſhal of *Burgundy*, to

Charles receives an Aid from the Duke of Milan.

1423. ſurrender the Town to him, and as the Marſhal knew nothing of their coming, it would be eaſy to ſurprize him when he ſhould come to take Poſſeſſion. This Stratagem was executed with ſuch Secrecy, that *Toulongcon* having entered *la Buſſiere* with ſeven Hundred Men, was made Priſoner with all he had brought with him. The Duke his Maſter exchanged him afterwards for *Stuart* taken at *Crevant*.

Toulongcon made Priſoner.

Battle of Gravelle, where the Engliſh are worſted.

This little Advantage was not capable of making King *Charles* amends for all his Loſſes. But ſhortly after he had a freſh Occaſion of Joy, upon receiving News that a Body of *Engliſh* Troops had been defeated in *Maine* with great Loſs. *John de la Pool* Brother of the Earl of *Suffolk* knowing the *French* had no Army in the Field, marched out of *Normandy* with a Body of Troops drawn out of ſeveral Garriſons into *Anjou*, where he burnt the Suburbs of *Augers*. After that he retired with a Booty of twelve Thouſand Head of Cattle, which he had picked up in his Incurſion. Whilſt he was buſied in this Expedition, the Earl of *Aumale* Governour of *Anjou* drew ſome Troops together to ſtop his Progreſs. The young Duke of *Alenſon*, *Loheac*, *Coulonge*, the Baſtard of *Alenſon*, and ſeveral others, having joined him with what Troops they could muſter up, he overtook the *Engliſh* at *Gravelle* in *Maine*. *Pole* perceiving it was impoſſible to carry off his Booty without fighting, drew up his Troops, and having made a ſort of Intrenchment with his Carriages in his *Front*, he received the Charge of the *French* with great Reſolution. But whilſt his Men were fighting couragiouſly, a Detatchment of the Enemy attacking them in the *Rear*, it was not poſſible for them to defend themſelves before and behind. After an obſtinate Reſiſtance they were at length defeated with Loſs of fourteen Hundred Men and all their Booty. *Pole* himſelf was taken Priſoner. *Charles*'s Flatterers would fain have made him believe that he had his Revenge for the Buſineſs of *Crevant*. But there was a wide Difference between theſe two Actions with reſpect to the Conſequence. The Battle of *Gravelle* did no manner

of

of Damage to the *Engliſh*, whereas that of *Crevant* had almoſt ruined the Affairs of *Charles*. 1423.

This Succeſs however ſerved to raiſe his Hopes, eſpecially when it was backed with the News of the Arrival of five Thouſand Men brought to him from *Scotland* by the Earl of *Buchan*. This Lord was returned into his own Country to take Care of the Intereſts of his new Maſter, to whom he was entirely devoted. The Great Men of *Scotland* were very much inclined the ſame Way. The new Regent being a Prince of no great Parts or Credit, it was no hard Matter for the Earl his Brother to do King *Charles* Service. By his Care and Pains he had procured an Aid of five Thouſand Men, commanded by *Archibald* Earl of *Dowglaſs* his Father-in-law. *Dowglaſs* was a Lord of great Repute in his own Country, on account of his Qualities, Eſtate, and Alliances, but ſtill more conſiderable on the Score of his Merit and Experience in Military Affairs. At *Rochel* he landed his Troops, which could never come in a better Time. *Charles* pleaſed, as we may imagine, to ſee theſe Supplies, loaded the principal *Scotch* Officers with Honours, Careſſes, and Favours. He had already conferred on the Earl of *Buchan* the higheſt Military Poſt, to which he could make no Addition. *Dowglaſs* was created *Duke of Touraine*. *Stuart* was made *Baron of d'Aubigni*, and afterwards *Earl of Evreux*, with Licenſe to quarter his *Arms* with thoſe of *France*. To give the *Scots* a farther Mark of his Eſteem and Confidence, *Charles* choſe out of them a *Company of Guards*, which in Proceſs of Time was increaſed to a whole *Regiment*. In ſhort, he omitted nothing that could help to gain him the Affections of the *Scots*, to the End he might ingage them to ſend him greater Supplies, or make a powerful Diverſion in *England*.

Charles has Aid from Scotland.

He careſſes the Scots.

Thus the Affairs of *Charles* began to be in a better Way by the Succours of the *Scots* and Duke of *Milan*, which enabled him to make Head againſt his Enemies. His Joy at the Arrival of theſe Troops, was preceeded by the Satisfaction of having a Son born on the 4th of *July* the ſame Year. He gave the young Prince the Name of *Lewis*, with the Title of *Dauphin*.

Birth of Prince Lewis.

Beſides

1423. *The Earl of* Richmond *quarrels with the Duke of* Bedford.

Beſides theſe lucky Turns which gave new Life to King *Charles*, an Event was preparing in his Favour, which was no leſs proper to reſtore his Affairs: I mean the Earl of *Richmond*'s changing Sides, who drew after him the Duke of *Bretagne*. *Richmond* having conſummated his Marriage at *Dijon*, where the Duke of *Burgundy* came with the *Dauphineſs* his Siſter, went and paid a Viſit to the Duke of *Bedford* at *Paris*. During his ſtay there, he frequently hinted to the Duke, that he was extremely deſirous of commanding the *Engliſh* Army, to which he offered to join a conſiderable Body of the Duke his Brother's Troops. But the Regent did not think proper to ſet at the Head of his Army a young foreign Prince who had never commanded in Chief, nor been in the Service ſince the Battle of *Azincourt*. The Earl of *Richmond* being of a very haughty Temper, and having a lofty Opinion of himſelf, could not brook this Refuſal. He conſidered it as a high Affront, and from that Time meditated Revenge. We ſhall ſee hereafter how fully he executed his Purpoſe.

Truce for Burgundy *and* Lionnois.

Shortly after *Charles* and the Duke of *Burgundy* made a Truce for *Lyonnois* and *Burgundy*. This Truce was abſolutely neceſſary for theſe two Provinces as well as for the Duke of *Savoy*, by whoſe Means it was brought about. His Subjects and the Inhabitants of *Burgundy* and *Lyonnois* not being able to live without trading together, the War was very detrimental to theſe two Provinces.

Affairs of England. Act. Pub. X. 282, *Earl of* March *Governor of* Ireland.

Whilſt *France* was the Seat of the War, *England* enjoyed a profound Tranquillity, by the good Order that had been eſtabliſhed in the Government. In the Month of *May*, *Edmund Mortimer* Earl of *March*, was made Governour of *Ireland* with a very extenſive Authority. Policy required that during the King's Minority, this Prince ſhould be at a Diſtance from the Kingdom, on account of his Right to the Crown. Not that he had given any Occaſion to have his Conduct called in Queſtion. But it was not impoſſible that even without his Conſent, he might prove the Ground of Commotions, which the Wiſdom of the Council was willing to prevent. He did not ſet out however till *February* or *March* the next Year.

The

The Parliament which met on the 20th of *October*, granted the King a *Subſidy* * for the Support of the War in *France*, where King *Charles* ſtill kept his Ground, notwithſtanding the great Diſproportion between his and his Rival's Forces. 1423. *A Subſidy granted.*

I have already obſerved that King *Charles* made very much of the *Scots*, and that the Nation began to follow Maxims altogether different from what they had done during the Regency of the Duke of *Albany*. The Duke of *Glouceſter* and the Council of *England*, perceiving this Alteration which might prove extremely prejudicial to the King's Affairs, thought it neceſſary to countermine the Deſigns of *Charles*, by Means of the King of *Scotland* Priſoner in *England* ever ſince 1408. With this View they reſolved to ſet him at Liberty, upon ſuch Terms as ſhould make him a faſt Friend to *England*. This was in Truth the only Way to ſtop the Career of the *Scotch* Nobles, who were almoſt all inclined to an open Rupture with the *Engliſh*. Whilſt the Council was thinking of Means to make this Step, without diſcovering too plainly their Deſign, an Accident happened in *Scotland* which ſaved them the Trouble of making the firſt Advances. *Treaty about ſetting the King of* Scotland *at Liberty.*

Mordec Stuart, Regent of *Scotland* ſince the Death of the Duke of *Albany* his Father, had three Sons all very ill-conditioned, and who created him a great deal of Vexation, by Reaſon he had neither Senſe nor Reſolution enough to keep them within the Bounds of their Duty. The youngeſt asking him one Day for a certain Hawk, and being denied, he wrung the Bird's Neck, though he knew his Father ſet a great Value upon it. This Action making the Regent ſee how difficult it would be for him to govern the Nation committed to his Care, ſince his own Children had ſo little Reſpect for him, he ſummoned the *States*, and propoſed to them the treating with *England* about their King's Liberty. A Motion ſo agreeable to the Wiſhes both of Nobles and People, was received with Joy and Applauſe. And not to Buchanan.

* Of 12 Pence in the Pound for all Merchandize exported or imported, and 3 Shillings for every Tun of Wine, for three Years.

1423. to afford him leisure to recant, Ambassadors were forthwith named, and a Power given them to go and negotiate the Affair. In the Temper the Council of *England* was in, these Ambassadors met with a very civil Reception, and Commissioners were immediately appointed to treat with them. The Commissioners Instructions ran, that they should consent to King *James*'s Liberty upon the following Terms: That the captive Prince should pay the King the Sum of Forty, or at least of Thirty-six Thousand Marks, for the Expence they had been at in *England* during his Captivity: That a Truce should be made, during which neither of the two Kings should send any Aid to the other's Enemies. Moreover, they were ordered to intimate to the *Scotch* Ambassadors, that it would be very convenient to make a Match between their King and a Princess of the Royal Blood of *England*. But the Council wished, that if possible the Proposal might be first made by the *Scots*.

Act. Pub. X. 294.

First Conference, September. p. 299.

The first Conference upon this Affair was held at *York*, in the Beginning of *September*; and on the 10th of the same Month the Plenipotentiaries agreed, that *James* should have his Liberty, and might return into his own Kingdom. That he should pay at several Payments, the Sum of Forty Thousand Marks, and give Hostages for Security of Payment. At the second Conference, which was held at *London* on the 4th of *December*, all Matters relating to the Payment of the Money, and Quality of the Hostages were settled. Then it was agreed, that the King of *Scotland* should marry *Joanna*, Sister of the Duke of * *Somerset*, and Niece of the Duke of *Exeter* and Bishop of *Winchester*. On the Score of this Marriage, which was solemnized in the Beginning of *February* next Year, *Henry*, or the Council in his Name, abated Ten Thousand of the Forty Thousand Marks the King of *Scotland* was to pay.

A Match is agreed upon between James *and* Joanna *of* Somerset. P. 302, 322.

Matters

* *John Beaufort*, Son of *John* Marquis of *Dorset*, Son of *John of Gaunt* by *Catharine Swinford*, was not created *Duke of Somerset* and *Earl of Kendale*, till the 21st of *Henry* VI. *Dugdale*.

Matters being thus ſettled, the Ambaſſadors of both Nations ſigned a Truce for ſeven Years, to commence *May* the 1ſt 1424, during which each of the two Kings was obliged to hinder his Subjects from doing any thing detrimental to the other. And therefore, by this Treaty *James* bound himſelf indirectly to recall his Troops out of *France* before *May* the 1ſt. Nevertheleſs, whether he had neglected to ſend Orders for their Return, or whether, as is moſt likely, his Generals found ſome Pretence to evade them, theſe Troops, as we ſhall ſee hereafter, were in *France* in *Auguſt*. All theſe Negotiations being thus ended, *James* was conducted to the Borders, and ſet at Liberty in the Beginning of *March*.

1424. *Truce between* Scotland *and* England. p. 328.

An *Engliſh* Hiſtorian affirms, that before *James* quitted *England*, he did *Homage* to young *Henry* in *Windſor-Caſtle* for the whole Kingdom of *Scotland*, and ſwore *Fealty* to him. It were to be wiſhed, that in advancing a Matter of ſuch Importance, and ſo very improbable, this Hiſtorian, who relates the very Words of the Oath and Homage *, had told us from whence he had it. It cannot be denied that ſince *John Baliol*, all the Kings of *Scotland* had conſtantly refuſed this *Homage*. For we muſt not reckon in the Number of the Kings *Edward Baliol*, who in order to aſcend the Throne of *Scotland*, had made himſelf Slave of *Edward* III. But not to go back ſo far, it will ſuffice to remark, that *Robert* III. Father of *James*, flatly refuſed to do Homage to *Henry* IV. and that ſince then there had been no Treaty of Peace between the two Nations, but Truces only, which had ſettled nothing upon that Head. Wherefore *James* was in the ſame Caſe with the King his

Miſtakes of ſome Engliſh *Hiſtorians concerning the Homage.* Hollingſh. p. 587.

* I *James Stuart*, King of *Scots*, ſhall be true and faithful unto you, Lord *Henry*, by the Grace of God, King of *England* and *France*, and the Noble and Superior *Lord* of the Kingdom of *Scotland*; and to You I make my Fidelity for the ſame Kingdom of *Scotland*, which I hold and claim of you; and I ſhall bear you my Faith and Fidelity of Life and Limb, and worthy Honour againſt all Men; and faithfully I ſhall acknowledge, and ſhall do you Service due for the Kingdom of *Scotland* aforeſaid, ſo God help me, and theſe Holy Evangeliſts. *Hollingſh.* 587. *Stow's An.* 364

1424. Father. If therefore he did Homage to *Henry* VI. it muſt be by virtue of ſome new Agreement. And yet it does not appear in the *Inſtructions* of the *Engliſh* Commiſſioners, that they had any Orders about that Matter. The *Articles* agreed upon by the Plenipotentiaries appointed to treat about the Liberty of King *James*, make no mention of this *Homage*, though they are very large upon Things of much leſs moment. The Treaty of Truce has nothing like it. In fine, in above Thirty ſeveral *Acts* extant in *Rymer*'s *Collection*, which concern the Affairs negotiated in the Years 1423 and 1424, between the *Engliſh* and *Scotch*, there is not one Syllable alluding to any ſuch thing. Upon all theſe Accounts, there is room, in my Opinion, to preſume that what has been advanced by the Hiſtorian beforementioned, and by ſeveral others after him, concerning the pretended Homage done at *Windſor*, is a mere Fiction of their own. They verily believed, as many do ſtill at this very Day, that this *Homage* was due from the King of *Scotland*, and accordingly they imagined the captive King would not be ſuffered to go without being obliged to do it. But beſides the Reaſons which the Kings of *Scotland* had to refuſe this Homage, the Silence of the Records in *the Collection of Publick Acts*, ſeems to me in this Matter a clear Demonſtration. The Reader may look back to what has been ſaid upon this Subject in the Reign of *Edward* I, where the reſpective Rights of the *Engliſh* and *Scots* were ſufficiently ſet forth.

Beaumont *taken by the* French. Whilſt the Liberty of the King of *Scotland* was negotiating in *England*, the War was carrying on in *France* with various Succeſs. In the Beginning of the Year the *French* took by Storm *Beaumont* upon *Oyle*, a ſmall Town in *the Iſle of France*, ſix Miles from *Pontoiſe*.

La Charité *ſurprized.* On the other Side, one *Perrinet Graſſet*, a *Burgundian* Adventurer, ſurprized *la Charité*, a Place of great Importance, which might afford the *Engliſh* a Paſſage over the *Loire*, and enable them to carry their Arms beyond that River.

The

The taking of Places by Surprize was then ſo frequent, that it is ſtrange the daily Inſtances of it ſhould not put the Governours more upon their Guard. The Duke of *Bedford* was extremely vexed to ſee that as faſt as he forwarded the Execution of his Projects, by taking ſome one of the Enemy's Towns about *Paris*, ſome other was ſurprized, which retarded his Deſigns. His Scheme was, as I before obſerved, to clear the *Northern* Provinces, and yet he could not bring it about. There was no End of his Work. There was a Neceſſity therefore, in order to purſue his Plan, to take *Beaumont* from the *French*; and with this Intent he opened the Campaign in *March* with an Army of Ten Thouſand Men. After he had recovered this Place, he made himſelf maſter likewiſe in *the Iſle of France* of ſeveral Caſtles, which very much incommoded the *Pariſians*. 1124. Beaumont *retaken.*

Whilſt he was taken up with theſe ſlight Matters, News was brought him that *Giraut*, a Captain of King *Charles*'s Party, had ſurprized *Ivry* on the Frontiers of *Normandy*. He poſted immediately into thoſe Parts, and not to give the *French* time to provide for its Defence, laid Siege to the Town in the Beginning of *July*. *Giraut* perceiving that he ſhould not be able to hold out long in the Condition he was in, capitulated to ſurrender on the 15th of *Auguſt*, if not relieved by that Time. King *Charles* being ſoon informed of this Capitulation, reſolved to relieve *Ivry* at any Rate, and to employ in that Service the *Italian* and *Scotch* Troops lately ſent him. To theſe he joined about eleven Thouſand Men drawn out of ſeveral Provinces and Garriſons, being well aware, that without a great Superiority of Forces, it would be very difficult to accompliſh his Deſign. All theſe Troops together made up an Army of Twenty Thouſand Men, which was formed in *Maine*. *Charles* had never had one ſo ſtrong. It was the Earl of *Buchan*'s Place, as *Conſtable of France*, to command in chief. But he was pleaſed to reſign that Honour to the Earl of *Dowglaſs* his Father-in-law, to whom the King ſent for that Purpoſe a *Patent*, conſtituting him his Lieutenant-General of all *The* French *ſurprize* Ivry. *It is beſieged by the* Regent. *It capitulates.* Charles *prepares to relieve* Ivry. *Earl of* Dowglaſ *commands the Army of* France.

1424. all the Kingdom, otherwiſe the *Conſtable* could not have been under his Command.

He does not think fit to attack the Engliſh.

All the *French* Nobles of *Charles*'s Party repaired to the Army, in order to have a Share in the Glory which was expected from this Expedition. The *French* beginning to march, paſſed on the 12th of *Auguſt* by the Walls of *Verneuil*, a Town in *Perch*, in the Poſſeſſion of the *Engliſh*. The next Day they came in Sight of the *Engliſh* Army, which was advantagiouſly intrenched before *Ivry*. *Dowglaſs* had no ſooner taken a View of the Enemy's Camp, but he judged it impoſſible to attack it. And therefore, altering his Deſign on a ſudden, he wheeled about, and reſolved to lay Siege to *Verneuil*. He did not queſtion but he ſhould have time enough to fortify his Camp ſo, as to expect the *Engliſh* with Advantage; or in caſe they would not venture to attack him, the taking of *Verneuil* would make the King ample Satisfaction for the Loſs of *Ivry*. Upon his appearing before *Verneuil*, the Garriſon prepoſterouſly imagined, that he was come from defeating the *Engliſh* before *Ivry*, taking it for granted, that ſo much ſuperior as he was, he would never return thus without having done ſomething. In this Belief, which the *French* took care to keep them in, they ſurrendred upon the firſt Summons, and *Dowglaſs* garriſoned the Place with *French*.

Verneuil ſurrenders to him.

The Earl of Salisbury *reinforces the Regent.*

Upon News of the March of the *French*, the Earl of *Salisbury* had made haſte to join the Regent with a Body of a Thouſand *Men at Arms*, and Two Thouſand Archers, which arrived at the Camp on the 14th. So that the *Engliſh* Army was about Fifteen Thouſand ſtrong.

Ivry *ſurrenders.* *The Regent approaches the* French.

On the 15th of *Auguſt Ivry* opened her Gates to the Beſiegers, purſuant to the Capitulation, and next Day the Regent marched towards *Verneuil*, where the *French* ſtill remained. When he was about three Miles from their Camp, he ſent a Herald to offer them Battle: At the ſame time he bid him tell *Dowglaſs*, *he was come to take a Bit with him*; to which the other replied, *he ſhould find the Cloth laid*. Naturally it was the Duke of *Bedford*'s Buſineſs to advance, ſince he was in queſt of his Enemies. But knowing the impetuous Humour of the *French*, he did

did not queſtion but as they were ſuperior in Number, they would come and attack him, and therefore reſolved to ſtay and expect them. To that Purpoſe he pitched upon an advantagious Poſt for his Camp and the Field of Battle, a Piece of Ground flanked by a Hill, on which he placed Two Thouſand Archers. He ordered his foremoſt Ranks to take ſuch Stakes as the late King his Brother had made ſo good uſe of at the Battle of *Azincourt*, that they might the better withſtand the Charge of the *French Cavalry*, among which were all the Nobles. In this Poſture he waited the Enemies Reſolutions, hoping they would be ſo imprudent as to attack him thus poſted, and he was not deceived in his Expectations. 1424. *and reſolves to wait their coming.*

The Earl of *Dowglaſs* having viewed the *Engliſh* Camp, called a Council of War. He repreſented, that the Duke of *Bedford*, inſtead of advancing, had a Mind to fight with Advantage, on a Ground he had made choice of himſelf; and that therefore, it was by no Means proper to go and attack him in that Place. That the Risk the King's Affairs would run was of ſo great Conſequence, that he was of Opinion they ought not to hazard a Battle. That nevertheleſs, if it was judged neceſſary to come to an Engagement, the beſt way would be to pitch upon an advantagious Poſt, and there expect the Enemy, to the End they might not fight till after ſuch Precautions were taken as would in ſome meaſure warrant Succeſs. This Advice coming from the Mouth of a Foreigner, was thought too cautious by ſome of the Council. Amidſt the Debates upon this Matter, a Party was formed againſt the General, which was headed by *Aymeri*, Viſcount of *Narbonne*. This Lord ſet forth, that in caſe they avoided coming to a Battle with ſo great odds on their Side, the Reputation of the King's Arms would be ruined paſt Redemption: That by ſuch a Piece of Cowardiſe the Troops would be ſo diſheartned, that there would be no bringing them again to face Enemies whom one would have ſhunned when one ought to have fought them: That the King's Affairs could not be reſtored but by ſome great Blow, and as there could not be a fairer Opportunity to vanquiſh the Enemy, the letting *Diſſentions in the* French *Council of War.*

1424. letting it ſlip would be betraying the Intereſt of the King and Kingdom. In ſpite of theſe Reaſons, the *Conſtable* and the oldeſt Captains were of the General's Opinion. But the contrary Party were reſolved to carry their Point. *Narbonne* their Head going out of the Council, ordered his Banner to be diſplayed, and began to march towards the Army. They who had been of his Mind did the ſame, and all the Volunteers of the Army went with them. *Dowglaſs* was enraged at this Diſobedience. But neither his nor the *Conſtable*'s Authority was capable of bringing them back. Had he been in his own Country, he would have left theſe raſh Men to periſh in their Folly. But as he was in a foreign Kingdom, he was afraid he ſhould be taxed with Cowardiſe, or accuſed of having voluntarily ſuffered Part of his Troops to be loſt. Beſides, the Number of the Diſobedient increaſing every Moment, he ſaw himſelf conſtrained, though with extreme Indignation, to march with the reſt of the Army. Upon their ſeeing the General coming, they very readily left him the Care of conducting the Army, congratulating one another upon having found Means to conquer his Obſtinacy. Mean while, in ſpite of the Diligence of the Earl of *Dowglaſs*, Diſorder and Confuſion got to ſuch a Head among his Troops, who were afraid of having the Victory ſnatched out of their Hands, that they were almoſt quite out of Breath when they came within Sight of the *Engliſh*. However, that did not hinder them from attacking the Enemies immediately, without minding thoſe that exhorted them to reſt a little before they engaged. The *Italians* being expoſed to the Arrows of the two Thouſand Archers on the Hill, were the firſt that took to their Heels. The *French* and *Scots* behaved better; but they had to deal with Soldiers inured to War, who were not ſo eaſily frightned. In fine, the Leaders ſeeing the Charge proved unſucceſsful, and being ſenſible they ſhould be liable to everlaſting Diſgrace; and ſome of them having alſo reaſon to dread an exemplary Puniſhment, choſe an honourable Death before a ſhameful Retreat. The Earl of *Dowglaſs*, the Earl of *Buchan*, the *Conſtable*, *Narbonne*, *Ventadour*, *Granville*, *Ram-*

Narbonne *forces* Dowglaſs *to march up to the Enemy.*

Battle of Verneuil, Aug. 16.

Rambouillet, being ſlain, and many others of the moſt eminent wounded; there was ſcarce a General left to lead up the Soldiers to the Charge. Whereupon the whole Army was utterly routed, and hotly purſued. Then it was that the greateſt Slaughter was made, as it uſually happens on ſuch Occaſions. The *Italians* returning back, upon the falſe Information that their Side had got the better, met the victorious *Engliſh*, who ſlew great Numbers of them. Theſe foreign Troops would have been all cut in Pieces, had not the Night put a ſtop to the Fury of the Conquerors. The *French* and *Scots* loſt above five Thouſand Men, who lay dead on the Spot, beſides abundance of wounded and Priſoners. Among the laſt were the Marſhal *de la Fayette* and *Gaucour*. The young Duke of *Alenſon*, who had behaved that Day moſt gallantly, was found amongſt the Dead, with ſome Remains of Life ſtill in him, and by the extraordinary Care of the Regent was cured of his Wounds. But the Recovery of his Liberty coſt him dear, as will appear hereafter. The *Engliſh* loſt ſixteen or ſeventeen Hundred of their braveſt Soldiers. The 17th of *Auguſt*, which was the next Day after the Battle, the Regent inveſted *Verneuil*, where *Ramboure* commanded. This Governour would have been able to hold out a good while, had he been well ſtored with Proviſions. But the want of Victuals, and perhaps the Conſternation the Garriſon was in, obliged him to ſurrender on the third Day. They found in *Verneuil* all the Baggage of the *French*, *Scotch* and *Italian* Generals, with the Money deſigned for the Payment of the Army. Upon entering the Town, the *Engliſh* met the Corps of the Viſcount of *Narbonne*, as it was going to be buried, and becauſe he was one of the Murderers of the Duke of *Burgundy*, they took his Body and hung it on a Gibbet.

1424.

Duke of Alenſon *taken Priſoner.*

Verneuil *ſurrenders to the* Engliſh.

Narbonne's *Body hung on a Gibbet.*

After the Battle of *Verneuil*, the Regent left the Command of the Army to the Earl of *Salisbury*, and poſted to *Paris*, where ſome Mutineers had raiſed a Sedition upon a Belief that he could not fail of being defeated by the *French*. This Commotion was appeaſed by the Death of ſome of the Ring-leaders: However, it made the Regent ſenſible,

A Commotion at Paris *appeaſed by the Regent.*

1424. ſenſible, that he ſhould not rely too far on the Affections of the *Pariſians*, unleſs it was in his Power to keep them always in Awe.

Salisbury *conquers* Maine. The Earl of *Salisbury* finding himſelf ſtrong enough to make ſome conſiderable Attempt, entered *Maine*, and beſieged *Mans*, the Capital of the Province, and one of the ſtrongeſt Cities in *France*. The Governour made a long and brave Defence. But at length, ſeeing no Proſpect of Relief, he capitulated. After the taking of *Mans*, the *Engliſh* General inveſted *La Ferté-Bernard*, another Place in the ſame Province, which could hardly be carried by Storm, by reaſon of its Situation. Whilſt part of his Troops kept this Place blocked up, he over-ran the reſt of the Province, and took St. *Suzanne* with ſome other Places. He finiſhed a glorious Campaign, and the Conqueſt of *Maine*, with taking *La Ferté-Bernard*, after a four Months Blockade.

A favourable Event for Charles. The Loſs of the Battle of *Crevant* and *Verneuil* had thrown King *Charles*'s Troops and all the Towns on his Side into great Conſternation. Had not Winter been coming on, in all likelihood the *Engliſh* would have puſhed their Conqueſts farther. But the Reſpite which the Seaſon gave King *Charles*, would have only delayed his Ruin a few Months, if a favourable Event, which he little dreamt of, had not given him time to breathe: I mean, the Quarrel which aroſe between the Dukes of *Glouceſter* and *Brabant*, wherein the Duke of *Burgundy* was likewiſe engaged. One may truly ſay, that this Affair cauſed the *Engliſh* to loſe the critical Moment, which in all probability was to determine the Fate of the *Houſe* of *Valois*, and render them Maſters of all *France*. This is what will plainly appear in the Sequel. But it will be neceſſary firſt to give a brief Account of the Riſe of this Quarrel which proved ſo fatal to *England*.

The Affair of Hainault. *William of Bavaria* late Earl of *Hainault*, had by *Margaret* his Counteſs Daughter of *Philip le Hardi* Duke of *Burgundy*, only one Daughter called *Jaquelina*, who had been married to *John* ſecond Son of *Charles* VI. *John* being *Dauphin* by the Death of his elder Brother *Lewis*, died

at

at *Compiegne* in 1416, and *Jaquelina* remained a Widow at her Father's Houſe. The Earl her Father dying ſhortly after, ſhe became Heireſs of his Dominions, containing *Hainault*, *Holland*, *Zeland* and *Frieſland*. So noble an Inheritance could not fail to attract the Addreſſes of a great many Princes. But the Counteſs her Mother being deſirous to procure this rich Match for a Prince of her own Family, caſt her Eyes on *John* Duke of *Brabant* her Nephew, and got her Daughter to marry him. This Marriage proved unfortunate. The new-married Couple ſoon fell at Variance, for Reaſons which have nothing to do with our Hiſtory. Their Quarrel grew to that Height, that at laſt *Jaquelina* ordered Matters ſo, that ſhe was run away with by ſome *Engliſh* Knights, who carried her to *London*. I have obſerved in the foregoing Reign that her being thus carried off was not unknown to King *Henry* V. There is great likelihood that this Monarch had then thoughts of marrying *Jaquelina* to the Duke of *Glouceſter*. 1424.

Upon this Princeſs's Arrival in *England* ſhe began to think of Means how to annull her Marriage with the Duke of *Brabant*. To that End ſhe applied to the Anti-Pope *Benedict* XIII, who though depoſed by the *Council of Piſa*, ſtiffly perſiſted in keeping his Title and Dignity. The pretended Pope, overjoyed at being addreſſed to, cancelled *Jaquelina*'s Marriage, and gave her Liberty to marry again. But whether *Henry* V was afraid of diſobliging the Duke of *Burgundy*, Couſin-German of the Duke of *Brabant*, or whether he thought it too irregular to make uſe of the Diſpenſation of a Pope whom he acknowledged not for ſuch, he haſtened not the Concluſion of the intended Marriage.

Henry dying in the mean while, the Duke of *Glouceſter* believed he ought not to put off any longer a Marriage which afforded him ſo advantagious a Proſpect. He took *Jaquelina* to Wife, either in the very Year 1422, or at leaſt in the Beginning of 1423; for we find in the *Collection of Publick Acts*, a *Petition* dated *February* 5th, 1423, which was preſented to him under the Title of *Earl of Hainault*. However that be, the Duke had no ſooner conAct. Pub. X. 279.

1424. ſummatted his Marriage, but he fell to contriving the Means to take Poſſeſſion of his Spouſe's Dominions, which were in the Hands of the Duke of *Brabant*. Mean while the Duke of *Burgundy* foreſeeing that *Jaquelina*'s third Marriage might create a War between the two Princes her Huſbands, had a Conference upon this Subject with the Duke of *Bedford* at *Amiens*, and after that another at *Paris* in *December* 1423. They agreed that this Affair ſhould be left to the Pope's Determination, as the proper Judge of ſuch Caſes. The Duke of *Brabant* approved of this Expedient, becauſe he knew very well, there was no Reaſon ſtrong enough to induce the Court of *Rome* to annull the Marriage. But the Duke of *Glouceſter* rejected it, proteſting however that he was ready to conſent to any reaſonable Accommodation. Mean Time, he made Preparations to aſſert his Pretenſions, whilſt the Duke of *Bedford* his Brother was triumphantly carrying on the War in *France*. At laſt in the Month of *October* 1424 he came to *Calais* together with his new Spouſe, bringing along with him a Body of five Thouſand Men. He ſtaid there till about the Middle of *November*.

Monſtrelet.

The Duke of Burgundy *comes to the Duke of* Bedford *at* Paris.

Though the Duke of *Burgundy* was entirely in the Intereſts of the Duke of *Brabant*, the good Underſtanding between him and the *Engliſh* ſtill continued. He was in Hopes the Duke of *Glouceſter* would drop his Pretenſions, eſpecially as he ſaw the Duke of *Bedford* his Brother uſed his Endeavours to perſwade him to it. The Arrival of the *Engliſh* Troops at *Calais* alarmed him not, ſeeing he was ignorant as yet that they were deſigned againſt the Duke of *Brabant*. It was very likely that they were ſent from *England* to reinforce the Regent. And therefore all the while the Duke of *Glouceſter* ſtaid at *Calais*, *Philip* was at *Paris* partaking of the Diverſions and Entertainments made by the Regent on Account of his glorious Campaign.

He marries Bonne *of* Artois.

Upon his Return to *Dijon*, he celebrated his ſecond Nuptials with *Bonne of Artois*, Widow of *Philp* Earl of *Nevers* his Uncle. She was Siſter of the Earl of *Eu* Priſoner in *England*, and Half-Siſter of *Clermont* eldeſt Son of the Duke of *Bourbon*.

Whilſt

Whilſt this Marriage was ſolemnizing at *Dijon*, the Duke of *Glouceſter* ſet out from *Calais* and marched towards *Hainault* with *Jaquelina* his Wife. He paſſed through Part of the Duke of *Burgundy*'s Dominions, without ſuffering his Troops to commit any Ravages, and came before *Bouchain*, which opened her Gates to him. Quickly after all the other Towns of *Hainault* ſubmitted to him and the Dutcheſs, and ſwore Fealty to them. The News of theſe Things being brought to the Duke of *Burgundy*, he ordered *Ligny* and *l'iſle-Adam* to draw an Army together with all poſſible ſpeed and go and join the Earl of St. *Paul*, Brother of the Duke of *Brabant*, who was making Preparations at *Bruſſels* to aid the Duke his Brother. But before we proceed any further in this Affair, it will be neceſſary to cloſe the Account of the Occurrences of the Year 1424, with what had paſſed in *England* this Year.

1424. *The Duke of* Glouceſter *becomes Maſter of* Hainault.

The Duke of Burgundy *prepares to aid the Duke of* Brabant.

Sir *John Mortimer*, Brother * of *Edmund* Earl of *March*, being ſome Time ſince Priſoner in the Tower, was charged with having attempted to make his Eſcape in order to go and ſtir up an Inſurrection in *Wales*. It was affirmed that his Deſign was to proclaim the Earl of *March* his Brother, and in Caſe he refuſed, to proclaim himſelf. Whether his Crime was fully proved, or whether they were glad to get rid of a Perſon who might have had it in his Power to do Miſchief in Caſe he had eſcaped, he was condemned and executed.

The Earl of *March* his Brother did not long ſurvive. He died in *Ireland* about the latter End of the Year, without leaving any Iſſue. By his Death the Title of *Earl of March* and his Right to the Crown of *England*, from which he had been excluded by the Election of *Henry* IV, deſcended to *Richard* Duke of *York* his Nephew, Son of *Ann* his Siſter and the Earl of *Cambridge* * beheaded at

Death of the Earl of March. *The Duke of* York *is his Heir.*

* He could not be Brother of *Edmund* according to *Dugdale*, who ſays *Edmund* had only one Brother, called *Roger*, who died in 16 of *Richard* II. without Iſſue.

*1 *Richard de Coningsburgh* (in *Yorkſhire*) ſecond Son of *Edmund de Langley* Duke of *York*, fifth Son of *Edward* III, whoſe eldeſt Son *Edward* died without Iſſue.

1424. *Southampton* in 1415. All the *English* Historians unanimously affirm, that this Prince, then under Age, bore not yet the Title of *Duke of York*, which according to them was not conferred upon him till the Parliament held at *Leicester* in 1426. But we find in the *Collection of Publick Acts*, that he is stiled *Duke of York* in an *Act* dated *February* 5, 1425, that is, thirteen Months before the Parliament of *Leicester*, where he was only made a *Knight*.

1425. *Sad State of King* Charles's *Affairs.* In the Beginning of the Year 1425 the Affairs of King *Charles* were in a very sad Condition. The Battles of *Crevant* and *Verneuil* had robbed him of his Troops and his best Generals. He had neither Money nor Credit. His Revenues being all mortgaged, he saw himself unable to bring an Army into the Field. The Dukes of *Burgundy* and *Bretagne*, the two most powerful *Vassals* of the Crown, were in strict Alliance with the *English*. The King of *Sicily*, his Brother-in-law, had just lost *Maine*, and could hardly keep the rest of his Dominions. The King of *Scotland*, the antient Ally of *France*, had made a Truce with the *English*, which tied up his Hands, and hindred him from sending any Succours. Reduced to this wretched Pass, he found himself as it were driven beyond the *Loire*, without any Prospect of being able to keep any longer the Places he still had about *Paris*. To all this was added the Apprehension which appeared not without Ground, of quickly seeing the Enemy's Armies in *Berry*, *Languedoc*, and *Dauphiné*. The *English* called him only the *Earl of Ponthieu*, or by Way of Derision, the *King of Bourges*.

The Affair of Hainault. Certainly if the Duke of *Glouceſter* had shown the same Zeal for the King his Nephew, as he did for his own Interest, and sent to the Duke of *Bedford* the Troops and Money he employed against the Duke of *Brabant*, one may reasonably presume, *France*'s Business would have been done. Never would *Charles* have had it in his Power to wrest that Conquest out of the Hands of the *English*. This was the *Critical Minute* which that Nation should not have let slip. They were, as one may say, within an Ace of concluding a War which had lasted ten Years, and which in all Appearance was about to end according to their Wish, with

with ſecuring the Crown of *France* to the Kings of *England*. The Duke of *Bedford* ſaw it plainly. He never ceaſed to ſollicite his Brother to make the beſt of ſo favourable a Juncture, and put off the Execution of his Deſigns to a more convenient Seaſon, when he might be able to employ all the Forces of *France* and *England*. But his Remonſtrances were not capable of diverting the ambitious Duke from an Enterprize, which gave him the Proſpect of obtaining four of the fineſt Provinces of the *Low-Countries*. He was a younger Brother, and the Succeſſion to the Throne of *England*, ſuppoſing the King his Nephew ſhould dye without Iſſue, was to come to his Brother before him. For this Reaſon he looked upon himſelf obliged to lay hold of this Opportunity which would raiſe him above the Rank of a Subject, and which was not likely to offer again. But at the ſame Time he cauſed the Duke his Brother to loſe that of compleating the Conqueſt of *France*. The great Number of Garriſons he was obliged to keep in the Kingdom, where was neither Town nor Caſtle but what was fortified, quite drained the *Engliſh* Army, ſo that the Regent not receiving any Supplies by Reaſon of the unhappy Diverſion of *Hainault*, was no more able than King *Charles* to bring an Army into the Field. This is the true Reaſon why during the Year 1425 the War was, as it were, diſcontinued in *France*, and that nothing conſiderable was done on either Side. 1425.

I left the Duke of *Glouceſter* Maſter of *Hainault*, and the Duke of *Burgundy* preparing to ſnatch the Prey out of his Hands. In the Orders *Burgundy* gave his Generals to levy an Army, he had ſet forth, that having agreed with the Duke of *Bedford* upon an Expedient to put an End to the Quarrel, the Duke of *Brabant* had conſented to it, but the Duke of *Glouceſter* had rejected it. *Glouceſter* coming to the Knowledge of what the Duke of *Burgundy* had given out, ſent him a Letter dated at *Mons*, *January* the 12th 1424-5, taxing him with having ſaid an Untruth. The Duke of *Burgundy* nettled at this Affront, returned him a very abuſive Anſwer. He told him he lied, and offered to make good what he had advanced, in ſingle Combat, and to *Continuation of the Buſineſs of Hainault. Monſtrelet.*

A challenge between the Duke of Burgundy *and* Glouceſter.

1425. to take the Duke of *Bedford* for Judge *. The Duke of *Glouceſter* accepted the Challenge, and appointed St. *George*'s *Day* for the Combat. They wrote one another ſeveral other bitter Letters, the Contents whereof are of no Service in clearing up what remains of this Affair.

Braine *taken by the* Brabanders

Whilſt theſe two Princes were thus reviling one another, the Earl of St. *Paul*, Brother of the Duke of *Brabant*, beſieged the little Town of *Braine* in *Hainault*, defended by two Hundred *Engliſh*. After a faint Reſiſtance, the Garriſon having capitulated, the *Brabanders* violated the Articles, put the *Engliſh* to the Sword, and ſet Fire to the Town.

Truce between the Duke of Glouceſter *and* Brabant. Glouceſter *returns to* England.

Mean while, as the ſingle Combat between the Dukes of *Burgundy* and *Glouceſter* was properly to decide the main Quarrel between *Glouceſter* and *Brabant*, it was thought fit a Truce ſhould be made till the Iſſue of the Combat ſhould be known. Upon ſigning the Truce the Duke of *Glouceſter* ſet out for *England*. He would fain have carried his Dutcheſs along with him, but the People of *Mons* were ſo urgent with him to leave her behind, that he could not deny their Requeſt. He made the Magiſtrates however take a ſolemn Oath to ſtand by her with their Lives and Fortunes againſt all Perſons whatever.

Charles *takes Advantage of the* Hainault-*Diverſion.*

Whilſt the War of *Hainault* kept that of *France* as it were in Suſpence, *Charles* took Meaſures to improve this lucky Diverſion. In a great Council he held to conſider the State of his Affairs, it was unanimouſly agreed, that there was but one Way left to get out of the wretched Condition he was in. And that was to offer the Dukes of *Burgundy* and *Bretagne* what Terms they ſhould be pleaſed to require, in order to bring them off from the *Engliſh*. The firſt had openly broke with the Duke of *Glouceſter*. The other might be gained by the Earl of *Richmond* his Brother, who had a great Influence over him, and moreover was very angry with the Duke of *Bedford*. This was a Juncture which was not to be let ſlip. On the other Hand, *Bonne* of *Artois*, lately married to the Duke of *Burgundy*, being *French*

* *Dugdale* ſays, the Emperor.

French and Half-Siſter to the Earl of *Clermont*, a zealous Stickler for the King, it was likely ſhe would very readily endeavour to gain the Duke her Spouſe. 1425.

It being reſolved then to try theſe two Means, *Charles* diſpatched to the Earl of *Richmond* private Emiſſaries, who told him what a great Eſteem the King had for him. They hinted to him, that he had often ſaid, he ſhould deem himſelf invincible if he could but get him to command his Army. This was attacking the Prince in the moſt ſenſible Part. As he had a high Conceit of his own Merit, it was no ſmall Pleaſure to him to ſee King *Charles* offer him a Poſt which the Duke of *Bedford* had denied him even with ſome Signs of Diſdain. However being well aware that the Perſons which talked to him thus, were ſent only to ſound him, he contented himſelf with returning a civil Anſwer to their Compliments, and inſinuating to them that he had a great Inclination to ſerve their Maſter.

He gains the Earl of Richmond *and by his Means the Duke of* Bretagne.

This firſt Step being made, *Charles* ſent to him the Queen Dowager of *Sicily* his Mother-in-law, with *Tannegui du Châtel*, and impowered them to make him an offer of the *Conſtable*'s Sword. This Poſt had been vacant ever ſince the Death of the Earl of *Buchan* ſlain in the Battle of *Verneuil*. The Queen of *Sicily* and *du Châtel* found the Earl very much diſpoſed to change Sides. He was exaſperated againſt the Duke of *Bedford*; and as he was extremely Haughty and Revengful, it was great Pleaſure to him to think he ſhould have an Opportunity of being revenged for the Contempt ſhown him. And therefore without much Sollicitation he accepted the King's Offer with great Demonſtrations of Thankfulneſs, and promiſed to engage the Duke his Brother in his Intereſts. However he required two Conditions, without which he proteſted he could not accept the Honour the King was pleaſed to do him, neither could he promiſe any Thing with Regard to the Duke his Brother. The Firſt was, that *Louvet* and *d'Avangour* the principal Authors of the *Pontievrian* Conſpiracy, ſhould be removed from Court. The Second, that the Duke of *Burgundy* ſhould conſent to his ſiding with King *Charles*

Conditions demanded by the Earl of Richmond.

1425. *Charles*. His Reason for this was, because he had engaged himself by Oath with the Duke of *Burgundy*, in the Treaty of *Amiens*. He had not the same Scruple with Respect to the Duke of *Bedford*, though he was no less engaged with him, than with the Duke of *Burgundy*. But Passion very often causes the same Thing to appear with two different Faces, according to the Persons with whom we have to deal. The Queen and *du Châtel* very readily assured him that the King would comply with his Demands. Upon which he came to *Tours*, where *Charles* took Care to flatter his Vanity with all possible Civilities and Caresses. But however the Earl stood firm to what he had required, and told the King plainly, he could not list in his Service but upon the Terms proposed. The King gave him hopes that he would grant the First, without however fixing the Time; and as to the Second, he was pleased that he should go and talk with the Duke of *Burgundy* in order to get his Consent. He took likewise this Opportunity to send to the Duke of *Burgundy* the Bishops of *Puy* and *Chartres*, who had Orders to sound him, whether there was any Way to bring him off from the King of *England*'s Party.

The Duke of Burgundy *le's intractable with regard to* Charles VII.

Though the Duke of *Burgundy* was extremely incensed against the Duke of *Glouceſter*, he appeared not so forward to come to an Accommodation as *Charles* and his Council expected. The Murder of the Duke his Father still sitting hard upon his Mind, he showed at first great Backwardness to a Reconciliation. Nevertheless, pressed by the King's Envoys who endeavoured to excuse their Master by casting the Blame on his evil Councellors, he replied, it was therefore the King's Part to dismiss those pernicious Counsellors, and then it would be Time enough to talk of an Accommodation. This was sufficient to let them see that he was not altogether inexorable, especially as he readily enough consented that the Earl of *Richmond* should accept of the *Constable*'s Sword.

The King's Perplexity about his Favourites.

Charles, it seems, had reason to congratulate himself upon his good Fortune. It was in his own Power to win the Duke of *Bretagne* to his Side; and moreover, he had room to

to hope that the Duke of *Burgundy* was not proof againſt a reaſonable Satisfaction. Nevertheleſs, the Terms impoſed upon him threw him into great Perplexity. To procure theſe Advantages, there was a Neceſſity of caſting off his two principal Miniſters, Favourites and Confidents; namely, *Tannegui du Châtel*, who ſlew the Duke of *Burgundy*, and *Louvet*, Preſident of *Province*, whom the Duke of *Bretagne* conſidered as Author of the *Pontievrian* Conſpiracy. *Du Châtel* ſaved him part of the Trouble he was under. He came and caſt himſelf at his Feet, intreating him in Requital of his Services, to give him leave to retire, ſince his Preſence at Court could not for the future but be detrimental to ſo good a Maſter. It was with extreme Reluctance that the King granted his Requeſt. It was a long time before he could come to a Reſolution. Mean while, urged by the continual Inſtances of a faithful Servant, who deſired this Favour only to give him a freſh Proof of his Zeal, he ſuffered him at length to retire. One meets with few Favourites who thus prefer their Maſter's Good to their own. *Louvet*, who was not ſo diſintereſted, did not think himſelf obliged to follow his Example. So he might keep his Poſt, he never mattered the King's loſing all the Advantages which might be expected from an Alliance with the Duke of *Bretagne*.

1425.

Châtel *deſires leave to retire.*

Louvet *tries to keep his Poſt.*

Mean while the Earl of *Richmond* not doubting in the leaſt but that the King would be as good as his word in relation to *Louvet*, came to him at *Tours*, where he received from him the *Conſtable*'s Sword on the 7th of *March* 1425. He had promiſed to bring off the Duke of *Bretagne* from the Side of *England*: but as he ſtill ſaw *Louvet* and *d'Avaugour* about the King, he haſtned not the Performance of his Promiſe. *Charles* was willing enough to make him a Sacrifice of the laſt. But *Louvet* had a ſurer Footing at Court: Beſides his being well-beloved by the King, one of his Daughters, Wife of the Lord *de Joyeuſe*, ſhared *Charles*'s Affections with *Agnes Sorrel*, who began to appear at Court as a Favourite. Wherefore, in order to win the Duke of *Bretagne*, *Charles* ſaw himſelf conſtrained to diſcard a beloved *Miniſter*, and diſoblige his Miſtreſs. This

Charles *cannot think of diſcarding* Louvet.

1425. gave him no ſmall Concern. On the other Hand, *Louvet* uſed his utmoſt Endeavours to ruin the *Conſtable* in his Maſter's Favour. He repreſented to him with what Haughtineſs he had acted, in impoſing Terms on his Sovereign, as if he had been his Equal, and in making it to be conſidered as a Favour, that he was pleaſed to accept of the *Conſtable*'s Sword. In ſhort, he knew how to manage ſo, that the King being pretty obſtinate in his Temper, reſolved not to part with his *Miniſter* come what would.

He is forced from Court by the Conſtable.

The *Conſtable*, finding that they did not keep their word with him, was determined to ruin *Louvet* in ſpite of the King himſelf. To that Purpoſe, being ſenſible that this *Miniſter* was not beloved by the great Men at Court, he caballed with them in ſuch a Manner, that a Plot was formed to get him removed from about the King. As ſoon as he was ſure his Project would ſucceed, he withdrew from Court without taking Leave, and ſent the King word he would never return as long as *Louvet* was there. *Charles* not giving himſelf much Trouble about his withdrawing, ſtill perſiſted in the Reſolution to keep his *Miniſter*. But when he ſaw that by Degrees the great Men retired to their Governments on divers Pretences, that they refuſed to obey his Orders, and that he had but two or three Towns left which he could call his own, he found he muſt reſolve to part with *Louvet*, or loſe his Kingdom. He was even apprehenſive that the *Conſtable* would deliver up the Duke of *Bretagne*'s Places to the *Engliſh*. And therefore he was fain, though much againſt his Will, to diſmiſs his *Miniſter*, who had ſtill Credit enough to get *de Giac* his Creature to be received in his Room.

The Duke of Bretagne *does Homage to* Charles.

Upon this Removal, the *Conſtable* was willing to return to Court: but *Charles* was ſo provoked with him, that he could not bear the Thought of ſeeing him. However, the State of his Affairs obliged him at length to admit him again. The *Conſtable*, content with having compaſſed his Ends, performed his Promiſe concerning the Duke his Brother, and brought him to *Saumur*, where he did Homage to the King.

Whilſt

Whilſt the Earl of *Richmond* was raiſing Diſturbances in the Court of King *Charles*, *Henry*'s enjoyed no greater Tranquillity. I have already obſerved, that the Duke of *Glouceſter* and Biſhop of *Wincheſter* his Uncle were no great Friends. On which Side ſoever the Fault lay, they let no Opportunity ſlip of plaguing one another. The *Hainault* Expedition had furniſhed the Biſhop with a large Handle againſt the Duke, which he knew how to make the beſt of. When that Affair was propoſed in Council, he was Tooth and Nail againſt it, and manifeſtly ſhowed the Prejudice it might bring to the King's Affairs. But though he was on this Occaſion on the right Side of the Queſtion, yet the Duke of *Glouceſter* had Intereſt enough to get it approved. He ſat out upon his Expedition with a Mind imbittered againſt his Uncle, and with a Reſolution to be revenged, when an Opportunity ſhould offer.

1425. *Quarrel between the Duke of* Glouceſter *and Biſhop of* Wincheſter.

Hiſtorians inform us not how the Government was ſettled during the Duke of *Glouceſter*'s Abſence, which laſted about a Year. It is very likely that the Biſhop of *Wincheſter* had the greateſt Share in it, and that he made uſe of this Advantage to create his Enemy many Vexations. Some even ſay, that all his Proceedings tended to deprive him of the Protectorſhip, in order to get himſelf inveſted with that Dignity.

The Duke being returned to *England* about *October* 1425, this Quarrel was kindled afreſh with great Animoſity on both Sides. One Day having a Mind to go to the *Tower*, Sir *Richard Woodville* the Governour denied him Entrance, by the Advice of the Biſhop of *Wincheſter*. The Protector, who was exceeding high-ſpirited, fell out into a great Paſſion with the Biſhop, and proceeded even to Threatnings. In fine, the Quarrel was carried to that Height, that they both began to arm their Friends either to attack or defend. The Duke of *Conimbre*, Prince of *Portugal*, who was then in *England*, and the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury* endeavoured in vain to reconcile them. An Hiſtorian ſays, that the Biſhop of *Wincheſter* was forced to fly for Refuge to the *Tower*, and that five or ſix of his People were killed by the Duke's Followers. But this is unlikely,

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1425. unlikely, seeing in their Complaints against one another which were laid before the ensuing Parliament, there is no mention of any such Thing.

The Duke of Bedford *comes into* England.

The Prelate having no Warriors on his Side, did by no Means find his Account in deciding the Quarrel by force of Arms. The Intrigues of the Cabinet were more within his Province. And therefore, to prevent the Mischief that might befal him in case Matters remained in this Posture, he wrote to the Duke of *Bedford*, desiring him to come into *England*. He told him in his Letter, that unless he made all imaginable haste, the Kingdom was in danger of being exposed to fatal Commotions by the violent Temper of his Brother. The Duke of *Bedford* perceiving the ill Consequence of this Quarrel, set out immediately, leaving in *France Richard de Beauchamp* Earl of *Warwick* to command in his Room, and arrived in *England December* the 20th.

Warwick *commands in* France. Act. Pub. X. 339.

1426. *The Duke is received for Protector.* Ibid.

As soon as the Duke set Foot in the Kingdom, he took the Title of *Protector*, and was received as such pursuant to the *Act* of Parliament in 1422. We find in *the Collection of Publick Acts* not only that *Petitions* were presented to him as *Protector*, but that the Parliament assigned him the Salary of Eight Thousand Marks which were annexed to that Dignity, and which the Duke of *Glouceſter* till then had enjoyed.

England *proclaims War with* Bretagne. Ibid.

A few Days after his Arrival, the Duke of *Bedford* mentioned at the Council Board the Treachery of the Duke of *Bretagne* and the Earl of *Richmond*, and set forth the great Prejudice it brought to the King's Affairs. Upon his Remonstrances, and by his Advice, it was unanimously resolved to declare War against the Duke of *Bretagne*; the which was done on the 15th of *January* by Proclamation.

Ibid. Moreover, in order to hinder that Prince from assisting King *Charles*, a Resolution was taken to countenance the *Pontievrians* his Enemies, and try by their Means to raise a Civil War in *Bretagne*. To that end Safe-Conducts were dispatched to the two Brothers of that Name: but however, nothing came of it. Apparently they had not Interest enough in that Country.

This

1426. *Continuation of the Quarrel of the Duke of* Glouceſter *and Biſhop of* Winchester.

This Affair being over, the Duke of *Bedford* heartily ſet about procuring a ſincere Reconciliation between the Duke his Brother and the Biſhop of *Wincheſter*. The way to ſucceed was to ſide with neither. Had he taken his Brother's Part, as the Ties of Blood ſeemed to require, he would not have been fit to diſcharge the Office of a Mediator. Moreover, beſides the Character of Brother and Nephew, he had another to keep up in order to perform his Duty, and anſwer the Expectations of the Publick; I mean that of Protector, chiefly concerned in the Good of the *State* independently of the Duties of Nature. Wherefore, not to take upon him the ſole Management of ſo nice an Affair, he convened ſome of the prime Nobility at St. *Albans*, in hopes of being able, with their Help, to find ſome Means to content the two Princes. But their Animoſity was ſo great, that it was not poſſible to ſucceed this way. They were forced, after many fruitleſs Endeavours, to refer the Deciſion of the Affair to the enſuing Parliament, which was to meet at *Leiceſter* in *March*. Upon the Parliament's aſſembling, the Duke of *Glouceſter* exhibited ſix Articles againſt the Biſhop.

Artic'es of Accuſation againſt the Biſhop.

By the Iſt, he accuſed him of having cauſed him to be denied Entrance into the *Tower*, and thereby rendred the Dignity of Protector contemptible.

The IId ran, That he had endeavoured to carry off the King by Force from his Palace at *Eltham*, and remove him to *Windſor*, with Deſign to become Maſter of his Perſon.

The IIId, That not being ſatisfied with having cauſed him to be denied Admittance into the *Tower*, as was ſaid in the firſt Article, he had laid an Ambuſh for him at *London* Bridge and in *Southwark*, on purpoſe to murder him.

The IVth, That he had concealed a Villain in the late King's Room, when he was Prince of *Wales*, in order to have him aſſaſſinated.

The Vth, That he had adviſed the ſaid Prince to ſeize the Crown, before the King his Father was dead.

The VIth, That by his Letter to the Duke of *Bedford*, it evidently appeared that his Deſign was to ſtir up a Civil War in the Kingdom.

The

1426. *Bishop's Reply.*

The Bishop gave a particular Answer to these Accusations, either by explaining such of his Actions as might have been ill construed, or by flatly denying the Facts which the Duke had laid to his Charge.

He is declared innocent.

The Parliament having appointed Commissioners to examine what had been alledged on both Sides, declared, upon their Report, that the Articles of Accusation were without Ground, and acquitted the Bishop of the Crimes he was charged with. Which done, they obliged the two Princes to become Friends. Accordingly they shook Hands and were reconciled, at least in Appearance: however, they hated one another never the less for that.

They are made Friends outwardly.

Expedients to satisfy both Parties. Act. Pub. X. 153.

Mean while, as the Times and Circumstances of Affairs would not admit that the Duke of *Glouceſter* should be entirely sacrificed to his Enemy, the Protector took care to procure him also some Satisfaction. In the first Place, he took the *Great Seal* from the Bishop of *Winchester* and gave it to the Bishop of *London*. Then, as it was impossible that the two Enemies should be together at the Council-Board without great Prejudice to the King's Affairs, he prevailed with the Bishop to go with him into *France*, under Colour of performing a Vow. But to make amends for the Injury his Absence might do him, he had leave to sollicite a *Cardinal's Cap*, which was sent him indeed shortly after.

Mowbray *restored, and the Duke of* York *with forty others knighted,* p. 258.

This Affair being thus happily ended, the Protector restored *John Mowbray* Earl Marshal to the Title of *Duke of Norfolk*, which *Thomas* his Father was deprived of by *Richard* II. At the same Time he made forty *Knights*, among whom was the young Duke of *York*. It is this, no doubt, that occasioned its being said, that this Prince had in this Parliament the Title of *Duke of York* conferred upon him, though it is certain he bore that Title before, as has been observed.

The Constable Richmond *takes* Pontorson *and besieges* Beuvren.

Whilst the Duke of *Bedford* was thus employed in *England*, the Constable *Richmond* levied an Army in *Bretagne*. He was extremely impatient to show that he was not unworthy of the Post he was lately promoted to. By his Care and Credit he drew together a Matter of Twenty Thousand

Thouſand Men. Whilſt this numerous Army, which the Earl of *Warwick* was not in a Condition to withſtand, he entered *Normandy*, and took *Pontorſon* about the End of *February*. Then he laid Siege to *St. James de Beuvron*, where the *Engliſh* had a ſtrong Garriſon. This Siege proved longer and more difficult than he expected. He had been promiſed Money, but it came not. *De Giac*, who had the Management of the Treaſury, was in no haſte to ſend it, not being at all ſorry to ſee him a little mortified. He was afraid that if the Conſtable gained any Reputation at this Siege, he would grow more haughty and enterprizing, and take upon him to rule the Court as he pleaſed. Mean while, the Army diminiſhed every Day by Deſertions. This unlucky Accident vexed the *Conſtable* to the Heart, apprehenſive as he was that his Reputation would be ſhipwracked in the very firſt notable Action he undertook. In fine, he received falſe Intelligence that the *Engliſh* were drawing all their Forces together, in order to raiſe the Siege. The Fear he was under of being diſgraced, made him reſolve to ſtorm the Town, though the Breach was not yet large enough, or ſufficiently prepared. Mean while, to ſecure himſelf againſt the Relief he was afraid of, he detached Two Thouſand Men, with Orders to poſt themſelves in the Road to *Avranche*, and oppoſe the firſt Attacks of the Enemies, in caſe they ſhould come during the Aſſault. Then he cauſed the Breach to be very vigorouſly attacked. But the Garriſon, which was very ſtrong, made ſo brave a Reſiſtance, as gave the Beſiegers but ſmall hopes of being Maſters of it. Whilſt they were fighting on both Sides with equal Bravery, the two Thouſand Men hearing no News of the Enemy, and imagining it was diſhonourable to ſtand idle, whilſt the reſt were engaged, haſtily returned to aſſiſt at the Aſſault. Their coming threw the Beſiegers into a Panick Fear. They fancied that the Detachment being driven back by the Enemies were flying for Refuge to the Camp, and in this Belief left off ſtorming. The *Conſtable* did all he could to undeceive them; but they were already in ſo great Diſorder, that it was not poſſible for him to make them renew the Fight,

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He receives a great Mortification.

1426. Fight. In the mean Time the Befieged ſeeing the Confuſion the Camp was in, ſallied out, and falling on a ſudden upon Troops already in a Fright, eaſily put them to Rout. The *Conſtable* himſelf was forced to follow them and leave his Baggage and Artillery in the Hands of his Enemies, extremely concerned to ſee all his Projects confounded by this unlucky Accident. However, as he had not loſt many of his Men, he found himſelf in a Condition, after drawing his Army together, to march into *Anjon*, and take *la Flêche* and *Galerand* which belonged to the *Engliſh*.

He takes two Towns in Anjou.

He cauſes De Giac *to be ſtrangled,*

The taking of theſe two Places was not however capable of comforting him for the Blow he had received before St. *James*. He openly accuſed *de Giac* of having been the Occaſion of it, and reſolved to be revenged of him, without troubling himſelf about the King's Reſentment. He was no ſooner returned to Court after the Campaign, which the Deſertion of his Troops had obliged him to put an End to ſooner than he would have done, but he cauſed *de Giac* to be ſeized in his Bed, and by a Sentence as violent as irregular and raſh, ordered him to be ſtrangled, and then thrown into the *Loire*. After which, he had the Boldneſs to give out that he would ſerve in the ſame manner any Perſon whatever that ſhould endeavour to ingroſs the King's Favour. The *Camus* of *Beaulieu* not being terrified at theſe Threats, and having accepted *de Giac*'s Place, which was offered him, the *Conſtable* had him aſſaſſinated in the King's own Palace, and even before his Eyes. His Pride could not bear any Perſon at Court that was not his Creature. By the Way, this monſtrous Arrogance ill agrees with the exceſſive Commendations that are beſtowed on this Prince.

and aſſaſſinates B. au-lieu.

The King refuſes to ſee him.

Charles was ſo provoked at theſe haughty Proceedings, that he would not ſee the *Conſtable*. He could not ſo much as hear him mentioned without Horrour. But his Diſpleaſure was but little minded by a Man who had for him both the Nobles and People. In the wretched State the King's Affairs were in, every one thought he did him a Favour to ſerve him. Upon the leaſt Diſguſt all threatened to leave him and go over to the *Engliſh*, who received with open

Arms

Arms thoſe that were willing to ſubmit to their King. Beſides, about a Month ſince, the Earl of *Warwick* kept the Town of *Montargis* blocked up, and the King had no other Way to relieve that Place, but by the Help of the *Bretons*. Wherefore notwithſtanding the outragious Affronts he had received from the *Conſtable*, he gave leave, at the Inſtance of *La Trimouille*, that this proud Prince ſhould pay his Reſpects to him. But his Affairs were not a jot bettered by it. 1426.

But Neceſſity obliges him to it.

Whilſt the Duke of *Bedford* was in *England*, the Earl of *Warwick* who commanded in *France*, did all that lay in his Power to keep the Affairs of the *Engliſh* in a good Poſture. He found himſelf at firſt too weak to oppoſe the *Conſtable*'s entering *Normandy*. But upon News that the *Britiſh* Army had disbanded themſelves becauſe there was no Money to pay them, he thought himſelf able to make ſome Attempt. With a Body of five Thouſand Men he entered *Maine*, and retook ſeveral Caſtles which the *Bretons* had ſeized. The ſurprizing of Places was then ſo frequent, that ſometimes the ſame Town changed Sides twice or thrice in one Year. But there would be no End if one ſhould give an Account of every Particular. The Earl of *Warwick* ſeeing that the *Conſtable*'s Defeat before St. *James*'s, the Deſertion of his Troops, and the Broils in *Charles*'s Court, diſabled the *French* from having an Army in the Field, formed a Deſign to become Maſter of *Montargis*. This Place was neceſſary for the Execution of the Scheme which the Regent had laid, of carrying the War beyond the *Loire*. Indeed the *Engliſh* General could not expect to carry *Montargis* by a Siege in Form with the few Troops he had. But he was in Hopes that the Place being cloſely blocked up, would be forced to ſurrender before it could be relieved. The River *Loin* parting into three Branches near this Town, there was a Neceſſity to divide the Troops into three Quarters, the main of which the Earl of *Warwick* commanded himſelf. The ſecond was intruſted with the Earl of *Suffolk*, and the Third with *John de la Pole* his Brother. Theſe ſeveral Quarters were joined by Bridges of Communication; and in this Poſture the *Engliſh* patiently

Defeat of the Engliſh *at the Blockade of* Montargis.

1426. patiently waited till Hunger ſhould conſtrain the Beſieged to capitulate.

The Blockade had now laſted three Months, and King *Charles* had taken no care about relieving the Place. At length, the Beſieged having ſent him Word that they could hold out no longer if they were not ſuccoured, he caſt his Eyes on the *Conſtable* to undertake this Affair. But *Richmond*, who had no Army, refuſed to meddle with it, being unwilling with Troops juſt drawn together to expoſe himſelf to a Diſgrace like that he received at St. *James*'s. Upon his Refuſal, the Management of this Expedition was committed to the *Baſtard of Orleans*, who was come back from *Avignon*, where he had retired with *Louvet* his Father-in-law. This young Lord, though then but Twenty-two Years of Age, had already made eight Campaigns, and upon ſeveral Occaſions had given ſignal Proofs of his Conduct and Courage. He muſt needs have been a young Man to take ſuch an Enterprize upon him, with only ſixteen Hundred Men, againſt the Earl of *Warwick*, whoſe Reputation was equal to that of the greateſt Generals.

The Beſieged having notice that they were preparing to relieve them, let go their Sluices, and by that Means the *Loin* overflowed the Bridges of Communication. The *Baſtard of Orleans* arriving juſt in the Nick of Time, thought as he could never have a better Opportunity, he ſhould not defer a Moment to attack the Enemy before the Waters ſhould fall. He gave half of his Troops to *La Hire* to attack *Pole*'s Quarters, and with the other Half he fell upon the Earl of *Suffolk*. It was an odd ſort of Battle, the Soldiers on both Sides ſtanding up to their Middle in Water. At laſt after a long Reſiſtance, the two Quarters attacked were broke through, with the Loſs of fifteen Hundred Men on the Side of the *Engliſh*, many of which were drowned in endeavouring to get over into the Earl of *Warwick*'s Quarters, by Reaſon the Bridges were under Water. *Warwick* finding it impoſſible to aſſiſt his People, choſe to retreat in good Order. This Action gained the *Baſtard of Orleans* a great Reputation, being from that Time looked upon as one that would one Day become a famous General.

Ever

Ever ſince the latter End of the laſt Year, the Dukes of *Burgundy* and *Glouceſter* were preparing for their ſingle Combat, which in all Appearance had been put off by common Conſent, ſeeing it was not fought at the Time appointed, namely, on St. *George's* Day. Though it ſhould ſeem that theſe two Princes had nothing more to do, and that the Deciſion of the Affair of *Hainault* was to depend on the Iſſue of their Combat, yet the Duke of *Burgundy* did not think himſelf obliged to confound his Perſonal Quarrel with the *Hainault* Affairs of the Duke of *Brabant*, or to neglect the Advantages which the Truce gave him to put that Prince in Poſſeſſion again of his Wife's Dominions. He no ſooner ſaw the Duke of *Glouceſter* out of *Hainault*, but he began by ſecret Emiſſaries, to cabal among the chief Men of the Country, to get them to deliver up *Jaquelina* who continued at *Mons*. The Counteſs her Mother, ever a Friend to the *Houſe* of *Burgundy*, came into the Plot, though ſhe took Care to conceal it from her Daughter. When Matters were ripe, on a ſudden the Towns of *Hainault* declared for the Duke of *Brabant*; and the Earl of St. *Paul* his Brother appeared before *Mons* with any Army. Then the Magiſtrates of the City, pretending to be frighted by theſe Troops, and giving to underſtand that they could not alone bear the Brunt of the War, entered into Treaty with him. As all Things had been ſettled in private, they promiſed to deliver up *Jaquelina* to the Duke of *Burgundy*, till the Pope ſhould decide the Point in Queſtion. All this was tranſacted without the Knowledge of *Jaquelina*, who heard nothing of it till it was too late to keep it. She writ to the Duke of *Glouceſter*, complaining that ſhe had been baſely betrayed: But her Complaints were to no Purpoſe. On the 13th of *June* 1426 ſhe was forced to go from *Mons*, under the Conduct of the Prince of *Orange*, who guarded her as far as *Gant*, where ſhe was to make her Abode. After that, all *Hainault* unanimouſly received the Duke of *Brabant* for Sovereign.

1426. *Continuation of the Affair of* Hainault.

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Jaquelina *given up to the Duke of* Burgundy.

Jaquelina was at her Wit's End to ſee herſelf thus a Priſoner. But perceiving that Reſiſtance would but make Matters worſe, ſhe made as if ſhe were pleaſed that her Af-

1426. fair was left to the Pope's Determination. Her Dissimulation procured her a mild and honourable Treatment, of which she knew how to make a good use. In *September* she found Means to escape in Man's Cloaths, and retire into *Holland*. She was well received by some of her Subjects, whilst others chose rather to stick to the Duke of *Burgundy*, being sensible that it would be a hard Matter to stand by her against so potent an Enemy. The Duke very much vexed that his Prey had thus taken Wing, carried the War into *Holland*, to the End he might hinder her from fortifying herself in that Country. This War, which has nothing to do with our History, lasted the whole Year 1427 and Part of 1428. I shall relate the Issue of it hereafter, and in the mean Time must return to what was doing in *France*.

She makes her Escape and gets to Holland.

1427. The Earl of *Warwick*'s Loss before *Montargis*, and the great Number of Garrisons which it was necessary to keep, prevented his keeping the Field. Besides the Duke of *Bedford* had ordered him to husband his Troops against an important Expedition which it was not proper yet to discover. All this while *Charles* was in no better Condition. The Advantage his Troops had lately gained, had not augmented his Forces. Thus both Sides were forced to stand still, or at least to content themselves with attempting to surprize some Towns.

Weakness of both Parties in France.

The Duke of Suffolk *is surprized in* Mans, *and relieved by* Talbot. In the Beginning of this Year the Earl of *Foix*, who had at length espoused the Side of King *Charles*, sent him a Body of Troops under the Command of the Earl of *Orval* of the *House* of *Albret*. This General having approached *Mans*, where the Earl of *Suffolk* was with a few Soldiers, held Intelligence with some of the Burghers, who promised to deliver up the City. Accordingly he was let in, and the Earl of *Suffolk* found himself constrained to retreat into the Castle, where he had but three Days Provisions. In this Extremity he sent to *Talbot* who was at *Alenson*, desiring him to use his Endeavours to relieve him. *Talbot* lost not a Moment. By the next Night, he was with some Troops at the Foot of the Castle, towards the Country, and entered at a Postern-Gate, whilst *d'Orval*

val thought himſelf ſafe in the City, never imagining that the Beſieged could be ſo ſoon relieved. At Break of Day, *Suffolk* and *Talbot* ſallied out of the Caſtle, and taking the *French* unprepared, drove them before them quite out of the City. Thus the Place was almoſt as ſoon recovered as loſt, by the extraordinary Dilligence of *Talbot* one of the braveſt and moſt experienced Leaders of the Age. 1427.

Suffolk *and* Talbot *take* Laval.

After this Expedition, the two Generals marched to *Laval* a little Town in *Maine*, and carried it with eaſe. Then having joined the Earl of *Warwick* who was marching towards theſe Parts, they altogether beſieged *Pontorſon*, which the Conſtable *Richmond* had taken laſt Year. As this Siege laſted a pretty while, I ſhall leave the Generals there, in order to relate what paſſed elſewhere.

The Duke of Bedford *returns to* France.

The Duke of *Bedford* was returned from *England* in the Beginning of this Year, according to the *Engliſh* Writers, or ſome Months ſooner if we may believe the *French*, with a Reinforcement which rendered him formidable. The Biſhop of *Wincheſter* was come along with him, and had received at *Calais* the *Cardinal's Cap*, which was given with great Ceremony. It appears by ſeveral Pieces in the *Collection of Publick Acts*, that he was generally ſtiled the *Cardinal of* England, doubtleſs on account of his being of the Royal Family. And yet the *Engliſh* Authors ſeem to have been ignorant of this Circumſtance, ſince they always call him only the *Cardinal of Wincheſter*. I ſhall give him the ſame Title for the future, in Conformity to other Hiſtorians, who mention him only by that Name. Shortly after the Biſhop was made the Pope's *Legate* for *England*, and by that Means had an Opportunity to increaſe his Riches and Credit, to the great Prejudice of the Duke of *Glouceſter* his Enemy.

The Biſhop of Wincheſter *made a Cardinal.*

Richmond *withdraws from Court.*

The Siege of *Pontorſon* was ſtill carrying on, without King *Charles's* being able to ſuccour that Town. He had then Affairs of much greater Moment upon his Hands, and which touched him more nearly. The Conſtable *Richmond* was withdrawn to *Vannes* in *Bretagne*, extremely diſguſted at the King's daily Coldneſs to him. Since his receiving the *Conſtable's* Sword, he had done nothing to anſwer

1427. swer the mighty Matters he had made the World expect from his Valour and Abilities. On the contrary, instead of having set the King upon a better Foot, he had rendered the Royal Authority so contemptible, by his proud and violent Doings, that *Charles* was, as one may say, less a King than he was before. The Princes and Great Men at Court copied after his Example, and took upon them to give Law to their Sovereign. Since the Death of *Beaulieu*, *la Trimouille* was the sole Favourite, and had so great an Ascendent over the King, that nothing was done but by his Directions. The *Constable* imagined at first he should be a Gainer by this Change, because the new Favourite had always professed great Friendship for him. But he was quickly convinced of the contrary. The ill Treatment the former *Ministers* had received at his Hands, made this apprehensive of being served in the same Manner, and therefore he omitted nothing that might help to foment the King's Aversion for him. The whole Court quickly perceived it, and were extremely concerned at it. The Great Men could have no Prospect of Preferments unless the King's Affairs were in a good Situation, and they were perswaded that the *Constable* alone was capable of restoring them. For this and several other Reasons, *la Trimouille* grew exceeding odious. Their Hatred was carried to that Height, that at last a Confederacy was formed against him, of which the Earl of *Clermont* and the Earl of *March* his Cousin were the Heads. They began with an Attempt upon his Life, after the Example of *Richmond*. Having notice that the King was gone to *Loches*, and had left *la Trimouille* at *Bourges*, they drew some Troops together, and marched thither in order to seize the Favourite. But they found he was already gone after the King. However not to lose their Labour entirely, they resolved to carry away *La Borde* and *De Prie*, two of his Creatures, who were retired into the Great Tower. *De Prie* was killed in defending himself, but *La Borde* held out till the King himself came to relieve him. This Affair turned to a downright Civil War, which after it had lasted some Months, was at length ended by the Mediation of the Duke of *Alenson*. This young

La Trimouille the only Favourite.

A League against him.

A Civil War upon his Account, ended by the Duke of Alenson.

young Prince, who had been taken Priſoner at the Battle of *Verneuil*, was juſt releaſed by the Interceſſion of the Duke of *Burgundy*, who, though an Enemy of King *Charles*, ſought all Occaſions to gain the Friendſhip of the *French* Princes. But it had coſt the Duke of *Alenſon* two Hundred Thouſand Crowns, a very conſiderable Sum at all Times, but eſpecially at the Time we are ſpeaking of. To procure this Money, he was forced to put off his Jewels, and ſell the Duke of *Bretagne* the Town of *Fougeres*, at a very low Rate. In return for the Service he had juſt done the King, *Charles* made him a Preſent of fourſcore Thouſand Crowns, though he himſelf was in great Want. Mean while *la Trimouille* ſtill kept his Poſt at Court. 1427.

The Duke of Bedford *marches againſt the Duke of* Bretagne.

Whilſt *Charles* was taken up with quelling his Domeſtick Enemies, the Duke of *Bedford* was intent upon executing a Deſign which he had formed before he left *England*. And that was to reduce the Duke of *Bretagne* to the Obedience of King *Henry*. Ever ſince *June* he had cauſed *Pontorſon* to be beſieged, a ſtrong Town lying upon the Borders of *Bretagne*, which might have been a great Obſtacle to his entering that Dukedom, if it had continued in the Hands of the *French*. This Siege, which had laſted a good while, being over, the Duke of *Bedford* repaired to the Army, with a Reinforcement which made it Twenty Thouſand ſtrong. With this powerful Body, againſt which he knew his Enemies had nothing like it to oppoſe, he prepared to enter *Bretagne*, threatening the Country with utter Deſtruction. Whether the Duke of *Bretagne* was taken unawares, or whether he was glad to have an Excuſe to quit King *Charles*'s Side, which he had not eſpouſed but purely out of Condeſcenſion to the *Conſtable* his Brother, he wiſely prevented the impendent Danger. He was very ſenſible that *Charles* was not in a Condition to protect him. Beſides, he was diſpleaſed with him on the *Conſtable*'s Score. Upon theſe Accounts, he ſent Ambaſſadors to the Duke of *Bedford* to ſue for Peace upon what Terms he pleaſed.

He obliges him to abandon King Charles.

Though

1427. Though the Regent had it in his Power to be revenged of the Duke of *Bretagne*, he thought it his Duty to prefer the Intereſts of the King his Nephew to the gratifying his Paſſion. The Truth is, it was much better for the King to make of the Duke of *Bretagne* a willing Friend, by treating him civilly, than a private Enemy by uſing him rigorouſly. So that he required nothing more of him than to ſwear to the *Peace of Troye*, and cauſe all his *States* to do the ſame, purſuant to the Engagement he had already entered into with *Henry* V. and that he ſhould promiſe with an Oath to do Homage to young *Henry* when called upon. Theſe eaſy Terms had a very good Effect upon the Duke of *Bretagne*, who ever after proved a Friend to the *Engliſh*, even whilſt their Affairs were upon the decline. On the other Hand, though the Regent plainly perceived he could expect no great Matters from the Duke of *Bretagne*, by Reaſon of the Influence the *Conſtable* his Brother had over him, yet he thought the bringing off that Prince from *Charles*'s Party, was a very good Thing for the *Engliſh*.

Act. Pub. X. 378.

Continuation and End of the Affair of Hainault.

I left the Duke of *Burgundy* at War with *Jaquelina* in *Holland*, under the ſpecious Pretence of defending the Honour and Intereſt of the Duke of *Brabant* his Couſin, though in reality it was only for his own private Views, as will appear hereafter. This War, as may be imagined, did not turn much to *Jaquelina*'s Advantage. There was too great a Diſproportion between the two Parties. The Duke of *Glouceſter* was not able of himſelf to give his Dutcheſs the Aſſiſtance ſhe ſtood in need of. In order to that it was neceſſary either to employ the Publick Revenues of *England*, or procure an extraordinary *Subſidy* of the Parliament. But it was no eaſy Matter to obtain this, at a Time when the War in *France* was a great Charge to the Nation. However in the Parliament which was held this Year, the Duke had Intereſt enough to get a ſmall Aid. It appears by the *Collection of Publick Acts* that the Parliament petitioned the King to aſſign the Duke of *Glouceſter* the Sum of five Thouſand Marks out of the *Subſidy* granted him, that he might aſſiſt his Dutcheſs. To this Sum the King advanced five Thouſand Marks upon the Salary annexed

annexed to the Protectorſhip. With this Aid the Duke ſent a Reinforcement of ſome *Engliſh* Troops, under the Command of *Silvatier* *. But theſe Troops being defeated by the Duke of *Burgundy* juſt after their Landing, *Jaquelina* found herſelf reduced to a wretched Paſs. In fine, by the Interceſſion of the Duke of *Bedford* ſhe obtained a Truce, during which the Duke of *Glouceſter* was brought to conſent, that the Affair ſhould be decided by the Pope. It muſt he obſerved, that the Duke of *Bedford* had already broke off the ſingle Combat between the Dukes of *Burgundy* and *Glouceſter*. Some Time after the Pope publiſhed his Sentence, whereby he annulled *Jaquelina*'s Marriage with the Duke of *Glouceſter*, and confirmed her firſt Marriage with the Duke of *Brabant*, who ſurvived but a few Months this Determination, and was ſucceeded by the Earl of St. *Paul* his Brother. By the Death of the Duke her Husband, *Jaquelina* ought to have had peaceable Poſſeſſion of her Dominions. But the Duke of *Burgundy* diſcovered on this Occaſion, that the late Duke of *Brabant*'s Intereſt was not the Thing that had ſet him ſo eagerly at work. He ordered Matters ſo, that *Jaquelina*'s Subjects refuſed to receive her, and he made himſelf Mediator between them. The ſharing of the Lion in the Fable was litterally put in Practice in this Accommodation. The Duke obliged *Jaquelina* to commit to him the Government of her Dominions, to appoint him her Heir, and tye herſelf up from ever marrying again.

1427.

Duke of Brabant *dies.*

The Duke of Burgundy *ſecures* Jaquelina's *Inheritance.*

All the Hiſtorians generally fix theſe Occurrences to the Year 1427. And yet it appears by a Piece in the *Collection of Publick Acts*, that this Affair was not ended *May* the 8th, 1428. At leaſt the Duke of *Glouceſter* and *Jaquelina* had not yet acquieſced to the Pope's Sentence, ſince in that *Act*, *Henry* VI ſpeaking of this Princeſs, calls her, *Jaquette* Dutcheſs of *Glouceſter* and *Holland*, his well-beloved Aunt. In all Appearance the Death of the Duke of *Brabant* had put them in hopes they ſhould be able to get their Marriage confirmed, or obtain a Diſpenſation to marry

* *Baker* ſays, the Lord *Fitz-Walter*.

1427. again. It was likewise on this Account doubtless, that the Duke of *Burgundy* exacted from *Jaquelina* the Conditions before-mentioned, that he might take from the Duke of *Glouceſter* all Proſpect of ever ſetting Foot again in the *Low Countries*. Be this as it will, the Duke of *Glouceſter*, preſſed by the Duke his Brother and the Council, who plainly ſaw how prejudicial to the King's Affairs his Obſtinacy would be, dropped his Pretenſions. He relinquiſhed *Jaquelina*, and ſhortly after married *Eleanor Cobham* * whom he long kept as his *Miſtreſs*. Thus ended the Quarrel which had proved ſo fatal to *England*.

Duke of Glouceſter *quits* Jaquelina, *and marries* Eleanor Cobham.

Continuation of Jaquelina's *Affairs.*

Though the *Engliſh* no longer concerned themſelves with the Affairs of *Jaquelina*, it will not however be amiſs to relate the Iſſue in a few Words, and ſhow at the ſame Time, how the *Houſe* of *Burgundy* roſe to great Power. This Princeſs, in ſpite of her extorted Engagement, married afterwards one *Borſel* a *Zelander*, the which obliged the Duke of *Burgundy* to make War upon them. *Borſel* being made Priſoner, *Jaquelina* was fain in order to free him, to agree that the Children which ſhe ſhould have by her late Marriage ſhould be incapable of inheriting her Dominions, and that ſhe ſhould give up all her Strong-Holds to the Duke of *Burgundy*. She lived ten Years longer, and after her Death, the Duke of *Burgundy* was acknowledged for Earl of *Hainault*, *Holland*, *Zeland*, and Lord of *Friſeland*. Before *Jaquelina*'s Death, he had taken Poſſeſſion of the Earldoms of *Zutphen* and *Namur*, which he had purchaſed on Condition not to enjoy them till after the Deceaſe of the Earl of *Namur*, which happened in 1428. In 1430 he inherited the Dutchies of *Brabant*, *Lothier*, *Limbourg*, and the Marquiſate of *Anvers* by the Death of *Philip* Duke of *Brabant* his Couſin, who left no Iſſue. All theſe Dominions joined to *Flanders*, *Artois*, the two *Burgundies*, and the Towns lying on the *Somme*, which he held of the King of *England*, ſet him upon a Level with the Crown'd Heads. Let us return now to the War in *France*.

The

* Daughter to *Reginald* Lord *Cobham* of *Sterborough*. Dugdale.

The *Engliſh* had ſtill much the Odds of King *Charles*. Though the Buſineſs of *Hainault* had put their Affairs a little out of Order, they were however, maugre that Diverſion, in ſo flouriſhing a Condition, as ſeemed to promiſe certain Succeſs. The Duke of *Bretagne* no longer gave them any Uneaſineſs. The Earl of *Richmond* his Brother was at Variance with King *Charles*, without any Appearance of their ever being Friends again. The Duke of *Burgundy*, clear of the *Holland* War, could for the future powerfully aſſiſt his Allies. In fine, beſides the numberleſs Garriſons they had in the Kingdom, the Regent had on Foot a Body of twenty Thouſand Men, and expected a ſtrong Reinforcement which the Earl of *Salisbury* was to bring him from *England*. 1428. *Superiority of* Engliſh *in* France.

On the other Hand, King *Charles* was without Allies, and upon his laſt Legs. It is true, that in order to obtain Succours from *Scotland*, he had put on Foot a Treaty of Marriage between the Dauphin his Son, and *Margaret* Daughter of King *James*, though they were both Children. But this was a diſtant Proſpect. Beſides the King of *Scotland* had made no Step which might diſcover that he was inclined to break the Truce with the *Engliſh*. Thus *Charles* ſeeing no manner of likelihood of being able to ſtand upon his Defence, ſeemed to have entirely given over all Care of preventing the Deſigns of his Enemies. He lived on in a ſurprizing Indolence, without loſing any of his uſual Diverſions. *The ill State of King* Charles.

The Conſideration of the Poſture the Affairs of the two Nations were in, made the Duke of *Bedford* conclude, that the War would ſoon be at an End, and that two or three Campaigns would infallibly drive *Charles* out of the Kingdom. He reſolved therefore to exert his utmoſt, whilſt ſo fair an Opportunity offered. But as he had a great many Troops, it was neceſſary in the firſt Place to provide for their Subſiſtence. With this View he held an Aſſembly of the chief Men at *Paris*, to whom he propoſed the re-aſſuming all the Grants made to the *Church* for forty Years laſt paſt. But he met with ſo ſtrong Oppoſition from the *Clergy*, that not to alienate the Affections of ſo *Aſſembly of the chief Men at* Paris.

1428. powerful a Body, he was fain to desist, and obliged to make use of other Means for the Maintenance of his Army.

The Earl of Warwick *made Governour to the King.* Act. Pub. X. 399.

Before he set about the Execution of his Projects, he lost the Assistance of the brave Earl of *Warwick*, who returned to *England*, being appointed Governour to the King. He was designed for this Place immediately after the Death of the Duke of *Exeter* in 1426. But as his Presence was necessary in *France*, his *Patent* was not drawn up till *June* the 1st this Year. Apparently they had a Mind to stay till the Earl of *Salisbury* who was to lead a strong Reinforcement to the Duke of *Bedford* should be ready to set out.

The Earl of Salisbury *arrives with* 5000 *Men.* ibid. p. 392.

The Earl of *Salisbury* arrived in *France* in *July*, with a Body of about five Thousand Men which he had raised at his own Charge, pursuant to certain Articles entered into with the Council. Upon his coming to *Paris*, the Regent conferred on him the Command of an Army of sixteen Thousand Men. These were more than enough to be Master of the Field, King *Charles* not being able to set on Foot a Body of Troops like that. The Regent's Design was to drive *Charles* beyond the *Loire*, well knowing that when once that Prince was at a Distance, all the Towns he still kept on this Side the River would surrender of Course for want of Succours. To this End, there was a Necessity of taking from him the Places which served to keep up the Communication with the *northern* Provinces, that all hopes of returning might be cut off.

The Regent's Design.

Salisbury *marches towards the* Loire.

It was with this View that the Earl of *Salisbury*, in Company with the Earl of *Suffolk*, *Talbot*, *Falstaff*, and several other famous Leaders, marched towards the *Loire* in the Beginning of *August*. *Orleans* was the most important Place in those Parts. It belonged to the Duke of *Orleans*, who was Prisoner in *England* since the Battle of *Azincourt*. I have already taken notice that the pretended Treaty made between *Henry* V. and the Duke of *Orleans* about the neutrality of this City, is a mere Fiction. It was invented purely to render the Siege of *Orleans* odious to the World, and to make it believed that Heaven was pleased to interpose in Favour of *France*, and punish the pretended Breach

of

of Faith in the *Engliſh*. Be this as it will, the Earl of *Salisbury* having held a great Council of War, it was reſolved to beſiege *Orleans*. It appears by a Piece in the *Collection of Publick Acts*, that this Reſolution was taken without the Duke of *Bedford*'s Knowledge, and contrary to his Opinion. To ſucceed in this Undertaking, the neighbouring Places which might annoy the Beſiegers, were firſt to be ſecured. The doing this took up the Months of *Auguſt* and *September*. During that Space the *Engliſh* became Maſters of *Jenville*, *Mehun*, *Baugenay*, *Gergeau*, *Clery*, *Sully*, and ſome other ſmall Towns, and at length they appeared before *Orleans* on the 12th of *October*. 1428. *The Siege of Orleans reſolved.* Act. Pub. X. 480.

The *French* eaſily perceived by all the Proceedings of the *Engliſh* General that he had a Deſign to lay Siege to *Orleans*. Accordingly, whilſt he was employed elſewhere, they had ſent thither both Men and Amunition. *Gaucour*, a Creature of the Duke of *Orleans*, commanded there, though he was ſtill a Priſoner of the *Engliſh*, who had only releaſed him upon his Parole, in order to afford him Means to provide his Ranſom. He had even been recalled ever ſince *June*. The Baſtard of *Orleans*, *d'Orval*, *La Hire*, *Xaintrailles*, *Thouars*, *Bouſſac*, *Chabannes*, *La Fayette*, *Granville*, and ſeveral other Officers of Note, had thrown themſelves into the City, on purpoſe to acquire Reputation in the Service of their Sovereign. *The French lay in Stores.* Act. Pub. X. 402.

The *Engliſh* Army not being numerous enough to inveſt the City on all Sides, the Beſiegers received Succours in the very Beginning of the Siege. But the Earl of *Saliſbury*, who looked on this Enterprize as a deciſive Blow for the King his Maſter and his own Reputation, omitted nothing to deprive the Beſieged of this Advantage. He cauſed to be run up round the City ſixty Forts or Redoubts, called then *Baſtilles*. How great ſoever this Work might be, nothing could divert him from it, ſeeing the Succeſs of the Siege entirely depended upon it. In vain would he have puſhed his Attacks, if the Enemies had been able to let in continually freſh Succours. Beſides, the Seaſon which was very far advanced, made him very ſenſible *The Beſiegers raiſe Forts about the City to prevent Succours.*

he

1428. he ſhould be forced to paſs the Winter in the Camp, and that during that Time he ſhould be liable to many Inſults.

Among the ſixty Forts, there were ſix much ſtronger than the reſt upon the ſix principal Avenues of the City. Before theſe Forts were built, the *French* could with eaſe throw Succours into the Place, and had done ſo very often. But afterwards, it was not without extreme Difficulty that they could now and then give ſome Aſſiſtance to the Beſieged. Upon theſe ſix great Redoubts the General erected Batteries which thundered againſt the Walls. But as *the Ordnance* was not then brought to the Perfection it is in at preſent, it muſt not be imagined that the Canons did the Execution they do in our Time.

It would be too long to relate all the Particulars of this Siege, the Attacks, Sallies, and daily Skirmiſhes either to get in or drive back the Convoys. One may eaſily judge, that one of the ſtrongeſt Places of *France*, defended by a numerous Garriſon, under the Conduct of ſome of the braveſt and moſt experienced general Officers then in *France*, and aſſaulted by *Engliſhmen*, who were deemed the moſt undaunted Warriors in the World, furniſhed the Beſiegers and Beſieged with frequent Occaſions to exerciſe their Valour.

Charles *comes to* Chinon.

Charles plainly ſaw that the taking of *Orleans* would deprive him of the Advantage he had hitherto had of keeping up the War in the Northern Provinces of the Kingdom. But as he found himſelf without Men and Money, he was in no Condition to raiſe the Siege. However, he drew near it and came to *Chinon*, where he convened the chief Men, and obtained an Aid of Money. Whilſt he was in this Place, the Conſtable *Richmond* made him an offer of his Service. But in what Diſtreſs ſoever he might be, and how great Need ſoever he ſtood in of a ſpeedy Aſſiſtance, he could not bring himſelf to pardon him.

The Engliſh *become Maſters of the Bulwark.*

Mean while, the Siege was carried on with a great deal of Vigour. The Bulwark of the *Tournelles* * being very much ſhaken by the Beſiegers Cannon, and the Beſieged having

* The Place where the Parliament ſits to hear criminal Cauſes.

having thought proper to ſet it on fire, the *Engliſh* extinguiſhed the Flames, and lodged themſelves in that Poſt. 1428.
At the ſame time they became Maſters of the Tower on the Bridge, from whence they could overlook the whole City. *and of the Tower on the Bridge.*
The taking this Tower proved fatal to the Earl of *Saliſbury*. One Day, as he was looking out of a Window, a Cannon-ſhot from the City hit him as it paſſed on the right Side of his Head, carried off his Cheek, and ſtruck out one of his Eyes. He died a few Days after at *Melun*, whither he had been removed *. This Loſs, though very great to the *Engliſh*, interrupted not the Siege a Moment. The Earl of *Suffolk* having taken the Command of the Army, continued the Attacks as vigorouſly as before, aſſiſted by *Talbot* one of the braveſt and moſt experienced Captains of his Age. *The Earl of* Salisbury *ſlain.*

There was nothing every Day but Aſſaults, Sallies, continual Skirmiſhes; wherein the Beſieged behaved with equal Bravery and Conduct. In ſpite of the Precautions the *Engliſh* had uſed to prevent Succours from being thrown into the City, Troops and Convoys got in however from time to time, though it was always by dint of Sword. Thus the Garriſon which at firſt conſiſted but of Twelve Hundred Men, was become Three Thouſand ſtrong by the latter End of *December*. On the other Hand, the Army of the Beſiegers was increaſed to Three and Twenty Thouſand by the Supplies the Regent never ceaſed ſending. So that the Siege daily grew more important and difficult. *The Garriſon and Army both increaſed during the Siege.*

The *Engliſh* had now been four Months before *Orleans*, and no one was yet able to judge what the Iſſue would be. 1429.
The Regent, who began to be uneaſy at the length of the Siege, was confirmed more and more in his Opinion that they had undertaken it too raſhly. However, to omit nothing that lay in his Power, he ſent from *Paris* a Convoy of Salt-Fiſh, the Lent-Seaſon of the Year 1429 being come. He left *The Battle of Herrings.*

* *Thomas Montacute* Earl of *Salisbury*, died *November* 3. without Iſſue-Male, leaving only one Daughter, who was married to *Richard Nevil*, Son of the Earl of *Weſtmoreland*, who upon *Montacute*'s Death was ſtiled *Earl of Salisbury*. His Widow was married afterwards to the Earl of *Suffolk*. *Dugdale*.

1429. left the Conduct of it to *Falstaff*, one of the bravest and most able Generals the *English* then had, and gave him a Guard of Seventeen Hundred Men. *Charles* having notice of the Day the Convoy was to set out from *Paris*, resolved to way-lay it. He commissioned the Earl of *Clermont* to this Purpose, who at the Head of Three Thousand Men attacked ahe Convoy on the Road to *Orleans*, *February* the 12th, at Seven a-Clock in the Morning. *Falstaff* having had Intelligence of the Approach of the *French*, had made an Intrenchment with his Carriages, behind which he had taken shelter in order to withstand their first Charge, the which was indeed very vigorous; but the *English* bore it with such Resolution, that far from being broken by the first Shock, they put their Enemies into extreme Disorder, by the great Slaughter they made of them. As soon as *Falstaff* saw the Confusion they were in, he ordered the Carriages to be removed which surrounded his People; and falling upon the *French* Troops already disheartned, he entirely routed them with great Slaughter. Sixscore Lords or Officers of Note fell that Day, besides abundance of Common Soldiers. The Bastard of *Orleans*, who had sallied out to assist the Earl of *Clermont* in defeating the Convoy, having preserved a Presence of Mind in this Rout, found Means to re-enter the City with four Hundred Men. This Action was called *The Battle of Herrings*.

Offer of surrendring Orleans *to the Duke of* Burgundy.

King *Charles* was extremely cast down upon News of this Defeat. He saw himself upon the Point of losing *Orleans*, and was sensible of the Consequences of the Loss. The Thoughts of seeing the *English* ravage the Provinces beyond the *Loire*, and by that Means disable him from continuing the War, could not but trouble him exceedingly. This Misfortune would infallibly follow upon their being Masters of *Orleans*. In this Distress he bethought himself of an Expedient, which he imagined would rob them of this Advantage, not questoning but they would be so blind as not to see through his Artifice. This was to send to the commanding Officer a Power to deliver the Place into the Hands of the Duke of *Burgundy*, for him to keep in Trust

Truſt till the War was at an End. *Xaintrailles* and others, who were appointed to treat of this Affair, being come to *Paris*, made the Duke of *Bedford* the Offer, who laughed at the Stratagem. He plainly told them, they were very much miſtaken if they took him for a Man to beat the Buſh for another to run away with the Game. Some ſay, the Duke of *Burgundy* was extremely nettled at this Reply, and even withdrew his Troops from the Siege. But this is a mere Invention. The Duke of *Burgundy* had no reaſon to complain that the Regent ſhould refuſe to deliver a Place of that Importance to him, on purpoſe to humour his Enemies. Beſides, we ſhall ſee preſently, that the Regent was all along very well ſatisfied with the Duke of *Burgundy* both during the Siege and after. 1429. *It is rejected.*

Charles not being able to ſucceed in his Project, and ſeeing no other way to ſave *Orleans*, began to think of retiring into *Dauphiné*, when a very extraordinary Accident gave a ſudden Turn to the Affairs of the two contending Nations. We are about to ſee the ſtrangeſt and moſt unexpected Revolution that ever was mentioned in Hiſtory. The *French* from vanquiſhed, are going to be on a ſudden victorious; and the *Engliſh*, who had been hitherto deemed invincible, are going to be every where worſted, and at length driven out of the Kingdom. And what is more ſurprizing in this Turn, is the Inſtrument by which it was brought about. But before I enter upon Particulars, I muſt warn the Reader, that in what I am going to relate concerning this ſtrange Event, I follow the *French* Authors, without however warranting the Truth of every Thing they have advanced. Charles *thinks of retiring into* Dauphiné. *A ſtaange Accident changes the Face of Affairs.*

About the End of *February* 1429, a Country Girl, called *Joan of Arc*, a Village in *Danremy* in *Lorraine*, came to *Robert de Bandricourt*, Governour of *Vaucouleurs*, and told him ſhe had received expreſs Orders from God to go and raiſe the Siege of *Orleans*, and to crown King *Charles* at *Rheims*. *Bandricourt* thought the Girl at firſt was mad; but finding that ſhe talked very ſenſibly in other Matters, he thought fit to ſend her to the King, who was ſtill at *Chinon*. *Charles* being informed that *Joan of Arc* *An Account of the Maid of Orleans.*

1429. was coming to him, declared that one *Maria d' Avignon* a Nun, had formerly told him, *that Heaven would arm one of her Sex in Defence of* France. He added, that perhaps the Girl which was coming was the Perſon Heaven had made choice of. This was even enough to ſatisfy the Court before-hand, that *Joan of Arc*'s Calling was miraculous. This ſupernatural *Miſſion* ſquared alſo exactly with the Sentiments of the Queen, of *Agnes Sorrel* the King's Miſtreſs, and of the principal Courtiers, who laboured all they could to divert the King from his Purpoſe to retire into *Dauphiné*. So that nothing could be more pat to cauſe him to alter his Mind than the Proſpect of a lucky Turn. Be this as it will, thus prepoſſeſſed, they expected the coming of *Joan of Arc*. The firſt Time ſhe appeared at Court, ſhe addreſſed her ſelf directly to the King, finding him out amidſt a Crowd of Courtiers, though ſhe had never ſeen him, and though he had taken care to have nothing about him that might diſtinguiſh him from the reſt: However, he ſeemed at firſt to make no great Account of her. But as ſhe earneſtly preſſed him to give Credit to her Words, which were the ſame ſhe had ſaid to *Bandricourt*, he reſolved to have her examined. The *Doctors in Divinity*, who were her Examiners, declared, upon what Ground I know not, that her *Miſſion* was divine. Then ſhe was ſent to the Parliament of *Poictiers*, who were of the ſame Opinion. Laſtly, to confirm this Belief, the King gave out that ſhe had told him Secrets which no mortal knew but himſelf.

Every body being thus prepoſſeſſed that *Joan of Arc*, commonly called *la Pucelle* [or *the Maid*] was ſent from God to ſave *France*, ſhe was looked upon by all with Eyes of Admiration. All her Actions, Words and Geſtures were conſtrued to her Advantage. They perceived in her a fine Genius, ſolid Judgment, Greatneſs of Soul, and a Knowledge very unuſual in one of her Sex and Condition. This was the common Effect of Prejudice. Thus far there is nothing that ſhould ſeem very ſtrange. It is eaſy to conceive, that it might be a Contrivance to give new Life to the *French*, and perhaps to the King himſelf, diſmayed at ſo many Loſſes, and beholding the Kingdom juſt going

to

to fall under the Dominion of Foreigners. But that this Trick, if it be one, ſhould ſucceed according to the Deſign of the Authors, is what may indeed be juſt Ground of Admiration, and afford ample Matter for Moral and Political Reflections. 1429.

Joan *marches with a Convey to* Orleans.

Mean while, the Siege of *Orleans* going on vigorouſly, *Charles* reſolved to try to throw a *Convoy* into the City. *La Pucelle* having deſired to be one of the Company, and to have Arms and a Man's Habit, eaſily obtained her Requeſt. To render herſelf more remarkable, ſhe would have a certain Sword which ſhe ſent for from the Tomb of a Knight buried in the Church of St. *Catharine*'s of *Fierbois*. The Convoy deſigned for *Orleans* ſat our *April* the 25th. Several *French* Writers affirm, that *La Pucelle* commanded the Guard, and that it was ſhe that conducted the Convoy into the City: but *Monſtrelet*, a cotemporary Author, ſays the contrary. The Convoy being arrived on the 29th in the Morning, near the *Burgundian* Gate, the Baſtard of *Orleans* made a Sally to favour their Paſſage. A fierce and bloody Battle enſued, wherein after a long Reſiſtance the *Engliſh* were worſted, and forced to let the Convoy go in. *Joan* made her Entry into *Orleans*, ſurrounded with the Generals, and amidſt the Acclamations of the People, who aſcribed to her the good Succeſs of that Day.

Joan *enters* Orleans *in Triumph.*

She takes four of the Beſiegers Forts.

On the 4th of *May*, *La Pucelle* at the Head of a Detachment of the Garriſon, attacked Sword in Hand the Fort of St. *Loo*, one of the ſix largeſt Redoubts beforementioned. After a Conflict of four Hours, the Fort was carried, and of the Twelve Hundred *Engliſh* who defended it, Four Hundred were killed on the Spot. Two Days after, ſhe aſſaulted likewiſe the Fort of St. *John*; but as the *Engliſh* had almoſt quitted it, ſhe met but with little Reſiſtance. Preſently after, without giving her Troops any Reſpite, ſhe led them againſt the Fort called *London*, the moſt conſiderable of the Six, built upon the Ruins of the Church of the *Auguſtines*. The gallant Reſiſtance of the *Engliſh* hindered not this alſo from being taken, with great Loſs on their Side. *La Pucelle*'s Troops thought of reſting themſelves after ſo hard Duty; but immediately ſhe

1429. marched them up to the Fort of the *Tournelles*. But as ſhe could not attack it that Evening, for want of Day-light. She kept it inveſted all the Night. In the Morning at Break of Day the Aſſault began, and held fourteen Hours without Intermiſſion. The *French* were beat back four ſeveral Times, and as often did they renew the Charge, *La Pucelle* animating them by her Words and Actions, though ſhe was wounded with an Arrow between the Neck and Shoulders. At length, about eight a Clock at Night, the Fort was carried like the reſt, and ſix Hundred *Engliſh* cut in Pieces. In all theſe Actions *La Pucelle* ſhowed a Valour and Reſolution very uncommon in Perſons of her Sex.

The Engliſh *raiſe the Seige.*

One may eaſily gueſs what a Conſternation the *Engliſh* were in, after the ill Succeſs of that Day. The Loſs of four of their largeſt Forts not permitting them to carry on the Siege any longer, they marched off *May* the 12th, after having ſat down before the Place ſeven whole Months.

Here is a Fragment of a Letter from the Duke of *Bedford* to the King his Nephew, after the raiſing of the Siege of *Orleans*, which plainly ſhows how much the *Engliſh* and the Duke of *Bedford* himſelf were diſheartened at this unexpected Event.

Every Thing was proſperous here on your Side till the Siege of Orleans, *undertaken by God knows what Counſels. After the Death of my Couſin of* Salisbury, *God reſt his Soul, who it ſeems is cut off by the Hand of God, your Troops who were very numerous at this Siege, have received a terrible Blow.* This has happened partly, as we verily believe, by the Confidence the Enemies have placed in a *Hell-born Woman, a Limb of Satan, called,* la Pucelle, *who has made uſe of Inchantments and Witchcraft. This Defeat has not only diminiſhed your Troops, but withal has bereaved the reſt of Courage in an aſtoniſhing manner. Moreover ſhe has encouraged your Enemies to draw together without Delay in great Numbers* —— (*a*)

The

(*a*) This Fragment, which is without Date, is placed wrong in the *Collection of Publick Acts*, among the Records of the Year 1428.

The raiſing of the Siege of *Orleans* uſhered in the decline of the Affairs of the *Engliſh*. From that Time the *French* and *Engliſh* ſeemed to have changed Tempers and Characters. The *Engliſh* were ſeized with a Spirit of Fear and Amazement, whilſt the *French* were filled with Courage, which they had almoſt quite loſt ſince the Battles of *Azincourt* and *Verneuil*. Though after the raiſing of the Siege, the *French* Army exceeded not ſix Thouſand, yet were they not afraid to purſue and puſh briskly the *Engliſh*, who notwithſtanding they were ſtill ſuperior in Number, retreated in a ſtrange Diſorder. Their Conſternation was ſo great, that they knew not as one may ſay, what they did. Inſtead of keeping together in order to make Head againſt their Enemies, they minded nothing but throwing numerous Garriſons into the Places they had conquered before the Siege, about the *Loire*. By that means they weakened their Army to ſuch a Degree, that they were no longer in a Condition to ſtand before their Enemies who were cloſe at their Heels. As they dreaded a Battle, as much as they were wont to deſire it. They retired at a good Diſtance, and gave the *French* Time to retake theſe Places one after another. The Earl of *Suffolk* was made Priſoner in *Gergeau*, where he had ſhut himſelf up, with four Hundred Men only, through an Indiſcretion which could only proceed from his Conſternation at the Defeat of his Troops. Of all the Places in thoſe Parts *Baugenci* held out the longeſt; but could not help undergoing the ſame Fate with the reſt. In fine, Diſorder and Confuſion had taken ſuch hold of the *Engliſh*, that *Charles* by the Advice of *La Pucelle*, reſolved to go and be crowned at *Rheims*. Mean Time this City was ſtill in the Hands of the *Engliſh*. Beſides, there was a Neceſſity of traverſing above one Hundred and Twenty Miles of the Enemies Country, and of taking ſeveral Places, which at any other Time he would not have ventured to approach. Strange Effect of the Terror which a Woman had inſpired the *Engliſh* with, and of the Boldneſs ſhe had given their Enemies.

1420. *The great Alteration of the* French *and* Engliſh.

The Engliſh *retreat in Diſorder.*

Earl of Suffolk *made Priſoner.*

Charles *reſolves to be crowned at* Rheims.

The

1429. *The Constable brings him Troops.*

The Conſtable *Richmond* ſeeing the flouriſhing Condition of the King's Affairs, began to abate of his Haughtineſs. Hitherto he had imagined they ſtood in need of him. But what had lately happened made him perceive that he might be entirely laid aſide, and ſhould loſe his ſhare of the Glory the King in all likelihood was going to acquire. In this Belief, he drew together all his Friends, and having formed a Body of twelve Hundred *Horſe*, and twelve Thouſand *Foot*, he ſet out in order to go and join the King who was before *Baugenci*. The Duke of *Bretagne* no doubt winked at the raiſing theſe Troops in his Country, the Turn which had lately happened, cauſing him to alter his Meaſures a little. Whilſt the *Conſtable* was upon his March, *La Trimouille*, who did not deſire his Company at Court, found Means to perſwade the King that he was coming with a numerous Army, on purpoſe to have his Perſon in his Power. This made ſuch an Impreſſion on the King's Mind, that he was juſt going to quit the Siege of *Baugenci* in order to give the *Conſtable* Battle. But having been better informed, he was pleaſed to receive him with the Succours he brought. It was however upon very mortifying Terms to a Prince of his Temper. They required of him, that he ſhould not pretend to govern the King, nor be preſent at the Coronation where *La Trimouille* did not Care to be outſhone.

The Battle of Patay *wherein the* Engliſh *are defeated,*

Baugenci being taken, the King had Intelligence that the *Engliſh* were drawing together in *Beauce*. Whereupon *Charles* having called a Council of War, it was unanimouſly reſolved to go and give them Battle. Indeed there was no likelihood of undertaking to march to *Rheims*, with their Enemies in their Rear. *Charles*'s Army was then ten Thouſand Strong *, including the *Bretons* which the *Conſtable* had brought. But of the Twenty-two Thouſand *Engliſh*, which had been before *Orleans*, there were left but ſix Thouſand with *Talbot*, who had taken the Command of the Army.

* Here muſt be ſome Miſtake either in the Author or the Printer, ſince *Rapin* ſays above, the *Bretons* alone were thirteen Thouſand two Hundred.

Army. Upon the Earl of *Suffolk* being made Priſoner. By the prodigious Amazement the *Engliſh* were under ſince the Affair of *Orleans*, they ſuffered themſelves to be ſurprized near *Patay* by the *French* Army, which appeared in Sight before they knew any Thing of the Matter. They had ſcarce Time to draw up in Order of Battle. Which was done in ſuch Hurry and Confuſion that they made but a very faint Reſiſtance. *Talbot* alone maintained the Fight by his Valour and Conduct. But at length the General being taken Priſoner, the *Engliſh* Army was put to Flight with the Loſs of two Thouſand five Hundred Men. *Falſtaff* ſuffered himſelf to be hurried along with the Run-aways, ſeized by one of thoſe ſudden Fits of Terror, which for the Time deprive a Man of the uſe of his Reaſon, and which may happen to Perſons of the greateſt Courage. 1429. *and* Talbot *made Priſoner.*

If the raiſing of the Siege of *Orleans* had given a great Check to the Affairs of the *Engliſh*, the Defeat at *Patay* was a no leſs ſtunning and fatal Blow to them. The Regent ſaw himſelf forced to keep within the Walls of *Paris*, being unable to appear in the Field in order to oppoſe the Progreſs of his Enemies. Mean while *Charles* improved theſe Advantages. *Lewis* III Duke of *Anjou* and King of *Sicily* his Brother-in-law, being returned from *Naples* where he had made a long ſtay, brought him juſt after the Battle of *Patay* a ſupply of ſeveral brave Officers who had attended him into *Italy*, and were come back with him to *France*. *The Duke of* Bedford *ſhuts himſelf up in* Paris. *The King of* Sicily *joins* Charles.

As King *Charles*'s Party encreaſed, as his Affairs became more proſperous, he took at *Gien* a Review of his Troops, and found they were augmented to fifteen Thouſand Men. He gave the Command of Part of them to the *Conſtable*, to go and make a Diverſion in *Normandy*, or rather on purpoſe to ſend him at a Diſtance under that honourable Pretence, that he might not aſſiſt at the Coronation according to Agreement. The Earl of *Perdriac* had another Part with orders to go and carry the War into *Guienne*. Theſe two Detachments made together but five Thouſand Men. With the remaining ten Thouſand, *Charles* took the Road to *Rheims*, well knowing there was no Army in the Field to hinder him. In going through *Burgundy* he ſummoned *Auxerre* Charles *marches to* Rheims. *Several Towns ſurrender to him.*

1429. *Auxerre* to ſurrender, which Place promiſed to follow the Example the principal Towns of *Champagne* ſhould ſet her. *Troye* and *Châlon* ſurrendred upon the firſt Summons. A few Days after, the Inhabitants of *Rheims* drove the *Engliſh* Garriſon out of the City, and ſent Deputies to the King to preſent him with the Keys of their Gates. Thus every Thing ſucceeded according to his wiſh. *Charles* entered *Rheims* in Triumph, and was crowned preſently after. The Ceremony being over, *La Pucelle* would have retired, affirming, ſhe had nothing more to do, after having executed what God had commanded. But the King preſſed her ſo earneſtly, that at length he prevailed with her to ſtay.

He enters Rheims, *and is crowned.*

The Duke of Glouceſter *mortifies the Cardinal of* Winchester.

It is time now to ſee what was doing in *England*, during the fatal Revolution which had juſt happened in *France*. The Quarrel was ſtill kept alive between the Duke of *Glouceſter* and Biſhop of *Wincheſter*, who was come back to *London*. As the Prelate's new Dignity rendered him more haughty than ever, the Duke of *Glouceſter* made this ſame Dignity a Handle to give him a ſad Mortification. St. *George*'s Day, Patron of the moſt noble *Order of the Garter*, being at hand, the Cardinal was to officiate as Biſhop of *Wincheſter*. But the Duke of *Glouceſter* and his Friends oppoſed it, affirming, that he could not hold the Biſhoprick of *Wincheſter* with a *Cardinalſhip*, without the King's expreſs Licence. This Affair being brought before the Council, it was reſolved, that for this time the Cardinal ſhould not act as Biſhop of *Wincheſter*, and two Lords were ſent to give him notice of it. Next Day he came himſelf to the *Board*, and demanded upon what Ground they deprived him of his Right. He was told, that it was for fear of prejudicing the Prerogatives of the Crown, and the Council perſiſted in the Reſolve of the Day before. Hence the *Cardinal* ſaw that his Adverſary's Intereſts was ſtill much greater than his.

Act. Pub. X. 414.

The Cardinal is made General of a Cruſado.

Shortly after, the Prelate received a *Bull* from the Pope, appointing him his *Legate* for *Germany*, and *General* of a *Cruſado* againſt the Hereticks of *Bohemia*. The Pope's View was to draw a powerful Aid from *England* againſt the

the *Huſſites* *. It is even very likely, that as he was a great Friend to King *Charles*, his Deſign was to weaken *England*, by draining the Kingdom of Men and Money under Colour of the *Cruſado*. Be this as it will, the *Cardinal* having received the *Bull* in the Beginning of *June* this Year, though it was dated *March* the 18th, 1427-8, preſented to the King and Council a *Petition*, deſiring Leave to publiſh the *Cruſado*. He prayed likewiſe, that he might have Power to levy in *England* Five Hundred *Lances*, and Five Thouſand *Archers*, and to appoint the Generals and Officers of this Army. His *Petition* having been examined in Council, it was reſolved to grant it in Part under the following Reſtrictions: 1429.

He petitions to publiſh the Cruſado. Spond. Act. Pub. X. 419. p. 420.

That no Perſon ſhould be obliged to contribute any Money towards the *Cruſado*, but that every one ſhould give what they pleaſed. That the Sums thus voluntarily furniſhed, ſhould be put into ſuch Hands as the *Council* ſhould nominate. That the Gold or Silver ſhould not be exported beyond Sea, but ſhould be expended in the Kingdom.

That the *Cardinal* ſhould be impowered to levy only Two Hundred and Fifty *Lances*, and Two Thouſand Five Hundred *Archers*. That even this ſhould not be granted but on Condition that the Pope ſhould have ſome Regard for the King and Kingdom, and impoſe no Tax either on the *Laity* or *Clergy*.

That none of the Soldiers ſerving in *France* ſhould be liſted or received among the Troops of the *Cruſado*.

That the *Cardinal* ſhould give the *Council* ſufficient Security for the Return of theſe Troops.

That he ſhould effectually uſe his Intereſt, to induce the King of *Scotland* to leave *England* in quiet, and keep the Truce.

That in publiſhing the *Cruſado*, it ſhould expreſſly be ſaid that it was with the King's Conſent.

* There will be a large Account of theſe People in the Hiſtory of the *Council* of *Baſil* in the *State of the Church*, at the End of the ſixth Volume.

1429. That the Cardinal ſhould nominate the Officers of the Troops, but that the King ſhould commiſſion them.

That it ſhould be the ſame with regard to the *Conſtable* or Commander in chief of the Army.

That if the *Cruſado* did not take Place, the Money furniſhed by private Perſons ſhould not be laid out without the King's Approbation.

New Levies for France.

One may ſee by theſe Reſtrictions how careful the *Council* was to hinder the Pope from exerciſing in the Kingdom an Authority which his Predeceſſors had but too much abuſed.

The Cardinal is to ſerve in France *till* December.

Mean while, the News of the Battle of *Patay* being brought to *England*, cauſed a great Conſternation, and made it eaſily conjectured, that the Regent ſtood in need of a ſudden and powerful Aid. And therefore, without loſing a Moment, the Council decreed new Levies, the Command of which was deſigned for Sir *John Ratcliffe*. But as in the preſent Poſture of Affairs in *France*, it would have been very imprudent to ſend Troops to *Bohemia*, the Council reſolved to make ſome Alterations in what had been granted the Cardinal of *Wincheſter*. Upon this preſſing Occaſion they came to a new Agreement with him, whereby he engaged to ſerve in *France*, under the Duke of *Bedford*, till the End of *December*, with the Troops of the *Cruſado*, provided they were not employed in any Siege.

July Act. Pub. X. 422.

The Duke of Bedford's *Inſtructions to* Garter. Act. Pub. X. 433.

A few Days after arrived from *France*, *Garter King at Arms* *, with *Inſtructions* from the Regent to inform the Council

* There are three *Kings at Arms* in *England*, namely, *Garter*, *Clarencieux*, and *Norroy*. *Garter* is the principal, inſtituted by *Henry* V. His Buſineſs is to attend *Knights of the Garter* at their Solemnity, and to marſhal the Funerals of the Greater Nobility. *Clarencieux* was created by *Edward* IV, who upon attaining the Dukedom of *Clarence* by the Death of his Brother, made the *Herald* belonging to the Duke of *Clarence* a *King at Arms*, and called him *Clarentius*. His proper Office is to marſhal the Funerals of the leſſer Nobility or Gentry, on the South Side of the *Trent*. *Norroy*'s Office is the ſame on the North Side of *Trent*, as appears by his Name, *The Northern King*. The Buſineſs of the *Heralds* is likewiſe to denounce War, to proclaim Peace, or to be employed in the King's Martial Meſſages. They are Judges alſo of

Council how Matters ſtood in that Kingdom. The Subſtance of his *Inſtructions* was as follows: 1429.

I. That it was neceſſary to haſten the Departure of *Ratcliffe*'s and the *Cardinal*'s Troops, and to ſend the Regent notice of the preciſe Time of their Imbarkation.

II. That the *Dauphin* (for ſo the Regent called the King of *France*) was Maſter of *Troye*, *Châlon*, and ſeveral other Places, ſome of which had voluntarily ſurrendred. That he was to enter on that very Day, *July* the 16th, the City of *Rheims*, where he had a mind to be crowned; and that afterwards his Intent was to exert his utmoſt in order to become Maſter of *Paris*, but that he ſhould find it a more difficult Task than he imagined.

III. That the Duke of *Bretagne* had done his Duty, and that the City of *Paris* would have been loſt before now had it not been for him. That he was ſet out that very Day for *Artois*, in order to haſten his Troops and join the *Engliſh* Army.

IV. That the Regent was to ſet out within two Days for *Normandy* and *Picardy*, where he would draw the Garriſons together, and expect the Troops that were to come from *England*.

V. Laſtly, The Council of *France* moſt heartily beſought the King to come and be crowned at *Paris*.

Upon this laſt Article it was reſolved, that the young King, now about eight Years old, ſhould go over into *France*, and be crowned, but that firſt he ſhould be crowned in *England*.

of Gentlemens *Arms*, marſhal all the Solemnities at the Coronation of Princes. *&c.* *Veſtegan* derives the Word *Herald* from *Here* an Army, and *Healt* a Champion, as much as to ſay, *the Champion of the Army*. Beſides the three Kings, there are ſix other properly called *Heralds*, as they were created to attend Dukes, *&c.* Viz. *York*, *Lancaſter*, *Somerſet*, *Richmond*, *Cheſter* and *Windſor*. There are Four more called *Marſhals* or *Purſuivants at Arms*, who commonly ſucceed in the Place of *Heralds*, namely, *Blue-Mantle*, *Rouge-Croſs*, *Rouge-Dragon*, and *Port Cullis*.

1429. Henry *crowned at* London.

In pursuance of this Resolution, the Ceremony of the Coronation was performed on the 6th of *November*. Six Days after the Parliament, which was then assembled, ordered that the Dignity of *Protector and Defender of the Church* should be suppressed, but that the Duke of *Gloucester* should keep that of *first Counsellor to the King*. This was a very great Mortification to that Prince, who little expected any such Thing. Indeed, as the King's Coronation added nothing to his Capacity, the Kingdom seemed to require a Protector as much as ever. But it was pretended that the *Protectorship* was inconsistent with the Dignity of a crown'd Head. We shall see hereafter that this Rule was not always observed. The Duke however acquiesced with a good Grace to the Ordinance as far as it concerned him, saving to the Duke of *Bedford* his Brother his Rights.

The Protectorship is suppressed.

Charles *continues his Conquests.*

Whilst they were taken up in *England* with preparing for the Coronation, *Charles* had carried on his Conquests with great Rapidity. And yet his own Coronation had kept him eleven Days at *Rheims*. If the Regent had then had an Army in the Field, he might easily have cooped him up in that Corner of *France*, where he had but few Places, surrounded with the Enemy's Garrisons. But the Duke was then in *Picardy* with a few Troops, expecting those that were to come from *England*. *Charles* therefore improved the Advantage which the Distance of his Enemy gave him. The Inhabitants of the *English* Towns being for the most Part well-affected to him, nothing hindered them from showing him Marks of their Inclinations. The reason is, because the Duke of *Bedford* had been constrained to weaken his Garrisons exceedingly, in order to compose an Army. This was the Cause that in a very short Space *Charles* became Master of *Soissons*, *Provins*, *Chateau Thierry*, *Crepi*, and some other Places, which did not so much as stay to be attacked, the *English* Garrisons not being strong enough to prevent the Burghers from doing as they had a mind.

Several Places surrender of their own accord.

The Regent marches towards him.

Mean time, the Duke of *Bedford* having at length received the Succours he expected, began to march in order to go and stop the Progress of his Enemy. At *Crepi*, *Charles* had

had advice that the Duke was coming to give him Battle. 1429.
A few Days after the two Armies were very near one another on a large Plain, where nothing hindered them from coming to Blows. The Number of Troops on both Sides was pretty equal. But as the King had more *Horse*, the Regent did not care to attack him. Besides, the Posture of his Affairs required that he should not fight but with odds. Upon which account, he ordered his Camp to be strongly intrenched. He was in hopes that the impetuous Humour of the *French* would cause them to commit the same Fault they had fallen into at *Verneuil*, and on several other Occasions; and that they would endeavour to force his Intrenchments, in which case he promised himself certain Victory. But he was deceived in his Expectations this time. *Charles*, grown wise by so many former Instances, was content with facing him, and trying to draw him out of his Lines, without hazarding an Attack, the Success whereof appeared too doubtful. At length, finding the *English* kept their Station, he marched off in order to push his Conquests, well knowing that most of the Towns were ready to receive him. The Regent followed him close. But as he would run no Hazard without an apparent Advantage, he had the Mortification to see him enter *Senlis*, *Beauvais*, *Campiegne*, *Creil*, *Pont St. Maixance*, *Lagny*, *Bray*, *Gournay*, *Melun*, *Sens*. All these Places opened their Gates to the King, being no longer over-aw'd by the Garrisons which the Regent had been forced to draw out.

The two Armies are very near one another,

and part without fighting.

Several Towns surrender to Charles.

On the other Hand, the Constable *Richmond* who was in *Normandy*, having found Means to augment his Troops to the Number of Eight Thousand Men, had taken *Evreux*, and threatned the whole Province. The Duke of *Bedford* fearing he would make a greater Progress, hastened thither immediately, not being able to bear the Thoughts of losing a Country from whence he had in a great Measure his Subsistance.

The Regent marches to the Relief of Normandy.

Whilst the Duke of *Bedford* was employed in *Normandy*, *Charles*, Master of the Field in the *Isle of France*, approached *Paris*, and went and encamped at *Montmartre*. He forthwith published a general Pardon for the *Parisians*, imagi-

Charles *makes an Attempt upon* Paris.

1429. imagining that disheartned at his Conquests, they would take up Arms, and drive the *English* out of the City. But the Regent had ordered Matters so well there, that not a Soul stirred. At length, finding he could expect nothing from the Citizens, he attacked the *Suburbs* of St. *Honorius*; but his Troops were beat back with great Loss. *La Pucelle*, who had exposed herself very much in this Assault, was wounded, and tumbled into the Ditch. Every one thought her dead; but being drawn out in the Night, she recovered of her Wounds.

La Pucelle is wounded.

The Season not permitting the two Armies to keep the Field any longer, *Charles* retired, and went and passed the Winter at *Bourges*. The Regent likewise marched back to *Paris*, after he had drove the *Constable* out of *Normandy*. During the Winter, he carried by Storm St. *Dennis* and *Lagni*, which Places very much annoyed the *Parisians*.

Lagni *and* St. Dennis *taken by the* English.

Before we close the Occurrences of this Year, we must not omit to show how the Duke of *Burgundy* stood affected, since the great Turn of the *English* Affairs. In how flourishing a Condition soever *Charles* might be, he was very sensible that all would not do, unless he could gain so potent an Enemy as the Duke of *Burgundy*. The Truth is, if that Prince had thought fit to assist the *English* with all his Forces, there is no question but he would have prevented this fatal Revolution. If even after the raising of the Siege of *Orleans*, he could have been brought to aid them in proportion to his Ability, he would still have turned the Scale on their Side. But he was taking other Measures. His Policy suggested to him, that by too powerfully assisting the *English*, he should have very troublesome Masters, as he had already experienced in the Business of *Hainault*. And therefore, since he was to have a Sovereign, he chose much rather to see a Prince of his Blood on the Throne of *France* than a Foreigner. But he carefully concealed his Sentiments, least both Parties should take the Advantage of them against him. It was manifest, that in openly showing his Inclination to abandon the *English*, he would do himself great Prejudice. King *Charles* would grow less eager to come to an Agreement with him, and it may be the

Disposition of the Duke of Burgundy *since the Turn of Affairs.*

Duke

Duke of *Bedford* would have endeavoured to be before-hand with him, and ſtrike up a ſeparate Peace with the *French* excluſive of him. This at leaſt was what the Duke of *Burgundy* had reaſon to fear, conſidering the Poſture of the Affairs of the *Engliſh*, ſince the Battle of *Patay*. He reſolved then to keep on aſſiſting the *Engliſh*, but in ſuch a Manner as ſhould give *Charles* ſome hopes he had abated of his Reſentment. He judged rightly, that in taking this Courſe he ſhould ſell his Friendſhip at a dearer Rate, or at worſt, he ſhould be able to remain as he was, till ſuch Terms as he wanted ſhould be offered him. *Charles* having had ſome Intimation of the Temper the Duke of *Burgundy* was in with regard to him, diſpatched ſecret Agents to treat with him. But the Duke thought it not a proper Time yet to diſcover his Mind. He was apprehenſive, that in caſe the Duke of *Bedford* ſhould come to know it, he would without him agree with King *Charles*; whereas his Intent was to make his own Peace at the Expence of the *Engliſh*. The Sequel manifeſtly ſhowed that this was his Deſign. Moſt certain it is, that he had already determined what to do, though he did not think fit to ſet the Negotiation ſo ſoon on Foot. A remarkable Inſtance how little the ſtrongeſt Alliance are to be depended upon. The ſad Effect of Diſhoneſty, too common among Men, and from which Princes in particular are not free. As they cannot, notwithſtanding their Treaties, truſt one another, they live in continual Fear of being over-reached by their Allies. And therefore, taking it for granted that they may be abandoned, they endeavour to be before-hand, and make no ſcruple to break through their Engagements, upon the Proſpect of any conſiderable Advantage. Let a Man run over all Hiſtories as well Antient as Modern, and he will find ſcarce any one conſiderable Alliance but what was violated by ſome notorious Piece of Fraud. 1429.

It would be a difficult Matter to deſcribe the Concern, Trouble, Complaints, and Murmurings in *England*, upon the Turn of Affairs in *France*. Some blamed the Generals for not having done their Duty. Others perceiving no natural Cauſe of ſo wonderful a Change, affirmed that it muſt 1430. *Murmurings in England.*

1430. must needs have happened by the Malice of the Devil, who had made use of *La Pucelle* for his Instrument, and boldly maintained that she was a *Witch*. In short, some there were that threw all the Blame on the *Council* and the Duke of *Glocester*. They justly taxed them with having very unseasonably undertaken the Affair of *Hainault*, at a Time when, if all the Forces of *England* had been united against *France*, they would have infallibly finished the Conquest of that Kingdom. Nothing but Complaints were heard from all Hands. Every one seeking in the Mismanagements of those that were at the Head of Affairs, for a Cause of this fatal Turn. Among all the Reflections cast on the Government, the *Council* gave the greatest Heed to what those said, who affirmed, that the keeping so long the *French* Princes, and particularly the Dukes of *Orleans* and *Bourbon* Prisoners in *England*, was a very great Oversight. That no body could be ignorant what great Advantages the late King had reaped by the Dissentions of the *French*. That consequently the Prisoners should have been sent back to their own Country, where in all likelihood they would have renewed their old Quarrels: Whereas, the detaining them had been a Means to procure *France* a Tranquillity very destructive to *England*. That at least, if the Duke of *Orleans* and *Bourbon* had been in *France* with King *Charles*, the *English* would have had more considerable Succours from the Duke of *Burgundy* than what he had furnished hitherto. In fine, that it was not too late yet to release these two Princes; and as *England* had been drained by the Continuance of so tedious a War, their Ransoms might serve to put Things upon a better Foot. These Reasonings seemed very plausible. But on the other Hand, the late King's Orders about the Prisoners, were to the Duke of *Glocester* and the *Council* a Law which they durst not attempt to violate.

Several find fault that the French *Prisoners had not been released.*

Articles for releasing the Duke of Bourbon. Act. Pub. X. 434.

However, as to the Duke of *Bourbon* in particular, there were Reasons which might induce the *Council* to overlook the late King's Orders. In 1421, that Prince had made a Treaty with *Henry* V, whereby he was obliged to swear the *Peace of Troye*, to pay such a Sum for

for his Ranſom, and deliver up two of his Sons and his fortified Towns in Hoſtage, till he had fully perform'd his Oath. *Henry* V dying before the Treaty was finiſh'd, it was renewed with ſome Alteration in 1428, and young *Henry* had receiv'd as King of *France*, the Duke's Homage. There was nothing wanting but the Ratification, which had been put off only for fear the People would not be pleaſed with the Proceeding. In fine, this Year 1430 all Difficulties were got over, and the Treaty was ratified. But ſome Obſtacles were ſtarted in the Execution, which hindred the Duke from being ſet at Liberty. He died after all in *England* in 1433, after a ten Years Captivity. 1430. *p.* 438. *He dies.* *p.* 452.

Another Reaſon which had induced the *Council* to treat with the Duke of *Bourbon*, was the Hopes that his Ranſom would ſerve to defray the Charges of the King's Journey, who was ready to ſet out for *France*. But this Means having failed, there was a Neceſſity of having recourſe to *Loans*, which plainly ſhowed how low the Treaſury was, and with what Difficulty Funds ſufficient for carrying on the War were raiſed. *p.* 461.

Henry ſat out at length on the 24th of *April*, attended by great Numbers of the Nobility, and particularly the *Cardinal of Wincheſter*, who had been appointed *Chief Counſellor of the King* with a large Salary. This honourable Pretence had been made uſe of to keep him out of the Kingdom, leaſt in the Abſence of the King, and under the Regency of the Duke of *Glouceſter* who was made *Guardian* of the Realm, their Diſſention might breed Diſturbances. *Henry* being arrived at *Calais*, made but a ſhort Stay there. He went on immediately for *Roan*, where he ſpent almoſt all the reſt of the Year. Whilſt they were making at *Paris* Preparations for his Coronation, which could not be got ready till the Month of *December*. About the Middle of the Month he came to the Metropolis, where he was crowned * on the 17th with all the Solemnity the Circumſtances of the Time would admit of. Henry *goes to* France, *p.* 452. *and is crowned at* Paris.

* By the *Cardinal of Wincheſter*.

1430. *The Duke of* Bedford *secures the Duke of* Burgundy *to* England.

Whilſt the King was at *Roan*, the Duke of *Bedford* omitted nothing that could help to put his Affairs upon a better Foot. He had foreſeen the Deſigns of the Duke of *Burgundy*, and as he was very ſenſible of the Conſequences, he left no Stone unturned to prevent them. It coſt him *Champagne* and *Brie*, or at leaſt, the Places he ſtill had in thoſe Provinces, which he was obliged to give him up, to keep him firm to the Alliance of *England*. But at the ſame Time, he was enabled by this Means to ſtop the Progreſs of *Charles*, who had puſhed his Conqueſts with a wonderful Swiftneſs.

The Duke of Burgundy *s third Marriage.*

Another Thing conduced to the retaining ſome Time longer the Duke of *Burgundy* in the Intereſts of the *Engliſh*: And that was his third Marriage with *Iſabella* of *Portugal*, near Relation of the King of *England*, and who had not the ſame Affinity with King *Charles* as *Bonne* of *Artois* his former Wife. The Duke of *Bedford* therefore having received Succours from the Duke of *Burgundy*, took the Field, and became Maſter in the *Iſle of France* of ſeveral Places, which though of little Conſequence in themſelves, were of great Importance, as they were troubleſome to *Paris*.

The Regent makes ſome Conqueſts.

The Duke of Burgundy *beſieges* Compiegne.

Shortly after the Duke of *Burgundy* entered *France* in Perſon, at the Head of a powerful Army. He retook firſt, *Torſy* and *Soiſſons*, and then laid Siege to *Compiegne*. *Flavy* commanded in that Place, with a numerous Garriſon and Proviſions for ſix Months. Upon the firſt News of this Siege, *The Maid of Orleans* and *Xaintrailles* had thrown themſelves into the Town, to the Governor's great Vexation, who eaſily ſaw they were come to rob him of the Honour of the Defenſe.

La Pucelle *goes thither.*

She makes a Sally, and is taken Priſoner.

On the 25th of *May La Pucelle* made a Sally, and fought with a great deal of Conduct and Reſolution. At length ſeeing herſelf conſtrained to retreat, ſhe put herſelf in the *Rear*, and every now and then ſtood her Ground, in order to ſtop the Enemies who preſſed her hard. In this manner, ſhe got off all her Men ſafe. But when ſhe would have entered the Town, ſhe found the Gate ſhut and the Draw-Bridge up. It is ſaid this was done by the Governour's

nour's Order, who was very glad to ruin her, pretending he did not know but ſhe was come in. But this Circumſtance is not well proved. However *la Pucelle* finding there was no way to eſcape her Purſuers, ſurrendered herſelf Priſoner to the Baſtard of *Vendôme*, who immediately delivered her to the Earl of *Ligni* the Duke of *Burgundy*'s General. The Duke of *Bedford* overjoyed that this Prey was fallen into the Hands of his Allies, demanded her of the Earl of *Ligni* with ſo much earneſtneſs, that the Earl could not deny him. He required however a Reward ſuitable to the Importance of ſuch a Priſoner. Some Time after the Town was relieved by the Earl of *Vendôme*, who got in Troops and Ammunition juſt as the Place was reduc'd to Extremity. Whereupon the Earl of *Ligni* Commander in Chief, ſeeing no likelihood of ſucceeding, raiſed the Siege, and the Duke of *Burgundy* who had ſtaid all the while at *Noyon* retired into *Artois*. 1430.

She is delivered to the Duke of Bedford.

The Siege is rais'd.

I paſs over in ſilence numberleſs Attempts on both Sides, and divers Skirmiſhes which contributed but little to the Deciſion of the main Affair. It will however be proper to obſerve, that the pretended Inſpiration of *la Pucelle* had made ſo deep an Impreſſion in the Minds of the *French*, that the Marſhal *de Bouſſac* and *Xaintrailles* ſuffered themſelves to be impoſed upon by a Device, which doubtleſs would not have produced its Effect, had it not been backed by this Prepoſſeſſion. A Shepherd living near *Roan*, came to the Marſhal and told him, that Heaven had revealed to him a certain private Way by which he would lead him into the very City of *Roan*. *Bouſſac* having forthwith imparted the Secret to *Xaintrailles*, they were both of Opinion that they ought not to let ſo fair an Opportunity ſlip. Thus perſwaded as they were that they had God himſelf for their Guide, they marched with a Body of choſen Troops after the Shepherd, who led them into an Ambuſh, where *Talbot* waited for them. Their Troops were all cut in Pieces, and *Xaintrailles* made Priſoner.

Bouſſac *and* Xaintrailles *deceived by a Shepherd.*

They are defeated, and Xaintrailles *made Priſoner.*

Theſe are the moſt remarkable Events happened in *France* during the Year 1430, with regard to the War. We muſt now turn to *England* and ſee what paſſed there.

1430. *The Cardinal receives a fresh Mortification.* Act. Pub. X 472.

In the Absence of the Cardinal of *Winchester*, the Duke of *Glocester* brought him into Troubles which gave him no small Uneasiness. The Duke told the *Council* that the *Cardinal* intended to leave the King, and return to his Place at the *Board*, with Design to raise Disturbances in the Kingdom; that his Intent was the more criminal as he meant to make use of the Pope's Authority to free himself from the Obligation he was under to assist the King in *France*, the which was visibly subjecting the Orders and Regulations of the *Council* to a foreign Power. Upon these Complaints, the *Council* issued out a *Proclamation*, prohibiting all the King's Subjects, of what Rank soever, under Pain of Imprisonment, to attend the *Cardinal* if he left the King without Leave.

Truce with Castile. *p.* 473. *and* Scotland. *p.* 482.

On the 8th of *November* a Truce was concluded at *London* with the King of *Castile* for one Year, to commence *May* the 1st, 1431.

About the Middle of *December*, the Embassadors of *England* signed at *Edenburgh* a five Years Truce with *Scotland*, to begin the same Day with that made with *Castile*.

1431. *The Duke of* Bedford *resolves to have* la Pucelle *tried for her Life.*

La Pucelle being in the Hands of the *English*, ever since the Siege of *Compiegne*, the Duke of *Bedford* had ordered her to be carried to *Roan*, where he intended to sacrifice her to the Vengence he believed due to the *English* Nation. There was without doubt a great deal of Policy in this Resolution. All *France* was possessed with the Notion that she was sent from God, and the *English* Soldiers imagined that in fighting against her they had to deal with the Devil. Wherever she appeared, they deemed the *French* Troops invincible. At least one cannot ascribe to any other Cause the Terror that had seized their Souls, and the prodigious Alteration in them in that Respect. It was therefore of the utmost Consequence to undeceive them. The taking of *La Pucelle* had already began to pave the Way. It was natural enough to infer from thence, that had she acted by God's Command, there was no likelihood of her ever falling into such a Misfortune. But to confirm this first Impression, it was not improper to give the frighted *English* to understand, that she had done nothing

but

but by Means of Witchcraft and Sorcery. It may be the Duke of *Bedford* was himſelf of that Opinion, as one may conclude from his Expreſſions in the Letter to the King before-mentioned. Be that as it will, (for I do not pretend either to accuſe or excuſe the Prince, that it was done out of Policy or Vengeance) he managed Matters ſo, that the King by the Advice of his Council of *France*, ordered that *Joan of Arc* ſhould be tried for a *Witch*. Purſuant to this Order, ſhe was delivered to the *Eccleſiaſtical* Judges *, who after a long Examination, condemned her as a *Heretick*, to live by way of *Penance* upon Bread and Water all the Days of her Life. Some Time after, under Colour of her relapſing into her former Errours, ſhe was tried again by the ſame Judges, who delivered her over to the *ſecular Arm* to be burnt alive. This Sentence was put in Execution in the old Market-Place at *Roan*, on the 30th of *May* 1431. 1431.

She is condemned to Impriſonment, and afterwards to be burnt.

Thus far the *French* and *Engliſh* are agreed. No one can deny that ſhe performed great Exploits, and inſpired the *French* with Courage, and the *Engliſh* with Terror. But the *French* aſcribe what appears wonderful in her, to the immediate Power of God, and the *Engliſh* to the Artifices of the Devil. What ſhall one think of this Matter? Perhaps neither of them are in the Right, and there is a third Opinion which wants not plauſible Reaſons. As the Examination of theſe three Opinions would interrupt the Thread of the Hiſtory too long, I ſhall not ſtay to diſcuſs them here. They who want to be more fully informed in this Matter, may read a Diſſertation which will be inſerted at the End of the preſent Reign, wherein I ſhall endeavour to give this Affair all the Light it is capable of.

Various Opinions about her.

Notwithſtanding his Advantage, King *Charles* ſaw himſelf but little able to carry on the War. The Places he had taken were for the moſt Part ruined, and conſequently incapable of giving him much Aſſiſtance. Beſides, as they

* She was tried by the Biſhop of *Beauvais*, in whoſe *Dioceſe* ſhe was taken.

1431. they had voluntarily ſurrendred, he did not care to preſs them, for fear they ſhould turn again to the *Engliſh*. They might have done ſo with the ſame eaſe, ſince it was not in his Power to place Garriſons ſtrong enough to keep them in awe. On the other Side, the *Engliſh* brought low by ſo many Loſſes, werein no better Condition to keep Armies in the Field. Wherefore, during the reſt of this Year, the War was carried on only by Parties, and by ſurprizing of Places, the greateſt Part whereof were but weakly guarded.

The French *ſurprize* Chartres. In this manner it was that the *French* became Maſters of *Chartres*, by means of a Cart loaden with Wine, which they cauſed to be overturned juſt under the Portcullis. On the other Hand, the *Engliſh* took *Montargis*, by holding Intelligence with a young Woman, who perſuaded a Barber, her Lover, to let them into the Town.

The Fair of Caen *plunder'd.* *Loré* a *French* Captain made an Inroad up to the very Gates of *Caen* upon a *Fair-Day*, and carried off above two Thouſand People, with a very great Booty. After that he retired to *Silley*, a ſmall Town in *Maine*, where he was beſieged by the Earl of *Arundel*. But the Duke of *Alenſon* ſuddenly coming to his Relief, obliged the *Engliſh* to march off.

This Year *Xaintrailles* and *Gaucour*, who were ravaging *Normandy*, were beaten and made Priſoners. A Party of *Engliſh* took alſo *Villeneuve lez-ſens* from the *French*. This is all that paſſed worth noting in *France* between the two Parties. But a more important Affair happened in *Lorrain*, wherein King *Charles* and the Duke of *Burgundy* were concern'd, and of which therefore it will not be amiſs to ſay a word or two by the way.

War of Lorrain. *Lewis*, Cardinal of *Bar*, and Marquiſs of *Pont-a-Mouſſon*, being the laſt Iſſue-Male of the Houſe of *Bar*, the Children of *Violante* his Siſter, Queen of *Arragon*, were to be his Heirs. Among theſe Children, *Violante* of *Arragon* had married *Lewis* II. King of *Sicily*, and Duke of *Anjou*, and had by him three Sons, *Lewis*, *René* and *Charles*. Of theſe Princes, the Cardinal Duke of *Bar* pitched upon *René* for his Heir, and married him to *Iſabella*, third Daughter

Daughter of *Charles* Duke of *Lorrain*, who had no Iſſue-Male. It is ſaid, that *Iſabella*'s two elder Siſters had renounced the Succeſſion of the Duke their Father. *René* being Duke of *Bar* by the Death of the Cardinal his Uncle, would likewiſe have taken Poſſeſſion of *Lorrain*, upon the Deceaſe of the Duke his Father-in-law. But *Anthony* Earl of *Vaudemont*, Son of *Frederick*, younger Brother of Duke *Charles*, diſputed the Succeſſion with him. This was the Occaſion of a War between theſe two Princes; wherein King *Charles* took the Part of *René* his Brother-in-law, and the Duke of *Burgundy* ſided with the Earl of *Vaudemont*. On the 2d of *July* this Year, the two Competitors fought at *Bulegneville* a bloody Battle, wherein *René* was worſted, taken Priſoner, and carried to *Dijon*. There were Twelve Hundred *French* ſlain in this Action. This Loſs no doubt helped to hinder King *Charles* from continuing his Progreſs. 1431.

An attempt to take the See from the Biſhop of Wincheſter.

The Affair concerning the *See* of *Wincheſter*, which the Duke of *Glouceſter* would have deprived the *Cardinal* of, was rather ſuſpended than determined in 1429, by an Order which the *Council* gave the Prelate to forbear for that Time officiating as Biſhop on St. *George's Day*. The Duke willing to take Advantage of the *Cardinal*'s Abſence, who was with the King at *Paris*, managed it ſo, that about the End of this Year the Affair was brought upon the Board again. On the 6th of *November*, the King's Attorney-General appearing before the *Council*, required that the *Cardinal* ſhould be deprived of his *See*, affirming, that by the Laws of the Land, the ſame Perſon could not be *Cardinal* and *Biſhop* at the ſame Time in *England*. He ſupported his Aſſertion with the Examples of *Simon Langham* and *Robert Kilwarby*, formerly Archbiſhops of *Canterbury*, who, upon their being made *Cardinals*, reſigned the Archbiſhopricks. When he had done ſpeaking, the Duke of *Glouceſter* addreſſing himſelf to the Biſhop of *Worceſter*, required him to ſay, upon his Oath of Allegiance to the King, whether it was not true, that the *Cardinal* had obtained of the Pope an Exemption from the Juriſdiction of the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, for himſelf, for the

1431. the City, and for the whole Dioceſe of *Wincheſter*. His Aim was to ſhow by this how inconvenient it was to ſuffer that a *Cardinal* ſhould hold a Biſhoprick in *England*. The Biſhop of *Worceſter* replied, after ſome Intreaty, that the Biſhop of *Lichfield* being at *Rome*, had ſued for and obtained this Exemption for the *Cardinal*, who had reimburſed all the Charges; and that he had this from that Prelate's own Mouth. This Affair having been long debated, by reaſon of the two Parties in the *Council*, it was at length reſolved, that before any thing ſhould be decided, the *Cardinal* ſhould be heard, and that the *Judges* ſhould be conſulted upon the Matter. Thus it was not yet poſſible for the Duke of *Glouceſter* to compaſs his Ends.

Conference about a Peace.

Whilſt *Henry* was in *France*, Pope *Eugenius* II. Succeſſor of *Martin* V. had ſent thither the Cardinal of *Santa Crux*, to try to perſuade the two Kings to a Peace. This *Legate* had at length prevailed with them to ſend their Ambaſſadors to *Auxerre*. But this Congreſs was to no Purpoſe. They did not ſo much as come to a Conference, becauſe, if we may believe the *French* Authors, the Ambaſſadors of *England* refuſed to acknowledge King *Charles*'s as *Ambaſſadors of France*. The 31ſt of *May* was however fixed for their Meeting: but it was in vain, ſince there was no Place appointed for holding the Congreſs. The Court of *England* had named for Plenipotentiaries the Biſhop of *Rocheſter* and ſome others.

Act. Pub. X. 500.

1432. *Henry* returned to *England* in the Beginning of the Year 1432, being full Ten Years of Age. As his Journey to *France* had produced no great Effects, his going from thence made no Alteration in his Affairs. They were ſtill managed by the Duke of *Bedford* in *France*, and by the Duke of *Glouceſter* in *England*. The Government of two Kingdoms was no light Burden to theſe Princes, at a Time when the King's Affairs were manifeſtly going to Ruin. The Duke of *Bedford* was obliged to be always upon his Guard, in order to ſtand againſt Enemies who ſome time ſince were grown very formidable. But this was a ſmall Matter in Compariſon of his Trouble occaſioned by the perpetual Diſtruſt he was in with reſpect to his own Friends, or

Henry *returns to* England.

Ill State of the Duke of Bedford *in* France.

thoſe

thoſe who pretended to be well-affected to him. The Duke of *Burgundy*'s ambiguous Proceedings juſtly made him uneaſy. The Duke of *Bretagne* was no more to be depended upon. In ſhort, ſince the Decline of the Affairs of the *Engliſh*, the Towns which ſeemed to ſide with them were faithful only in proportion to the Strength of their Garriſons. The Regent had experienced the Truth of this. *Paris* itſelf, the Metropolis, on which it may be ſaid all depended, was not ſo well-diſpoſed as that he could rely upon its Loyalty, or at leaſt its Attachment to the Intereſt of *England* wholly depended upon that of the Duke of *Burgundy*. Add to this the inconſiderable Aids of Men and Money which the Duke of *Bedford* receiv'd from *England*, at a Time when he ſtood moſt in need of them. To complete his Misfortune, the Regent found himſelf conſtrained to bear almoſt the whole Weight of the publick Affairs, as well Military as Civil, upon his own Shoulders; thoſe who had aſſiſted him in the Beginning of his Regency being for the moſt Part either dead or Priſoners in the Hands of the Enemy. In this Perplexity, he reſolved to ſend to King *Charles*, and propoſe the Exchange of *Talbot* for *Xaintrailles*, and his Offer was accepted. As he durſt not leave *Paris*, and as the War was carrying on in ſeveral Parts of the Kingdom, he could not well do without ſuch a General as *Talbot*, though to procure him he ſhould be forced to give one as good to the Enemy. 1432.

Exchange of Talbot *for* Xaintrailles. Act. Pub. X. 507.

If the Affairs of the *Engliſh* were upon an ill Foot in *France*, they were in no better Poſture in *England*. Subſidies were granted by the Parliament with great Reluctance, for carrying on ſo deſtructive a War, of which People began to be tired, ſince it proſpered not as formerly. On the other Hand, the Quarrel between the Duke of *Glouceſter* and the *Cardinal* ſtill continued with greater Bitterneſs than ever, and began to turn to the Duke's Diſadvantage. In the laſt Year's Parliament the *Cardinal* had found means to gain the *Commons* to his Side, and thereby to give his Adverſary a grievous Mortification. The *Houſe*, willing to ſhow him Marks of their Favour, had preſented to the King a *Petition*, intreating him that he would be pleaſed,

Continuation of the Quarrel between the Duke of Glouceſter *and the Cardinal.*

The Cardinal gains ground upon his Enemy.

1432. in Consideration of the great Services the *Cardinal* had done the *State*, to give him a *full Pardon* for what he might have done contrary to the Laws, particularly with regard to *the Statute of Præmunire*. This was a decisive Stroke for the *Cardinal*, since the *Commons* Petition being granted, he was skreened from all Prosecution. However the Duke of *Glouceſter* did not give out. He pretended, that notwithstanding the *Pardon*, he had Evidences to produce, which would prove the *Cardinal* guilty of High-Treason, a Crime which could not be supposed to be included in the *Letters of Pardon*. The *Cardinal*, who was then in *Flanders* about the King's Affairs, forthwith repaired to *London* without having ask'd Leave, and by that Means gave his Enemy a Handle to order his Baggage to be seized. Next Day after his Arrival he went to the *House* of Lords, and said, he was come to clear himself of the Crimes they pretended to lay to his Charge, and to vindicate his Innocence against any Person whatever that should offer to be his Accuser. The Duke of *Glouceſter* not thinking proper to stand by what he had said, Answer was made the Prelate, that as no body appeared to accuse him, they acknowledged him for a loyal Subject. He returned the *House* Thanks for this Declaration, and desired it might be drawn up in Form; the which was granted. Then he complained that upon his landing at *Sandwich* his Baggage had been seized, and requested that it might be restored. He maintained that the Seizure was made without just Cause, and offered to lend the King Six Thousand Pounds for six Years, on Condition that if in that Time the Seizure appeared to be lawful, the Money lent should be forfeited to the King's Use. He offered also to lend him the like Sum, and to defer the Demand of the Thirteen Thousand Marks due to him on another Account, provided the Payment of the whole should be assigned out of the next *Subsidy* granted to the King. His Aim was to show what regard he had to the King's and the People's Wants. His Offers were accepted, and whatever had been seized was returned him. Thus the Duke of *Glouceſter* was so far from being able to hurt his Enemy, that he had the Mortification to

see

ſee him receive the Applauſes of both *Houſes*. Mean while their Diſſentions produced very ill Effects. As the Duke of *Glouceſter* had Friends and Adherents in the *Council*, the Oppoſition generally between the two Parties could not but be very prejudicial to the King's Affairs. Whilſt the Duke and Cardinal minded only their own private Affairs, the War in *France* was neglected, though it was more neceſſary than ever to exert their utmoſt towards carrying it on. 1432.

Indolence of King Charles.

If *England* had known how to improve her Advantages, ſhe had a very favourable Opportunity to repair ſome of her Loſſes. King *Charles* languiſhed in the Arms of *Agnes Sorrel* his Miſtreſs, and left to his *Miniſters* and Generals the Care of his moſt important Affairs. Nothing affected him but his Pleaſures. It was not without extreme Reluctance that he beſtowed a few Moments upon the War and Affairs of State. So impatient was he to return to his Pleaſures, which theſe troubleſome Matters obliged him to break off, that he ſought only how to commit to the Care of another, whatever might give him any Diſturbance. *La Trimouille* his Favourite was generally accuſed of ſoothing him up in this ſupine and indolent State. But the more clear-ſighted plainly ſaw the King began to grow weary of him, and that he was uneaſy under the Yoke he had put upon his own Neck. The *Conſtable*, though Abſent, was ſoon informed how the Caſe ſtood. The Spies he kept at Court were too ſharp for a Thing of that Moment to be long a Secret to him. As he was of a proud and violent Spirit, he could not bear without Indignation to ſee *La Trimouille* get the ſtart of him, and had formed a Deſign to ſerve him in the ſame manner as he had done *Louvet*, *De Giac* and *Beaulieu*. The Moment he came to know that the King no longer looked upon *La Trimouille* with the ſame Eye as formerly, he immediately ſet about working his Ruin. But as he ſaw that though he outed this Favourite, he was not ſo much in the King's good Graces as to have any Proſpect of ſupplying his Place, he formed a Project of introducing *Charles* of *Anjou* the Queen's Brother into that Poſt. A ſtrange Project, to attempt to take from a

Troubles in his Court.

1432. Prince one Favourite and give him another againſt his Will, or at leaſt without conſulting him! As ſoon as the *Conſtable* had prepared every Thing at Court, and Matters were ripe for Execution, *La Trimouille* was ſeized in his Bed, in the King's own Houſe, who was then at *Chinon*, and committed to Priſon at *Montreſor*. *Charles* was enraged at the News, and would immediately have gone and taken Vengeance. But when he ſaw all the Princes of the Blood, and all the Great Men at Court declare againſt *La Trimouille*, he durſt not proceed any farther. He called to Mind with Dread the Confederacy formed againſt him when he would have ſcreened *Louvet*, and was afraid of the like again. Beſides, his Diſtaſte for the Favourite, who was only ſo in Name, being added to this Reaſon of *State*, he caſt him off without much Concern. *Charles of Anjou* came to give him Comfort, and ſucceeded ſo well, that according to the *Conſtable*'s Scheme, he became the Favourite, and *La Trimouille* was forgot.

La Trimouille is removed,

and Charles *of* Anjou *becomes Favourite.*

It is eaſy to judge that a Prince of *Charles*'s Character, who hated nothing more than War, and kept as far from it as poſſible, would not have been very formidable to the Duke of *Bedford*, if the Succours which the Duke received from *England* had been ſufficient to enable him to make ſome conſiderable Attempt. But he could no longer keep an Army in the Field without draining his Garriſons and expoſing the Towns either to be taken by ſurprize, or tempted to follow the Example of thoſe Places that had voluntarily ſurrendered to King *Charles*.

About the End of the laſt Year *Foucaut* had taken from the Duke *Lagni*, a Place often taken and retaken, and which the Neighbourhood of *Paris* render'd of great Importance. A little after the Regent had attempted to retake it, but without Succeſs. In the Beginning of this Year the Marſhal *de l' Iſle-Adam* and the Earl of *Arundel* had attacked it in vain, having been obliged to give over their Enterprize by a vigorous Sally from the Town. At laſt in the Beginning of *Auguſt*, the Duke of *Bedford* went himſelf and beſieged it with an Army of ſix Thouſand Men. But on the 10th of the ſame Month the Baſtard of *Orleans*

Lagni *taken by the* French.

The Engliſh *endeavour in vain to retake it.*

Orleans got a Convoy in, maugre the Precautions and Vigilance of the Duke, after which he retired and paſſed the *Maine*. His March having made the Duke apprehenſive that he held ſome Intelligence in *Paris*, he ſuddenly raiſed the Siege in order to prevent his Deſigns. Thus *Lagni* was beſieged three Times in vain within the Space of ſeven or eight Months. 1433.

On the other Side, a ſmall Body of *French* drawn out of the Garriſons near the *Loire* had ſurprized *Montargis*. But as the Caſtle made a brave Defence, the *French* not being able either to take it by Storm or keep the Town, were forced to march off. In *Normandy* twelve Hundred *Engliſh* inveſted *La Hire* in *Louviers*, and after a three Months Blockade, conſtrained the Place to capitulate. *The* French *ſurprize* Montargis, *and acquit it again.*

Theſe were Matters of little Moment. But on the 13th of *November* there happened one of much greater Conſequence. And that was the Death of *Ann* of *Burgundy*, Dutcheſs of *Bedford* *. This Loſs affected not the Duke her Spouſe alone, but all the *Engliſh* with him, ſince it broke the Bond of Friendſhip between the Dukes of *Bedford* and *Burgundy*, and ſince the Coldneſs which ſucceeded their Union proved very fatal to *England*. *Death of the Dutcheſs of* Bedford.

The *Council of Baſil* had been ſitting ever ſince laſt Year, but *England* had ſent thither no Ambaſſadors. About the End of this Year, the Pope and *Council* who were quarrelling about Pre-eminence, having ſent each apart *Legates* to the King, the Archbiſhop of *York*, the Biſhop of *Rocheſter*, the Earl of *Huntington*, and ſeveral others were appointed by the *Board* to go to the *Council*. *Ambaſſy to the Council of* Baſil. Act. Pub. X. 519.

In the Beginning of the Year 1433 there happened in *Normandy* a dangerous Inſurrection, which would have been no leſs fatal to the *Engliſh* than the raiſing of the Siege of *Orleans*, if by their Diligence, they had not prevented in good Time Part of the Miſchief which might have enſued. Sixty Thouſand Peaſants of that Province having taken up Arms. 1433. *Inſurrection in* Normandy.

* He buried her at the *Celeſtine's* in *Paris*, within the Chapel of *Orleans*, where a noble Tomb of Black Marble, with her Effigies as a Princeſs placed thereon, is ſtill to be ſeen. Her *Epitaph* ſays, ſhe died *November* the 14th, 1432. Dugdale.

1433. Arms, divided themſelves into two Bodies, one of which conſiſting of forty Thouſand Men, marched into *Vexin*, and the other towards *Caen*. Had *Charles*'s Army been near enough to back them, he would without Diſpute have over-run all *Normandy*. The Rebels ſoon became Maſters of *Caen*, *Harfleur*, *Dieppe*, and *Lillebonne*. In all likelihood they would have made a much greater Progreſs, if the Earl of *Arundel* had not with the utmoſt Expedition marched againſt thoſe that were got together in *Vexin*. As theſe Men had no Perſon of Note to head them, they ſuffered themſelves to be ſurprized in the Night, and eaſily yielded him a Victory which was more advantagious to his Maſter than glorious for him. Thoſe of *Caen*, though not ſo numerous, would have given him more Trouble, becauſe the Marſhal of *Rieux* was gone to head them. But terrified at the News of the Defeat of their Companions, they returned to their Homes. The Marſhal ſeeing himſelf thus deſerted, took with him ſome of the moſt couragious and retired to *Dieppe*. Mean while *Arundel* taking Advantage of their Conſternation, found Means to recover *Caen* and *Lillebonne*. But *Dieppe* and *Harfleur*, Places of great Importance, remained in the Hands of the *French*.

The Duke of Bedford *marries* Jaquelina *of* Luxemburg.

The Duke of Burgundy *is offended with it.*

This very Year another Thing helped to embroil the Affairs of the *Engliſh*. The Duke of *Bedford* being a Widower, took to Wife in *March Jaquelina* of *Luxemburg* Earl of St. *Paul*. The Duke of *Burgundy* was extremely offended that this Marriage ſhould be made without his Knowledge. He thought the Duke of *Bedford* ought to have ſhown him more Reſpect, ſince beſides their being united together by ſo many Ties, he married the Daughter of one of his *Vaſſals*. There is no doubt but the Duke of *Bedford*, who was very prudent and circumſpect, had his Reaſons for haſtening his Marriage without imparting it to the Duke of *Burgundy*. Be that as it will, as it greatly concerned him to keep fair with that Prince, he paid him ſome Compliments by the *Cardinal of Wincheſter*, who procured an Interview at St. *Omer*, where the two Princes met in *April*. But an unhappy Diſpute about Precedency hindered

dered their Reconciliation, and cauſed them to part extremely incenſed with one another. Theſe two Princes had often been together without any Conteſt upon that Score. But the Duke of *Burgundy* was under a Neceſſity of ſtarting ſome Diſpute at the Time I am ſpeaking of, to the end it might ſerve for a Cloak to the Steps he intended to make. He owned *Henry* for King of *France*, and the Duke of *Bedford* for Regent, and Uncle of the preſent King, how therefore could he pretend to take Place of him? 1433.

During this Year nothing of Moment happened with regard to the War. *Charles* ſeemed to have wholly thrown off all Care of his Affairs, in order to reliſh with the greater Guſt the Pleaſures of Love and Eaſe. The Duke of *Bedford* was Weak, and as he received no longer any Supplies from *England*, he thought more of keeping what he had than of making new Conqueſts. Mean while, though the Duke of *Burgundy* propoſed to make a ſeparate Peace with *Charles*, he believed he ſhould do it upon better Terms, in caſe he came not empty-handed. With this view, he became Maſter of St. *Valery* which *Gaucour* had taken by Surprize. The Town of *Ham* defended by the Baſtard of *Orleans* and *Xaintrailles*, with *Laon* and *Provins* were taken alſo by him. On the other Side, the Earl of *Arundel* having beſieged *Silley-le-Guillaume* in *Maine*, the Conſtable *Richmond* obliged him to raiſe the Siege. But the *French* were ſcarce gone when the Earl marched back and took the Town. *The Duke of* Burguudy *takes ſome Places from the* French.

In the mean Time, the Council of *England* were more intent upon Means how to bring about a Peace, than how to recover what the King had loſt in *France*. The Duke of *Orleans*, who was ſtill a Priſoner at *London*, had made the firſt Overtures, and offered to uſe his utmoſt Endeavours towards a Buſineſs on the finiſhing, of which depended his Freedom. To Compaſs his Ends, he had propoſed to bring to *Calais*, or any other Place the *Council* ſhould Name, the Queen Dowager of *Sicily*, *Charles* of *Anjou* her Son, the Duke of *Bretagne*, with the Earls of *Richmond* and St. *Giles* his Brothers, the Duke of *Alenſon*, the Earls of *Armagnac*, *Foix*, *Perdriac*, *Clermont*, and the Archbiſhops *The Duke of* Orleans *offers to mediate a Peace.*

1433. Archbiſhop of *Rheims*, in order to treat with the Ambaſſadors of *England*. He demanded likewiſe Permiſſion to be at the Congreſs, that he might forward to the utmoſt of his Power, the Concluſion of a Peace. As his Aim was to engage the Court of *England* to enter into Negotiation, he made appear that the *Engliſh* would be Gainers by the Treaty, whether it was broken off, or whether it ſucceeded. Theſe are the two Articles he propoſed to the *Council* for his own Part.

His Offers. Act. Pub. X. 556. Firſt, In Caſe the Peace ſhould be concluded between *Henry* and the *Dauphin* (for ſo he called King *Charles*,) he promiſed to do Homage to *Henry*, as often as he ſhould be required, and never to own any other King of *France* than him, or his lawful Succeſſors.

II. He promiſed the ſame Thing for all his *Vaſſals*, for the Duke of *Alenſon*, for the Earls of *Armagnac*, *Perdriac*, *Angoulême*, the Dukes of *Milan* and *Savoy*.

In another Article he ſuppoſed that the *Dauphin* would be contented with an honourable and conſiderable *Appennage*, the which was the very Thing the *Engliſh* drove at in this Negotiation.

But as it might happen that a Peace ſhould not be concluded; in that Caſe, the Duke bound himſelf to acknowledge *Henry* for ſole and rightful King of *France*. He promiſed moreover to give him up *Blois*, *Orleans*, and all the Places in his *Demeſns*, with *Rochelle*, *Mont St. Michel*, *Limoges*, *Bourges*, *Chinon*, *Poitiers*, *Tournay*, *Beziers*, and *Loches*, or what other Towns he liked inſtead of theſe, except *Rochelle* and *Mont St. Michel*, which were not to be changed for others.

That if the King ſhould be pleaſed to make him a Grant of any *Demeſns* in *England*, he would own him as King of *England*, for his Liege-Lord, and as ſuch ſwear Fealty to him.

That he would do what in him lay to put the King in Poſſeſſion of the Countries and Cities of *France*, which did not

not yet acknowledge him, and that he would ſerve him at his own Expence. 1433.

That in Caſe the Treaty came not to a happy Iſſue, he promiſed to return a Priſoner to *England*, till all the Articles above were performed on his Part, on Condition that he ſhould afterwards be ſet at Liberty without Ranſom.

They are accepted.

Theſe Articles, which had been before concerted between the King's Commiſſioners and the Duke, having been agreed to by the *Council*, the Duke ſigned and ſealed them and ſwore to obſerve them. Then *Paſs-Ports* were got ready for the Queen Dowager of *Sicily*, and all the reſt mentioned in the firſt Article, that they might repair to *Calais* in *October*. The *Council* appointed Plenipotentiaries to go and treat with the *French*.

Reaſons why the Duke of Orleans *acted not ſincerely.*

When one conſiders the Engagements the Duke of *Orleans* entered into by theſe Articles of Agreement, one cannot but be convinced that he joined with the Court of *France*, to impoſe upon the Court of *England*. This evidently appears by the Hopes he gave that *Charles* would be ſatisfied with a bare *Appennage* : A Thing moſt certainly far enough from that Prince's Thoughts, and which was inſinuated purely to make the *Engliſh* the more readily to fall into the Snare. Moreover by engaging to bring to *Calais* the Queen of *Sicily* and the other *French* Princes and Lords, he would have it underſtood, that it was their Intent to endeavour a Peace upon that Foot, the which was however directly contrary to their Deſign, as plainly appeared afterwards. In the next Place, the humble manner that the Duke ſpoke of the King of *England*, calling him all along in the Articles his *King* and *Sovereign Lord*, is a clear Evidence that he flattered him only to deceive him. In fine, he promiſed Things out of his Power : For Inſtance, to give up Places which belonged not to him. But this was the very Thing wherein the Fraud conſiſted, becauſe his Aim was to make believe, that he was impowered to do ſo, though the Court of *France* did not think proper to act openly in the Matter. Theſe are not bare Conjectures. The Sequel of this Negotiation will plainly ſhow

1433. that the Duke did not act with Sincerity. This however is the very Duke of *Orleans* that the *French* would fain put upon us for a *Saint*, and upon whose Account *La Pucelle* pretended to have divers *Revelations*.

1434. It is very easy to perceive that the Duke of *Orleans* acted in concert with the Court of *France*, when one considers that *Charles* was already agreed with the Duke of *Burgundy*, who only wanted a Pretence to break with *England*. The Constable *Richmond* had put the finishing Stroke to a separate Treaty, at a Conference he had held with the Duke of *Nevers*. He had repaired to that City under colour of making up a Difference between the Duke of *Burgundy* and the Earl of *Clermont*. There it was that all the Articles of the separate Peace were agreed upon with the Duke. Nothing was wanting but to furnish him with an Opportunity to take this Step. To which the Project of a Conference about a general Peace was made Instrumental. It was well known that the *English* would not agree to the Terms which should be propos'd to them, and their Refusal it was that the Duke of *Burgundy* was to use as a Pretence to make a separate Peace. This was the real Motive of the Duke of *Orleans*'s large Offers to the King of *England*, in case a Peace was not concluded. The Design was to engage *Henry*'s Council in this Negotiation, by putting them in hopes, that whether the Treaty ended in a Peace, or whether it came to nothing, *England* would still be a great Gainer. The Duke of *Bedford* and the Council of *England*, who knew nothing of what had passed between King *Charles* and the Duke of *Burgundy*, fell into the Snare. As soon as they consented to the propos'd Negotiation, the Duke of *Burgundy* pretending to be still strictly united with the *English*, ordered it so, that instead of *Calais* the City of *Arras* was pitched upon for the Place of Congress, where all the Parties concerned were to send their Ambassadors. We shall see presently what was done at this Congress.

Hist. de Charles VII. par. *B. I.*

The English *are imposed upon.*

The Congress is to be held at Arras.

Continuation of the War in France.

Mean while, the War in *France* was turned into downright pillaging and robbing. The two Kings being too weak to keep great Armies on Foot, nothing was done on either

either Side but by ſmall Bodies and Parties. The moſt remarkable Occurrences of this Year were theſe. The *French* having ſurprized *Rue* in *Picardy*, the Earl of *Arundel* haſtned thither in order to try to retake the Town. Whilſt he was upon his March, he heard that the *French* were fortifying *Herberoy* near *Beauvais*, and thought it his beſt way to drive them from thence before their Works were finiſhed. He ſat down therefore before that Place; but upon notice that *Vignoles* and *Xaintrailles* were approaching with Twelve Hundred Men, he raiſed the Siege to go and meet them. A bloody Battle enſued, wherein the Earl of *Arundel* was mortally wounded and made Priſoner. He died within a few Days, to the great Grief of the Duke of *Bedford*. 1434. *Death of the Earl of* Arundel, May 13.

About the ſame Time the Earl of *Clermont*, now Duke of *Bourbon* by the Death of the Duke his Father, became Maſter of *Corbeil* and *Brie-Comte-Robert*, by bribing the Governors. A *Scotch* Officer found likewiſe the Means to take *Vincennes*, but he could not keep it.

In the mean Time, *Talbot* being arrived from *England* with Three or Four Thouſand Men, to whom he joined ſome other Troops drawn out of the Garriſons, was in ſuch manner Maſter of the Field that all the *French* vaniſhed before him. So that without much Oppoſition he retook *Beaumont upon Oyſe*, *Creil*, *Pont St. Maixance*, and *Clermont* in *Beauvaiſis*. He even began the Siege of *Beauvais*, but the bad Weather obliged him to give it over. During theſe little Exploits, King *Charles* went and took a Turn into *Languedoc* and *Dauphiné*. Talbot *arrives in* France, *and retakes ſeveral Places.*

The Froſt which was very hard towards the End of this Year and in the Beginning of the next, hindered not the two Parties from continuing the War all the Winter by Sieges, and ſurprizing of divers Places. The *French* had a great Advantage, in that moſt of the *Engliſh* Towns thought of ſurrendring to King *Charles*, ſince the Decline of the Affairs of the *Engliſh*. But it was not from theſe Succeſſes ſo inconſiderable in themſelves, that *Charles* expected the Concluſion of the War. It muſt have been a long while before he could have taken one by one all the Places Charles's *Advantage in the Continuation of the War.*

1434. the *English* were poſſeſſed of in *France*. The Congreſs which was to be at *Arras* afforded him a much better Proſpect, ſince he was ſure of making a Peace there with the Duke of *Burgundy*.

1435. *Congreſs of* Arras. The News being ſpread over all *Europe* that a Peace between *France* and *England* was going to be negotiated at *Arras*, there was ſcarce a Sovereign Prince but what had a mind to ſend Ambaſſadors thither. Pope *Eugenius* II. and the Council of *Baſil*, who were ſtill at variance, ſent theirs alſo, but ſeparately. From the Pope came the Cardinal of *Santa Cruz*; and from the *Council* the Cardinals of *Cyprus* and *Arles*. King *Charles* ſent Seventeen Plenipotentiaries, at the Head of whom was the Conſtable *Richmond*. *Henry* appointed Twenty-ſeven for *France* and *England*, of whom the Duke of *Burgundy* was the Firſt, with Power to Eight of them, among whom were to be the Duke of *Burgundy* and Archbiſhop of *York*, to ſign the Peace. Afterwards the ſame Power was given to the Cardinal of *Wincheſter*. Hitherto the Duke of *Bedford* and Council of *England* were perſuaded of the Sincerity of the Duke of *Burgundy*. This is evident from his being entruſted with the Secret of the Ambaſſy, ſince nothing could be treated about or concluded without him. It muſt be confeſſed, that this Prince acted a baſe Part at this Congreſs. Shortly after, they had private Intelligence in *England* that he had deſired the Pope to abſolve him from his Oath to *Henry* V. Whereupon the King writ to the Pope to know whether it was true. *Eugenius* ſent back word, that no *French* Prince had ever applied to him for any ſuch Thing; that he had never granted any ſuch Diſpenſation; and that for the future, he would behave in that reſpect ſo as to give the King reaſon to be ſatisfied. We ſhall ſee in the Sequel how well he performed his Promiſe.

Act. Pub. X. 611,

p. 620.

Charles's *Propoſals for Peace.* The Congreſs of *Arras* was opened on the 6th of *Auguſt*. It began with King *Charles*'s Propoſals. His Ambaſſadors offered, in his Name, to the King of *England*, *Normandy* and *Guienne*, provided he would quit the Title of *King of France*, and do Homage for thoſe two Provinces: That is to ſay, he offered as a Favour the two Provinces which the King

King of *England* was entirely poſſeſſed of, a Favour which he was to purchaſe with the Reſignation of the Title of *King of France*, and of a great Part of the Kingdom ſtill in his Hands. Suppoſing there was no other Proof of *Charles*'s being ſure of bringing off the Duke of *Burgundy* from the Side of the *Engliſh*, this alone would be ſufficient. For on what other Grounds could *Charles*, who for three Years paſt was not able to bring an Army into the Field, make ſuch a Propoſal? But, as it has been obſerved, his Intent was not to conclude a Peace with the *Engliſh*, but only to afford the Duke of *Burgundy* a Pretence to do as he had already reſolved. The Ambaſſadors of *England*, ſurprized at an Offer ſo very wide of what the Duke of *Orleans* had made them hope, ſuddenly broke off the Conference, and withdrew extremely diſſatisfied, without vouchſafing to return an Anſwer. Here it is that ſeveral *French* Authors diſplay their Eloquence, to ſhow to what Height the *Engliſh* had carried their Pride and Inſolence, ſince they rejected ſo reaſonable Offers. A remarkable Inſtance of the uſual Prejudice of Hiſtorians in favour of their own Nation. 1435.

The Engliſh *withdraw with Indignation.*

The withdrawing of the *Engliſh* ſurpriz'd neither the Duke of *Burgundy* nor the *French* Ambaſſadors. They muſt needs have foreſeen, that ſuch Offers would not be hearkened to. One may affirm on the contrary, that in making ſo unreaſonable a Propoſal, conſidering the Poſture of Affairs, their ſole Aim was to induce the *Engliſh* Ambaſſadors to do as they did. They did not fail however to make a great Noiſe about their abrupt Departure, and to repreſent it as a clear Evidence that they never intended to make Peace. It was this likewiſe that gave the Duke of *Burgundy* a Pretence to conclude a ſeparate Treaty with King *Charles*. He pretended, he was not obliged to follow their Humour, or to render the War everlaſting for their ſake. Upon this Foundation the Pope's *Legate* abſolved him from all the Oaths he had taken, as well to the late as the preſent King of *England*. After that a ſeparate Peace was ſoon concluded, the Articles being all agreed upon already. Never had King of *France* made ſo diſhonourable a Peace. *Charles* was bound by this Treaty to diſclaim the Murder of

The Duke of Burgundy *makes a ſeparate Peace with* Charles.

1435. of Duke *John*, to deliver up the Murderers, or if they were not in his Power to baniſh them the Realm: He promiſed to found certain Chapels where the Soul of the deceaſed was to be prayed for Day and Night. He agreed that the Duke of *Burgundy* ſhould nominate the Prieſts that were to officiate, and that a Croſs ſhould be erected on *Montereau* Bridge, for a ſtanding Monument of the Reparation of the Murder. He was bound moreover to pay fifty Thouſand Crowns of Gold for Duke *John*'s Equipage which was pillaged; to yield up to the Duke of *Burgundy* certain Towns, to make him amends for the Charges of the War. Laſtly, he freed him from all Homage during his Life. On his Part the Duke conſented, that the King might redeem the Towns of St. *Quentin*, *Peronne*, *Amiens*, *Corbie*, ſituated on the *Somme*, for four Hundred Thouſand Crowns. One may ſee by this Article that the Duke was not a Slave to Conſcience, ſince he ſold to *France* the very Places he held by the Bounty of the King of *England*, purſuant to the Engagements he had entered into with the Duke of *Bedford*. It will not be amiſs to remark, that the Service the Duke of *Burgundy* did *France* in making a ſeparate Peace, vaſtly outweighs in the Minds of the *French* Hiſtorians all that he ever acted againſt his Country. This has made them very careful in what they have ſaid of him before the Treaty of *Arras*, for fear it ſhould not agree with what they had to ſay afterwards. But ſince this happy Peace, they have extolled to the Skies his Goodneſs, Wiſdom and Probity. He was however the Man that for the ſake of Revenge had ruined *France*, and found no other way to make amends for his Fault, but by a notorious Piece of Treachery to *England*. What would the *French* not have ſaid, if he had always continued firm to the *Engliſh*? I am ſorry I am obliged to ſpeak thus of a Prince, to whom was given the Sirname of *Good*. But it ſerves to ſhow, how it happens ſometimes, that the *Sirnames* and *Encomiums* beſtowed on Princes ill agree with their real Characters.

I ſay

I ſay nothing of the Diſpenſation granted to the Duke of *Burgundy* on the Score of his Oath. Every one may make what Reflections upon it he pleaſes; I ſhall only add, that in *November* they publiſhed in *England* Pope *Eugenius*'s Letter mentioned above, atteſted by the King. Apparently it was to let the Publick ſee the Honeſty of the Court of *Rome*. 1435. Act. Pub. X. 625.

The Treaty of Arras *changes the Affairs of the* Engliſh *for the worſe.*

As ſoon as the *Engliſh* had loſt the Aſſiſtance of the Duke of *Burgundy*, their Affairs began to decline ſo viſibly, that it portended their ſudden Ruin. As they had not Troops enough to defend all the Places, they were obliged to rely upon the Loyalty of the Inhabitants, who very often proved falſe. On the other Hand, the Towns upon the *Somme*, which they had given up to the Duke of *Burgundy*, being now againſt them, they found themſelves under a Neceſſity to have an Eye upon that Quarter, for fear they might be made uſe of to invade the neighbouring Provinces. Wherefore, their whole Care was confined to the Defence of *Normandy* and *Paris*, it being impoſſible to guard all amidſt the continual Revolts of the Towns committed to the Care of the Inhabitants. *Houdan*, *St. Denys*, *Pontoiſe*, *Melun*, *Pont St. Maixance*, *Meulant*, were in the Number of thoſe which voluntarily ſurrendred to the *French* during the Congreſs at *Arras*, or a little before. The Duke of *Bedford* having retaken St. *Denys*. razed the Walls to the Ground. Then he ordered *Meulant* to be inveſted; but the Baſtard of *Orleans* raiſed the Siege. The Lord of *Chatillon*, Governor of *Epernay* for the *Engliſh*, being gone out of the Town, found the Gates ſhut up againſt him at his Return, and the Inhabitants called in the *French*.

Death of Queen Iſabella *of* Bavaria.

Iſabella, Queen Dowager of *France*, ſeeing the flouriſhing Condition of the King her Son, whom ſhe mortally hated, and the forlorn State of the *Engliſh*, died at *Paris* with Grief and Vexation, twelve Days after the Concluſion of the Treaty of *Arras*. She was univerſally hated by the *French*, who looked upon her as the principal Cauſe of the Ruin of the Kingdom. The *Engliſh* had no great Eſteem

1435. Eſteem for her; at leaſt, they ſhowed but little Regard for her, ſince ſhe was become of no Service to them.

Death of the Duke of Bedford. Her Deceaſe was of little Conſequence to either of the Parties. But the Death of the Duke of *Bedford*, which happened on the 14th of the ſame Month at *Roan*, was quite another thing. It is very probable, that his Vexation at being thus impoſed upon by King *Charles* and the Duke of *Burgundy*, was a great Means of throwing him into the Fit of Sickneſs of which he died, four Days before the Concluſion of the Treaty of *Arras*, the fatal News whereof he expected to hear every Moment. He foreſaw with mortal Grief, that the Affairs of the King his Nephew were going to be reduced to a very wretched State, and without any Proſpect of being ever reſtored. During the whole Courſe of his Adminiſtration, he had behaved with that Wiſdom and Prudence, as juſtly made him paſs for one of the greateſt Men of his Time. His Valour and other martial Virtues ſhone with no leſs Luſtre on all Occaſions, where he commanded in Perſon. Had he been well aſſiſted by *England*, he would, in all appearance, have ended the War to his own Glory and the young King's Advantage, ſince he wanted no Qualification proper to accompliſh the greateſt Enterprizes. But unfortunately for him, he ſaw himſelf abandoned when he ſtood moſt in need of Help. The only Thing they could tax him with, was his ſuffering himſelf to be over-reached in the Buſineſs of the Congreſs of *Arras*. But where is the Man that can always be upon his Guard againſt Treachery? Nothing better ſhows the Eſteem the World ought to have of this illuſtrious Prince, than the Regard *Lewis* XI. Son of *Charles* VII. expreſſed for him, at a Time when he could have no Inducement to flatter him. *Lewis* being one Day in the Church of *Roan*, and looking upon the Duke of *Bedford*'s Tomb *, a certain Lord of his Retinue adviſed him to demoliſh that ſtanding

His Elogy.

* He was buried in *Notre Dame* Church, under a plain Tomb of black Marble, with an *Epitaph* upon a Copper-Plate, and his Arms gartered betwixt two Oſtrich-Feathers fixed upon a Pillar of the Church over it. *Dugdale.*

ing Monument of the Diſhonour of the *French*, *No*, replied the King, *Let the Aſhes of a Prince reſt in Peace, who were he alive would make the boldeſt of us tremble. I rather wiſh they had erected a more ſtately Monument to his Honour.* 1435.

Immediately after the Death of the Duke of *Bedford*, the Duke of *York* was appointed Regent of *France*. But *Henry* Duke of *Somerſet* who aſpired to that Dignity, managed it ſo by his Intrigues that his Rival's *Patent* was deferred a good while. Apparently he was in hopes he ſhould be able to get the Court to change in his Favour. This Delay proved extremely prejudicial to the King's Affairs, as will be ſeen in the Relation of the next Year's Occurrences. *The Duke of* York *appointed Regent of* France.

All *England* was exceedingly enraged at the News of the Duke of *Burgundy*'s Defection. They did not ſpare to give him the moſt opprobrious Names. Mean while the Duke being willing to ſhow ſtill ſome regard for *Henry*, ſent two *Heralds* to make his Excuſe for concluding a ſeparate Peace, on Pretence that his Subjects were over-burdened by the Continuance of the War. This is the uſual Pretence of all Peaces, though generally when a War is taken in Hand, the Intereſts of the poor People are little regarded. The Duke offered at the ſame Time his Mediation to *Henry*, if he had a Mind to conclude a Peace with King *Charles*. This Offer was looked upon as a freſh Inſult. The Truth is, what could one have expected from the Mediation of a Prince who had juſt ſacrificed ſo openly the Intereſts of *England* to his own Advantage? Therefore they vouchſafed not to anſwer his Letters, which beſides were writ in a ſtile very different from what he was wont to uſe. His *Heralds* were received with Indignity. They had like to have violated the Law of Nations, and the Populace were within a Hair's Breadth of tearing in Pieces all the *Flemings* and *Burgundians* then in *England*, ſo incenſed were they againſt their Prince. But in behaving thus, they could not do him a greater Piece of Service. He wanted a Pretence to join his Forces with the *French*, and he did not fail to find one in the Inſults done to his *Heralds* 1436. *The Duke of* Burgundy *tries to excuſe himſelf in* England. *He offers his Mediation.* *It is rejected.* *He declares againſt* England.

1436. *ralds* and Subjects. Accordingly in the Month of *May* this very Year, he ſent to the Conſtable *Richmond* five Hundred *Lances*, under the Command of the Earl of *Lalain*, and by that openly declared himſelf an Enemy to the King of *England*.

The Conſtable approaches Paris,

The *Conſtable* having joined theſe Succours to ſix or ſeven Thouſand Men he had drawn together from other Places, approached *Paris*, where there was but fifteen Hundred *Engliſh*, under the Command of Sir *Richard Woodville*. Beſides that this Garriſon was very Weak to defend ſo large a City, the *Conſtable* held good Intelligence with the Inhabitants, who being almoſt all Friends of the Duke of *Burgundy*, had ſided with *England* purely out of regard to that Prince. Whilſt he remained firm to the King of *England*, *Paris* needed no other Guard but her own Citizens. But upon his declaring for King *Charles*, they all changed with him. So that it was no wonder if fifteen Hundred *Engliſh* could not keep them in Awe. The Death of the Duke of *Bedford*, the Abſence of the new Regent, and the like Care that was taken to ſend Succours from *England*, diſabling the *Engliſh* from keeping an Army in the Field, the *Conſtable* met with no Oppoſition in his March. He took ſeveral ſmall Places near *Paris*, and ſlew five Hundred of a Detachment which the Governor had ſent to St. *Denys*. Then he went and encamped up to the very Gates of *Paris* with his little Army. Whilſt he lay there, continual Parleys were held between the Burghers and Beſiegers, without the Governour being able to help it. At length, *April* the 13th the whole City riſe in Arms, whilſt the Marſhal *de L' iſle Adam* ſcaled the Walls. The Garriſon advancing to repulſe the Aſſault, found themſelves pelted with a Shower of Stones from the Windows, whilſt all the City reſounded with *Long live the King and the Duke of Burgundy*. The Governour perceiving there was no ſtanding againſt ſo many Enemies, choſe to retire into the *Baſtile* with all his People. Immediately all the Streets were chained for fear he ſhould take it in his Head to return. In the mean Time *L' iſle Adam* entered the City with Eaſe, and opened the Gates to the *Conſtable*. Thus *Paris* was taken

and takes it.

from

for King *Charles* by the ſame *L' iſle Adam* who had ſurprized it ſeventeen Years before for the Duke of *Burgundy*, and much after the ſame Manner. The *Baſtile* which might have held out a long Siege, if it had been well ſtored with Proviſions, was ſo unprovided that it could hold out but three Days. It was very much that the Governour was able to obtain an honourable Capitulation. 1436.

As the Affairs of the *Engliſh* ſenſibly declined, the Council of *England* were extremely deſirous of a Peace. In continuing the War in *France*, the Queſtion was no longer about the Conqueſt of that Kingdom, as in the Reign of *Henry* V, and till the raiſing of the Siege of *Orleans*, but only about what the King of *England* could poſſibly keep, and the little they could expect to ſecure by a vigorous War coſt *England* immenſe Sums. This was a plauſible Reaſon enough to perſwade the Publick that it was neceſſary to think in good earneſt of a Peace. I ſay, a plauſible Reaſon, becauſe it was the real Motive which ſet the Council at Work. Some Time ſince the Cardinal of *Wincheſter* gained Ground upon the Duke of *Glouceſter* his Rival. The Council by Degrees was filled with his Creatures, who no more than himſelf found their own private Account in the Continuance of the War, becauſe it made them odious to the People, ever ſince it was attended with ill Succeſs. Coin was grown exceeding ſcarce in *England*, and yet the *Council* was forced to be continually deviſing Means to raiſe Money, which could not be done without cauſing great Murmurings. On the other Hand, the *Cardinal* hoped he ſhould be able to ruin his Enemy with more Eaſe during a Peace, becauſe the War and the unforeſeen Accidents of it, rendered the Perſon and Counſels of the Duke of *Glouceſter* abſolutely neceſſary. In fine, as the Duke was ever of Opinion that vigorous Endeavours ſhould be uſed to recover what had been loſt in *France*, this was an Argument for the oppoſite Party to inſiſt with the ſame eagerneſs upon the Neceſſity of concluding a Peace. The Majority of the *Council* being of this Mind, the Duke of *York*, whoſe Commiſſion to be Regent of *France* was at length ſigned, had Inſtructions and full Power to treat

England thinks of a Peace.

Inſtructions to the Duke of York.

1436. treat with King *Charles* if he found it practicable. Moreover upon the Prospect that a Negotiation would be set on Foot, the *Council* impowered the Cardinal of *Winchester* and the Duke of *Burgundy* jointly to treat about a Marriage between the King and one of his Adversary's Daughters.

He drives the French *out of* Normandy.

Shortly after the Duke of *York* set out for *France*, and in *Normandy* landed a good Body of Troops, with which he took a great many small Places or Castles which the *French* had taken since the Death of the Duke of *Bedford*, *Fescamp* was among the Places the Regent recovered, but presently after it was carried again by *Scalado*.

The Duke of Burgundy *prepares to besiege* Calais.

Though the Duke of *York* was Master of the Field in *Normandy* and about *Paris*, he was not easy with respect to *Picardy*. He was informed from all Hands, that the Duke of *Burgundy* was drawing all his Forces together, and laying in a prodigious Store of all Things necessary for a Siege. Such great Preparations could be designed against *Calais* only, and therefore he sent Word to the Council of *England*, that they might provide betimes against the impending Siege. Indeed a powerful Fleet, a great Train of Artillery, and an Army of fifty Thousand Men, which the Duke of *Burgundy* had got ready, were clear Evidences how very desirous he was of succeeding in his Enterprize, and that he resolved to go through with it. News of this coming to *England*, the whole Nation was alarmed, and grew more incensed against the Duke of *Burgundy*. The *Council* in a Fright about *Calais*, the first Conquest of the *English* in *France*, resolved to use all possible Endeavours to save it. With this View they ordered fifteen Thousand Men to be raised, and petitioned the Duke of *Gloucester* to take upon him the Care of succouring that Place. Fifteen Thousand Men were little enough for such an Undertaking. But besides that, they reckoned the Regent would join the Duke of *Gloucester* with all his Forces, they knew that the Enemy's Army was made up almost entirely of the *Militia* of *Flanders*, which they made no great Account of.

Act. Pub. X, 645.

The Duke of Gloucester *goes to its Relief.*

Henry *disposes of* Bullein *and* Flanders. *p.* 652.

Whilst they were busy in levying Troops with the utmost Diligence, the King by the Advice of his Council, resolved to express his Resentment against the Duke of *Burgundy*,

gundy, by causing Letters under his *Great Seal* to be drawn up, whereby he bestowed the Earldom of *Bulloin* upon the Lord *Beaumont*, and *Flanders* upon the Duke of *Glouceſter*. But it was easier to make Grants of them in Parchment, than to wrest them out of the Hands of the Possessor. 1436.

The Duke of Glouceſter *comes before* Calais.

Every Thing being ready for the Departure of the Army designed for the Relief of *Calais*, the Duke of *Glouceſter* set Sail and landed in *Normandy* in the Beginning of *October*. The Duke of *Burgundy* had now been before *Calais* six Weeks with his numerous Army. He carried on the Siege vigorously, and the Besieged made as brave a Defence. Mean time the Duke, who was in hopes of winning immortal Honour by taking one of the strongest Places in *Europe*, was yet very short of his Aim. He even began to perceive that the Attempt was beyond his Power. His Fleet, either by the Unskilfulness of the Pilots, or some other Accident, coming too near the Town at Low-Water, ran a Ground, and the Ships were reduced to Ashes before his Eyes by the Besieged. This was a very mortifying Sight. But a worse Accident befell him quickly after. A Rumour being spread in the Army that the Duke of *Glouceſter* was at Hand to relieve the Town, the *Flemings* disheartened by the Hardships of the Siege, and terrified at the Approach of the *English*, packed up their Baggage and began to march off. In vain did the Duke use all possible Endeavours to remove their Fears. The Scouts of the *English* Army appearing in the mean Time, it was impracticable for the Duke to stop his frightened Troops, who sought only to avoid coming to a Battle. Whereupon the Duke seeing he could do nothing with them, was forced to follow them in their Retreat, which was made in great Disorder, though timely enough to prevent the *English* from taking the Advantage of it. He had the further Mortification to receive a Defiance from the Duke of *Glouceſter*, offering him Battle, and not to have it in his Power to accept it, though his Army was much Superior to that of his Enemy. But this was not all. Hardly was he returned into his own Country but the Towns of *Flanders* revolted against him. He was even in Danger of losing his Life

The Duke of Burgundy's *Army retires.*

Insurrection in Flanders.

1436. Life at *Bruges* in a seditious Tumult of the Citizens. He was himself wounded, after seeing with Grief *L' isle Adam* torn in Pieces by the mutinous Populace. Mean Time the Duke of *Glouceſter* improving this Juncture, over-ran *Artois*, *Flanders*, and *Hainault*, and carried off twelve Hundred Waggon-Loads of Booty. From thenceforward the Duke of *Burgundy* had ſo much upon his Hands at Home, that he was but of little Service to King *Charles*.

Marriage of Lewis *the* Dauphin.

In the Month of *June* this Year, *Lewis* the *Dauphin* Son of King *Charles*, had married *Margaret* of *Scotland* Daughter of *James* I, then about twelve Years of Age.

1437. *Death of the two Queen Dowagers of* England. Catharine *marries* Tudor.

The Beginning of the Year 1437 was remarkable for the Death of *Joan of Navarre* and *Catharine of France*, both Queen Dowagers of *England*, one Widow of *Henry* IV, the other of *Henry* V. The laſt had married *Owen Tudor* a *Welſh* Gentleman deſcended, as they pretend, from the antient Kings of *Wales*. I do not know whether in thoſe Days this Deſcent was much minded, or whether it was not after the Crown was devolved to the Family of the *Tudors* by the Acceſſion of *Henry* VII to the Throne, that they endeavoured to make it out. However that be, when Queen *Catharine* married *Owen Tudor*, they ſeemed to be ſo ill-matched, that all *England* was offended at it, eſpecially as it was done without the Knowledge of the Duke of *Glouceſter*, who was then Protector. But the Veneration that Prince had for the Memory of the King his Brother, with-held him from giving the Queen his Siſter-in-law any Trouble about it. As ſoon as ſhe was dead, the *Council* had not the ſame Regard for her ſecond Husband. They thought it their Duty to puniſh him for his Temerity in daring to eſpouſe the King's Mother, without the Conſent of thoſe who governed the Kingdom, and ordered him to be ſent to the *Tower*. Some Time after *Tudor* made his Eſcape, but he was taken and put under cloſer Confinement. Some ſay, he found means to eſcape a ſecond Time, but being retaken, had his Head cut off. Others affirm, that he was not beheaded till 1460, upon his being made Priſoner of War, fighting for the *Houſe of Lancaſter*. I do not know whether it be certain that *Tudor* was put

Act. Pub. X. 685. Tudor *is ſent to the* Tower *after the Queen's Death.*

to

Death; but one may venture to affirm, that they who tell us it was in 1460, were guilty of an Error, by taking *Owen Tudor* his third Son, for *Owen Tudor* the Father. 1436.

Tudor had by Queen *Catharine* three Sons, *Edmund*, *Jaſper* and *Owen*. The Eldeſt was created *Earl of Richmond* * by *Henry* VI. his Half-Brother, who gave him to Wife *Margaret*, only Daughter of *John* Duke of *Somerſet*. From this Marriage ſprung *Henry* Earl of *Richmond*, whom we ſhall ſee hereafter aſcend the Throne of *England*, under the Name of *Henry* VII, all the Male-Heirs of the *Houſe of Lancaſter* being extinct. *Jaſper* the Second Son was made *Earl of Pembroke* *[1]. *Owen* the Youngeſt, loſt his Head on the Scaffold in 1460. Tudor's *Iſſue by Queen* Catharine.

Jaquelina of Luxemburg, Widow of the Duke of *Bedford*, followed the Example of Queen *Catharine*. After the Death of the Prince her Husband, ſhe married Sir *Richard Woodville*, who was only a Knight, and much below her. This Match was hardly any better than that of Queen *Catharine*: Beſides, it was made not only without the King's Licence, but alſo contrary to the expreſs Oath *Jaquelina* had taken not to marry without his Leave. So that both the Bride and Bridegroom would have been liable to the Rigour of the Law, had not the King been pleaſed to pardon them [2]. *Second Marriage of the Dutcheſs of* Bedford. p. 678.

On the 19th of *February*, *James* I. of *Scotland* was murdered in his Bed by Aſſaſſins ſuborned by the Earl of *Athol* his Uncle. *James* II. his Son, ſeven Years old, ſucceeded him, under the Guardianſhip of *Joan of Somerſet* his Mother, who was herſelf wounded, by endeavouring to ſave the King her Husband. It is time now to return to what was doing in *France*. 1437. *Death of the King of* Scotland.

Since

* *Edmund of Hadham* was created *Earl of Richmond*, 31 Henry VI. November 23. at *Reading*. *Dugdale*.

*[1] *Jaſper of Hatfield* was created at the ſame Time *Earl of Pembroke*, and afterwards 1 *Henry* VII, October 27. *Duke of Bedford*. Dug.

*[2] He gave a Thouſand Pound Fine for that and the Livery of her *Dowry*. He was created *Earl of Rivers*, 26 *Henry* VI. May. 29. *Dugd.*

1437. *The Affairs of the* English *in* France *begin to have a better Face.*

Since the Arrival of the Duke of *York* from *England*, the Affairs of the *English* began to be upon a better Foot. King *Charles*, ever a Slave to his Pleasures, had no considerable Body of Troops in the Field; and the Revolt of the *Flemings* hindered the Duke of *Burgundy* from sending him any Succours. It is true, the Towns that had voluntarily surrendered to him had strengthned his Party considerably; but then his Army was much weakned by it, on account of the Garrisons he was obliged to keep there. As Matters then stood in *France*, both Kings had almost equal Reason to fear the Disloyalty of their Adherents, who for the most Part were attached rather to the Fortune of him they served, than to his Person, or the Justice of his Cause. And therefore the keeping the Towns they were possessed of, entirely depended on the Strength of the Garrisons.

Talbot takes Pontoise.

The first Part of this Year was so excessive cold, that the Generals of both Sides seemed to have no desire to form any Enterprize till the Weather became warmer. Mean while *Talbot*, who found nothing impossible, knew how to take Advantage of the Security the *French* were in by reason of the Sharpness of the Season. On *Shrove-Tuesday* at Night he scaled *Pontoise*, by help of the Ditches being frozen over, and carried it, whilst the Garrison and Townsmen were minding only their Diversions. The taking of this important Place was a great Blow to King *Charles*. Especially it very much galled the *Parisians*, who were exposed to the continual Incursions which the new Garrison made up to the very Gates of *Paris*.

The *French* made themselves some amends for this Loss, by the gaining of *Dreux* and *Chevreuse*, which were sold to them by the Governors.

The Duke of Burgundy *rouses* K. Charles.

The Superiority the *English* had just recovered in *France*, made the Duke of *Burgundy* apprehensive of some fatal Turn. He was very sensible that without his Aid King *Charles* would never be able to put an end to the War; and since he had openly declared against the *English*, it was his Interest to see to drive them quite out of the Kingdom. Mean time, he thought it a sad Thing to act alone for the Benefit of a Prince, whose Indolence kept him at a Distance from

from all Enterprizes, wherein he ſhould have been the foremoſt. The Duke, deſigning therefore to rouze him from his Lethargy, repreſented to him, that his Honour and Intereſt called upon him to draw together all his Forces, put himſelf at their Head, and approach *Paris*, in order to drive the Enemy out of the Heart of the Kingdom. At the ſame time he offered to make a powerful Diverſion in *Picardy* to favour his Undertaking. 1437.

Never was Prince leſs inclined to War than *Charles* VII. and yet never did King of *France* make greater Conqueſts than he, ſince he may be ſaid to conquer his whole Kingdom. But it was chiefly owing to his Generals, who for the moſt Part were Men of eminent Merit. The Remonſtrances and Offers of the Duke of *Burgundy* having raiſed him from his Sloth, he drew all his Forces together, in order to approach *Paris*, where he was very much wanted. By the way he attacked *Montereau-Faut-Yonne*, where the late Duke of *Burgundy* was murdered, whilſt on his Side the Duke of *Burgundy* beſieged *Crotoy*, a ſtrong Place in *Picardy*. Charles *heads his Army.*

It was about the End of *Auguſt* that the Duke of *Burgundy* inveſted *Crotoy* with a ſtrong Army, whilſt four *French* Ships blocked up the Place by Sea. The Duke of *York* having been recalled into *England* by the Intrigues of the Duke of *Somerſet* his Enemy, was about to depart, ſtaying only for the Arrival of the Earl of *Warwick*, who was to ſucceed him in the Regency. This was the Reaſon, that not being able to take upon him to relieve *Crotoy* in Perſon, he commiſſioned the brave *Talbot* for that Purpoſe, whoſe Name alone was ſufficient to ſtrike Terrour into the Enemies of the *Engliſh*. *Talbot*, at the Head of five Thouſand Men, boldly advanced towards *Crotoy*, with deſign to relieve it, though the River *Somme* was betwixt him, and the Duke of *Burgundy* incamped round the Town, which was ſituated on the other Side. As ſoon as the Duke was informed of his coming, he left Part of his Troops at the Siege, and with the reſt went and poſted himſelf on the River-ſide, on purpoſe to diſpute his Paſſage. The Hatred the *Engliſh* had conceived againſt that Prince was Crotoy *inveſted by the Duke of* Burgundy. Act. Pub. X. 674. Talbot *goes to relieve it.*

1437. *A bold Action of that General.* so violent, that they thought nothing impracticable when the Business was to be revenged upon him. *Talbot*, taking advantage of the Temper they were in, rushed first into the River Sword in Hand, and by his Intrepidity inspired his Troops with such Courage, that they instantly followed him. The more bold or rather rash this Action was, the more it wrought upon the Minds of the *Burgundians*, who imagining they had to deal with Devils rather than Men, took to their Heels without staying their coming. *The Siege is raised.* Their Terror having infected the rest that were left behind at the Siege, the whole Army ran away, and it was not in the Duke of *Burgundy*'s Power to rally them. At the same Time the Duke of *York* appeared with seven Men of War in sight of the four *French* Ships, and gave them chase so briskly, that it was with great Difficulty that they escaped to St. *Valery*. *Talbot* entered the Town in Triumph; and having ordered the Trenches of the Besiegers to be levelled, marched back to *Normandy*. In his Return he conquered five or six small Places in *Picardy*; and after retaking once more *Tancarville* in *Normandy*, he came again loaded with Honour to *Roan*.

Success of the Siege of Montereau The Siege of *Montereau* had not so happy an Issue, though the *English* came off with Glory. *Thomas Gerard* Governor of that Place, defended it a good while, maugre the vigorous Effects of the Besiegers, though he had but Four Hundred Men. Hitherto King *Charles* was not very eminent for his Valour: but at this Siege he performed such Exploits, as began to give a higher Idea of his Courage. After a pretty long Siege, he carried the Town by Storm, having been himself one of the first to mount the Breach, and fight Hand to Hand with those that defended it. Without doubt he had been given to understand, that it was necessary to procure the Esteem of his Subjects by some extraordinary Action. The Intrepidity he showed upon this Occasion turned greatly to his Account. From thenceforward, his Friends as well as his Enemies, beheld him with a different Eye from what they had done before. Mean while, the Garrison being retired into the Castle, a second Siege was to be carried on. *Charles* satisfied

ſatisfied with the Honour he had atchieved in the Firſt, and it may be ſick of the Hardſhips he had undergone, left the Management of it to the *Dauphin* his Son. *Gerard*, who was no leſs brave than experienced, held out fifteen Days longer, after which he was forced to capitulate. When he came before the *Dauphin*, he very politely told him, that againſt any other but him he ſhould have been able to make a longer Defence. This Compliment was taken very well by the young Prince, who was pleaſed to ſee himſelf ſet in ſome meaſure above the King his Father. But *Charles*, who was told of it, ſeemed to be extremely mortified at it. It is ſaid, he began from thenceforward to entertain againſt the Prince his Son a Jealouſy, which proved very fatal to him afterwards. 1437.

The Duke of Orleans *is appointed Mediator between the two Kings.*

Whilſt the War was thus carrying on in *France*, the Duke of *Orleans*, Priſoner in *England*, was thinking of Means to obtain his Liberty. Nothing but a Peace between the two Kings could poſſibly bring that about. And therefore no body was more concerned than he, to endeavour to ſet on Foot a freſh Negotiation. With this view it was that he demanded Leave to go and talk in Perſon with the Duke of *Bretagne* at *Calais*, who was looked on then as the only Prince that could be employed as Mediator. The Council, who were all inclined to Peace, would have readily granted his Demand; but it was judged neceſſary to ſee firſt how *Charles* was diſpoſed in that reſpect. Beſides, the Duke of *Glouceſter* was of Opinion, that a Peace ought not to be thought of till they were in Condition to make an advantagious one.

The Cardinal gains ground upon the Duke of Glouceſter.

Mean while, as the King advanced in Age, the Credit of the Duke his Uncle ſenſibly diminiſhed, and that of the *Cardinal of Wincheſter* daily increaſed. The *Cardinal* had a great Advantage upon his Adverſary, in that his Riches enabled him frequently to lend the King Money. The Kingdom was ſo exhauſted, that Aids of that kind were conſidered as the greateſt Service a Man could then do the *State*. He knew how to make the beſt of the Temper the King was in with regard to him, in order to prevent any freſh Attacks from the Duke of *Glouceſter*. By Letters

1437. Act. Pub. X. 670. under the *Great Seal* the King granted him a general Pardon for all Offences whatever, from the Beginning of the World to the 28th of *June* 1437. By this Means he disarmed his Enemy of all Pretence to attack him.

1438. *Plague and Famine in* England *and* France

The Year 1438 abounded with few remarkable Events. A terrible Famine, which ravaged at the same Time *France* and *England*, and was followed by a Plague, prevented the Generals on both Sides from forming any great Undertakings. Attempts there were however, some whereof succeeded not, and others were of little Moment. I shall therefore take notice of the most remarkable only. *Gurienne*, Governor of *Montargis* for the *English*, finding himself surrounded with the Enemy's Towns, and receiving no Succours from *England*, surrendred that Place to the *French* for Ten Thousand *Salutes of Gold* (*a*). In the present Posture of the Affairs of the *English*, *Montargis* was of little Importance to them, since they could not possibly carry the War from that Quarter. Shortly after, *Edmund* Earl of *Mortagne*, Brother of the Duke of *Somerset*, having brought some Troops from *England* and joined *Talbot*, they made some inconsiderable Conquests in *Normandy*.

The Duke of Burgundy *makes another Attempt upon* Calais.

The Disgrace which the Duke of *Burgundy* had received at *Calais* sat hard upon his Mind, and he wanted to retrieve his Honour by taking that Place. But as this could not easily be done by a Siege in Form, he went another way to work. He had been told, that by digging through a certain Bank the Town would be infallibly overflowed; and by standing ready at Hand with a good Body of Troops, it would be an easy matter to enter the Place, amidst the Consternation the Garrison and Inhabitants would be in. The Project was put in Execution. But the Sea being lower than the Town, all the Water ran out. The Duke having missed his Aim, resolved to attempt the Siege of *Guisnes*. But the Earl of *Huntington*, who came in the very Nick of Time from *England* with a Supply of Troops, constrained him

Act. Pub. X. 686.

He misses his Aim.

(*a*) A Piece of Money worth about 15 Pence *Tournois*. (See Note in the Life of *Henry* V.)

him to retire. The Troubles in *Flanders* which broke out afreſh ſoon after, found him ſo much Work for ſome Years, that he had no leiſure to form any new Deſigns againſt the *Engliſh*. 1438.

Truce renewed with Scotland.

The *Dauphin*'s Marriage had raiſed ſuch a Jealouſy in the *Engliſh*, that after ſeveral Inſults on both Sides, *England* and *Scotland* were come at length to an open Rupture. Mean while the Minority of *James* II. and the favourable Diſpoſition of the Queen-Mother towards the *Engliſh* her Countrymen, procured a nine Years Truce from the 1ſt of *May* this Year.

The Duke of Somerſet*'s Brother exchanged for the Earl of* Eu.

John and *Thomas Beaufort*, Brothers of the Duke of *Somerſet*, having been a long Time Priſoners in *France* *, ſeveral Tryals had been made to get them exchanged for others of the *French*; but there was always ſome Obſtacle in the way. By Articles of Agreement made in 1430 with the Duke of *Bourbon*, that Prince had engaged to get them releaſed without Ranſom. But as theſe Articles had been never executed, they ſtill remained Priſoners. I do not know what became of *Thomas* who bore the Title of Earl of *Perth*. It may be he died during his Captivity. But this Year *John* was exchanged for the Earl of *Eu* of the Houſe of *Artois*, who was Priſoner in *England* ſince the Battle of *Azincourt*. He was afterwards created Duke of *Somerſet*, upon the Death of *Henry* his elder Brother. There was alſo a fourth Brother named *Edmund* who ſucceeded them, and of whom I ſhall have a great deal to ſay in the Sequel of this Reign.

Act. Pub. X. 680.

1439. *The Conſtable* Richmond *beſieges* Meaux *and takes it by Storm.*

The Famine and Plague ceaſing in *England* and *France*, both Sides took up Arms again. In the Month of *March* 1439, the Conſtable *Richmond* putting himſelf at the Head of a pretty numerous Army, went and laid Siege to *Meaux*, one of the ſtrongeſt Places in *France*, which had formerly held out ſeven Months againſt *Henry* V. The Baſtard of *Han*, an Officer of diſtinguiſhed Valour, who was Governor, made ſo brave a Defence as aſtoniſhed the *Conſtable*. However, after a three Weeks Siege the City was taken

* At the Battle of *Bauge* wherein *Clarence* was killed.

1439. taken by Storm. But the Work was but half done, seeing the Garrison was retired into the *Marché* (so that Part of the City is called which is separated from the other Part by the *Marne*.) The *English* having broke down the Bridge of Communication, the *Constable* saw himself forced to begin on the other Side of the River a second Siege much more difficult than the first. The same Thing happened to *Henry* V when he besieged that Place. Mean Time the *Constable* having taken the Governour Prisoner in the Assault, cut off his Head because he was a *Frenchman*. This is what King *Charles*'s Generals had not yet ventured to do, by Reason of the great Number of Prisoners in the Hands of the *English*. But as soon as they found themselves strongest, they overlooked that Consideration, being no longer afraid of Reprisals.

He continues the Siege of the Marché.

Talbot *throws in Succours;*

The Siege of the *Marché* of *Meaux* growing every Day more difficult, the *Constable* drew round his Camp *Lines* with Redoubts to prevent all Succours, and the King came himself to the Army, that he might animate the Troops by his Presence. Mean while *Talbot*, who did not question but the Besieged would make a long Resistance, had already prepared Succours. How difficult soever this Undertaking appeared, he attempted it however. The Obstacles which he foresaw served only to spur him on the more. With a good Body of choice Troops he boldly advanced towards the Besiegers Lines, and having attacked Sword in Hand and carried one of the Redoubts which obstructed his Passage, he entered the Place with a *Convoy*. On the Morrow he got out again whilst the Besiegers were still dismayed at the Action of the Day before, and went to prepare fresh Succours. But the *Constable* vexed at receiving such a Disgrace from a Handful of Men, pressed the Place so vigorously that he put the Garrison under a Necessity to capitulate before the Succours could be ready.

but the Place is taken.

He raises the Siege of Avranche,

The Siege of *Avranche* which the *Constable* undertook after that of *Meaux*, did not end so well for him. Having sat down three Weeks before that Place, *Talbot* with the Troops he had prepared for the Relief of *Meaux*, attacked and

and forced the *Lines* of the Beſiegers, and ſupplied the Town with Proviſions. 1439.

After this Exploit, *Talbot* finding that the *French* were diſmayed, and their Troops ſo much weakened that they were not able to withſtand him, he went and appeared before *Harfleur*. As his Army was not ſtrong enough to form a Siege, he choſe to block up the Town. To that End, he intrenched himſelf in an advantagious Poſt, in ſuch a manner that an Army of fifty Thouſand Men was not capable of forcing his Trenches. In the mean Time, the Duke of *Somerſet* kept the Place blocked up by Sea. The Earl of *Eu*, lately arrived from *England* where he had been long a Priſoner, approached with Deſign to attack the Intrenchments of the *Engliſh*. But perceiving it impracticable, he choſe to retire, after a faint Attempt, wherein *Gaucour* was made Priſoner. At length, after a four Months Blockade, *Talbot* became Maſter of this important Place which had been the firſt Conqueſt of *Henry* V. This done, he cleared *Normandy* of the Garriſons which the *French* ſtill kept in divers Caſtles: So that they had nothing left in that Province but the Town of *Dieppe* only. *and goes and beſieges* Harfleur.

The Duke of *Burgundy* beheld with Grief that the Affairs of the *Engliſh* began to be reſtored, and dreaded the Conſequences. King *Charles* waged War in a very careleſs manner. It was with much ado that they could prevail with him to head his Army. Beſides, *France* was ſo ruined, that he could draw but few Succours from the Provinces he was poſſeſſed of. On the other Hand, the War in *Flanders* which wholly took up the Duke of *Burgundy*, gave but little Proſpect of any Aids from thence. If the *Engliſh* had then exerted themſelves to any Degree, in all likelihood they would have recovered a great deal of Ground. But either out of Blindneſs or Inability, they did Things by Halves, contenting themſelves with ſending from Time to Time inconſiderable Succours which were uncapable of making them regain what they had loſt. Thus on both Sides it was eaſily ſeen that the War would be without End, if it was to laſt till one of the two Kings had loſt, one after another, the Places he was Maſter of. This Conſideration *Diſpoſition of the Duke of* Burgundy.

1479. ſideration was of ſuch weight with the Duke of *Burgundy*, that he took a Reſolution either to procure a Peace, if poſſible, between the two Kings, or to ſcreen himſelf by ſtanding Neuter. A Deſign of this Nature was to be managed with a great deal of Prudence and Caution, for fear both Parties ſhould ſtrike up a Peace to his Diſadvantage, or the *Engliſh* ſtand more upon the Reſerve if they knew his Intention.

They begin to talk of Peace.

Whilſt the Duke of *Burgundy* was taken up with theſe Thoughts, the Pope exhorted the two Kings, by the Cardinal of *Santa Cruz*, to put a ſtop to the Effuſion of *Chriſtian* Blood ſpilt in their Quarrel. At the ſame Time he writ to the Duke of *Bretagne*, deſiring him to be Mediator of Peace. The Duke having ſent to both Kings, found them equally inclined to enter upon a Treaty, and the Duke of *Burgundy* received the Propoſal with Joy. The Duke of *Orleans* took this Opportunity to offer his Mediation to the King of *England*, jointly with the Duke of *Bretagne*, and to that End he renewed his Inſtances for Leave to go and confer with the Duke at *Calais*. This was granted him, though the Duke of *Glouceſter* oppoſed it with all his Might, becauſe he plainly ſaw that Prince could not be an impartial Mediator. But for ſome Time paſt the Duke of *Glouceſter* had loſt his Intereſt in the *Council*, where they even affected upon all Occaſions to proceed contrary to his Opinion. Beſides, the Counſellors were ſo deſirous of Peace, that they forgot, or elſe had a Mind to forget, that the falſe Step which was made in ſending Ambaſſadors to *Arras* was entirely owing to the vain Hopes the Duke of *Orleans* had given. The captive Prince therefore was looked upon as a diſintereſted Mediator, though it was eaſy to perceive he was entirely biaſſed in Favour of King *Charles*. The Duke of *Burgundy* ſaw with Pleaſure that a Conference was going forward, which would either End in a Peace between the two Kings, or afford him a Handle to conclude a ſeparate Truce with *England*. The two Courts being in this Temper, Commiſſioners were appointed on both Sides to ſettle the Preliminary Articles of the Congreſs. Theſe Commiſſioners being met, judged that in order to bring the

Act. Pub. X. 685.

the Treaty to a good Iſſue, a Truce was abſolutely neceſſary. Whereupon *Henry* impowered his to agree to one. But ſome Obſtacles occurred which hindered it from being concluded. What has been ſaid concerning a Peace was tranſacted the Year before 1438. But I thought it beſt to defer ſpeaking of it till now, thet I might not be obliged to break off the Recital of what relates to this Affair. 1439.

In the Month of *January* 1439, *Iſabella of Portugal* Dutcheſs of *Burgundy*, and the *Cardinal of Wincheſter* conferred together between *Calais* and *Graveline*. The Reſult of their Conference was, that the two Kings ſhould appoint a proper Place to treat about a Peace, with the Mediation of the Dukes of *Bretagne* and *Orleans*, and that they ſhould ſend their Plenipotentiaries thither. Purſuant to this Agreement, the very Place where the Dutcheſs and *Cardinal* met was pitched upon, and Ambaſſadors were nominated on both Sides. They were all choſen out of the Princes and greateſt Lords of the two Kingdoms. But before we proceed to the Iſſue of this Congreſs, it will not be amiſs to ſee how the Council of *England* ſtood diſpoſed in regard to Peace. Now this evidently appears in the Ambaſſadors *Inſtructions* extant in the *Collection of Publick Acts*. Hence we ſhall be able to judge which of the two Parties is to be blamed for breaking off the Conference, and likewiſe to rectify ſeveral Miſtakes which Hiſtorians are guilty of in this Matter.

The Place of Congreſs appointed. p. 718.

The Duke of Bretagne *and* Orleans *Mediators.*

In the firſt Place, the Ambaſſadors were ordered to demand, that the King's Adverſary ſhould leave him in peaceable Poſſeſſion of the whole Realm of *France*. They were to back this Demand with ſeveral Reaſons mentioned in the *Inſtructions*, too long to be inſerted here. Beſides the Reader is well enough acquainted with the Grounds the Kings of *England* built their Pretenſions upon.

Inſtructions given to the Engliſh *Ambaſſadors.*

II. If the *French* ſhould exclaim againſt this Demand, and think it unreaſonable, the Ambaſſadors after a previous Proteſtation were to offer *Charles* the Provinces beyond the *Loire* which were held *immediately* of the Crown, but on Condition of *Homage*.

1439. III. If the Adverſaries rejected this Offer, the *Cardinal of Wincheſter*, as a Clergyman, was to lay before their Eyes ſuch Conſiderations as were proper to perſwade the two Nations to Peace. Theſe Conſiderations being very many and long, I ſhall content my ſelf with juſt touching upon three of the Principal. The firſt was, that the War which had been taken in Hand for the Title of *King of France*, which each of the two Kings laid Claim to, had deſtroyed more Men then were left at that preſent Time in both Kingdoms. The ſecond was, that the two Princes ought ſeriouſly to conſider that God made not the *People* for the Sovereign, but the *Sovereign* for the People; that is to ſay, to govern them with Juſtice and Peace, to the end the Subjects may be the better able to ſerve him. The Third was, that *France* had not always been governed by one ſingle Monarch, but that before and after *Charlemain*, there were often two, ſometimes three, nay four Kings at the ſame Time.

IV. This third Conſideration was in order to make Room for another Offer which the Ambaſſadors had Power to tender, namely, that *Henry* would give up to *Charles* all the Provinces beyond the *Loire* in *full Sovereignty*. He excepted however in expreſs Terms *Guienne*, *Poictou*, and all that his Anceſtors had held in *France* before they came to the Crown of *England*.

V. If this Offer was rejected, the Ambaſſadors had Power to offer from the King their Maſter, that he would be ſatisfied with what his Anceſtors had enjoyed in *France* by Right of Inheritance, provided they would throw in *Calais*, *Guiſnes*, and the adjacent *Marches*, the whole in *full Sovereignty* without any Dependence upon the Crown of *France*, or any Perſon whatſoever but God alone.

VI. If the *French* inſiſted that *Normandy* ſhould be reſtored to *Charles* in the State it was in before the Conqueſt of it by *Henry* V, that is, notwithſtanding the Grants of ſeveral Lordſhips made to private Perſons, as well by the late as the preſent King, rather than break off the Conference the Ambaſſadors were to allow this Article.

VII. If

VII. If Matters were brought to that Point, that *Charles* would be contented with this Offer, provided *Henry* would quit the Title of *King of France*; in that Caſe the *Inſtructions* furniſhed the Plenipotentiaries with abundance of Reaſons and Arguments, to be alledged againſt that *Proviſo*. But in fine, they had Orders to leave this Matter to the *Cardinal of Wincheſter*, to whom the King had made known his Pleaſure. 1439.

It is manifeſt the *Council* had reſolved to ſubmit to that, if the Peace could not be made otherwiſe. For if *Henry* had abſolutely been unwilling to quit the Title of *King of France*, there was no need of *private Inſtructions*, but the Ambaſſadors would have had expreſs Orders to reject the Condition.

The VIIIth Article was about a Propoſal of a Match between the King and one of *Charles*'s Daughters.

IX. If the *French* rejected all theſe Offers, and made any Propoſals on their Part, the Ambaſſadors, without agreeing to or rejecting them, were to reply, that they had no *Inſtructions* to treat of a Peace upon thoſe Grounds, but would acquaint their Maſter with them.

X. Mean while they were to get the Dutcheſs of *Burgundy* or the Duke of *Orleans* to propoſe a fifty Years Truce, with a free Communication between the two Nations. They had likewiſe Power to reduce the Truce to Forty, Thirty, or Twenty Years. And rather than fail they might limit it to three Years, provided it was to be without Communication, and to carry it even to eight upon the ſame Condition.

XI. In Caſe the Truce was accepted, they were to repreſent that in order to the better Obſervance of it, it would be proper to make an Exchange of ſome Places. To that End, they were ordered to offer *Meaux*, *Creil*, *St. Germain in Laye*, which were in the Hands of the *Engliſh* when theſe *Inſtructions* were drawn up, in lieu of *Dieppe*, *le Mont St. Michel*, and *Harfleur*, which *Talbot* had not yet got Poſſeſſion of.

1439. XII. Lastly, The King willing to facilitate the Exchange of these Places, agreed to release the Duke of *Orleans* for a Ransom of a Hundred Thousand Marks, and to abate Fifty Thousand on the Score of the Exchange proposed.

These *Instructions* were drawn up *May* the 31st, 1439. If we had likewise those of *Charles*'s Plenipotentiaries, perhaps we should find that the two Kings were not at so great a Distance from one another, as they seemed to be at the Congress. But as upon these Occasions, the main Care of the Managers is to be upon their Guard, for fear their secret Instructions should be dived into, it often happens that the Negotiation is broke off before they have had Occasion to discover what they are impowered to offer, so much afraid are they of giving their Adversaries any Advantage. This was exactly the Case in the present Treaty. The *English* did not think proper to go beyond the second Article of their *Instructions*, namely, that *Charles* should have the Provinces beyond the *Loire*, on Condition he would do Homage to *Henry*. They expected that the *French* would give them room by their Offers to make some further Advances. For the same Reason the *French* kept to the Proposals they had made at the Congress of *Arras*, to wit, that their Master remaining sole King of *France*, would give up *Guienne* and *Normandy* to *Henry* on Condition of Homage. They cried up this Offer too much, and the Condescension of *Charles*, in being pleased to stand to what he had offered at the Congress of *Arras*, though he had since made great Conquests, and was become Master of *Paris*.

The Conference breaks up. It was impossible a Peace could be concluded upon the Foot it was proposed by both Sides. Each of the Parties offered not to yield up but what was not in his Power, and by virtue of his pretended Cession, he expected the other should devest himself of what he actually possessed. This was properly to desire to get by the Dash of a Pen what they could not hope to obtain, but by many successful Sieges and Battles. So that, after the Ambassadors of the two Kings had long tried to dive into one another's *Instructions*, in

in order to ſee how far their Adverſaries were allowed to go, they parted without coming to any Concluſion. Each Party was willing to wait, till there was room given to make more reaſonable Propoſals. 1439.

The Duke of *Burgundy* and *Orleans* were the only Gainers by this Congreſs. The firſt had a mind, at any rate to eaſe his Subjects in *Flanders*, *Brabant*, *Holland*, *Zeland*, who were great Sufferers by the Interruption of their Commerce with *England*. With this view he ſet his Dutcheſs to work, who being a near Relation of *Henry*, was not ſuſpected by the *Engliſh*. Under colour of doing the Office of a Mediatrix between the two Kings, ſhe had frequent Conferences with the *Cardinal of Wincheſter*, and negotiated a Trading-Truce between *England* and the *Low-Countries*. This appears by ſeveral Pieces in *the Collection of Publick Acts*. Accordingly a Truce was made preſently after. Act. Pub. X. 713, 730, 736.

1440.

The Temper of Henry *and his Court.*

But the Duke of *Orleans* was he that reaped the moſt Benefit from the late Congreſs, ſince it procured him his Liberty after a Twenty-five Years Captivity. It has been frequently obſerved, that there were two Parties in the Court of *England*, namely, the Duke of *Glouceſter*'s and the *Cardinal of Wincheſter*'s, and that the latter gradually gained ground, ſince the King began to have ſome Knowledge of his own Affairs. This Prince, having now attained to the Age of Eighteen Years, had a very narrow *Genius*, and was not at all like his Father. He eaſily ſuffered himſelf to be governed by thoſe about him. So far was he from having the Preſumption very common in young Princes, he was ever diſtruſtful of himſelf, and choſe rather to follow the Counſels of others than his own. With this Infirmity he was endowed with Principles of Honour, Virtue and Religion, which indeed made him wiſh he could always act with Juſtice, but which ſerved for Foundation and Pretence to his Counſellors, to draw him into many unjuſt Things. As he wanted Penetration, he ſuffered himſelf to be carried away with Appearances. This was what his *Miniſters* knew very well how to take Advantage of, aſſured as they were that he was uncapable of diſcerning

1440. discerning their Self-interested Counsels. During his Youth he had contracted a Habit of blindly following the Suggestions of the Duke of *Glouceſter* his Uncle, who governed in his Name. But when he was arrived to a more advanced Age, the *Cardinal of Wincheſter* and his Party hinted to him, that his Uncle intended to keep him always a *Minor*, and that he had Deſigns deſtructive of his Quiet. Theſe Inſinuations frequently repeated, had at length the Effect the Duke's Enemies expected. By degrees the King had ſuch an Averſion for his Uncle, that he would no longer mind him. They made it their Buſineſs to mortify him upon all Occaſions. His propoſing any thing in Council was enough to have it ſtrongly oppoſed, and the King generally countenanced the contrary Party to the Duke, from the Apprehenſion he was under of giving him room to execute the pretended Deſign of keeping him in Subjection. Such for ſome time paſt was the Temper of the King and Court.

The Duke of Glouceſter *is againſt releaſing the Duke of* Orleans.

The Duke of *Glouceſter* had all along been againſt releaſing the Duke of *Orleans*. The late King his Brother's *Will* was to him an inviolable Law: Beſides, he was perſuaded that the giving *Orleans* his Liberty, would ſerve only to augment the Number of the Enemies of *England*. But his Oppoſition was of no great weight; on the contrary, that alone was ſufficient to induce his Enemies to favour the Duke of *Orleans*, ſuppoſing they ſhould have had no other reaſon. We have ſeen what the Duke offered before the Congreſs of *Arras*. The Duke of *Bedford* and the *Council* had accepted his Offers, which ſeemed to be very advantagious, becauſe the Drift of them had not yet been diſcovered. Since the Treaty of *Arras* he had ſat ſtill, perceiving it was not a proper Time to ſollicite his Liberty. But when he ſaw that they began to talk of a Peace, he renewed his Inſtances, and offered to become Mediator jointly with the Duke of *Bretagne*. He met at the *Council-Board* with the ſame Countenance he had found there before, and in ſpite of the Duke of *Glouceſter*'s Oppoſition, they reſolved to accept of his Mediation, and to treat with him afterwards about his Liberty. He had Leave therefore to repair to the Congreſs, where he appeared very zea-

Who is choſen one of the Mediators of a Peace. Act. Pub. X. 729.

lous

lous to procure a Peace between the two Kings, and by the Help of the Dutcheſs of *Burgundy*, found Means to be reconciled with the Duke her Husband. The *Cardinal* being returned to *England*, ſpoke very much to his Advantage, and repreſented to the *Council*, that ſince it was not long of him that the Peace was not concluded, it was unreaſonable that he ſhould be a Sufferer by the Rupture. His Friends improved on this Occaſion the two Reaſons already made uſe of, in order to colour the Favour which was deſigned to be granted him. The Firſt was, that the Diſſention between the Dukes of *Orleans* and *Burgundy* might kindle afreſh, and turn very much to the Advantage of the *Engliſh*. The Second, that the captive Prince might be obliged to pay a large Ranſom, which would help to carry on the War. In fine, they gave to underſtand, that he would be obliged to take an Oath to the King, and by that means be tied up from aſſiſting King *Charles*. So that in ſpite of all the Duke of *Glouceſter* could ſay, it was reſolved to treat with him about his Liberty. 1440.

The Duke of Glouceſter proteſts againſt the Reſolution of the Council.

This Reſolution being taken, the Duke of *Glouceſter* thought himſelf bound, both in Duty and for his own Security, to enter a *Proteſtation* in Form, in order to let the Publick ſee that he oppoſed it to the utmoſt of his Power. The *Proteſtation* contained the Reaſons why he believed that the *Council*'s Reſolution might be very prejudicial to the King and *State*. Though it be ſomewhat long, it will be neceſſary to give the Subſtance of it here, becauſe it may be of Service in clearing ſeveral Facts: Beſides, it ſhows the Diſpoſition of the Members of the *Council*, who, to mortify the Duke, ſcrupled not to ſacrifice the King's Intereſts to their Paſſion. The Knowledge of this is the more requiſite, as it will appear by the Sequel, that to the fatal Enmity between the Duke and the *Cardinal*, is to be aſcribed the unfortunate Iſſue of the War in *France*. The Sum of the Duke's *Proteſtation* was as follows:

The Proteſtation. Act. Pub. X. 764.

" My firſt Reaſon for being againſt the Enlargement of " the Duke of *Orleans*, is taken from the Inability of " King *Charles* and the *Dauphin* his Son, known to all the " World.

1440. " World. Therefore, considering the pliant and subtle " Genius of the Duke of *Orleans*, it is to be presumed that " the *States of France* will entrust him with the Administration of the Affairs of the Kingdom. Now nothing " could happen more hurtful to *England*, seeing that Prince " has acquired a perfect Knowledge of the strong and " weak Side of the Kingdom, during a Twenty-five Years " abode among us.

II. " The Dissention between King *Charles* and the " *Dauphin* his Son, being a Secret to no body, it ought " to be feared, as it is but too apparent, that the Duke of " *Orleans* when in *France*, will be a proper Mediator to " make them Friends.

III. " *Normandy* being the Province which helps the " most towards carrying on the War, it is to be feared " that the *Normans*, seeing that the Succours so often promised both by Word of Mouth and Letter are not sent, " and that on the other Hand, the Duke of *Orleans* is released, will imagine that one intends to abandon them as " well as the rest of the Conquests. As to its being said, " that Twenty Thousand Marks may be taken out of the " Duke of *Orlean*'s Ransom for the Defence of that Province, I leave it to be considered, whether that Sum is " sufficient for that Purpose.

IV. " The King and *Council* are very sensible that the " Duke of *Orleans* acknowledges King *Charles* for his Sovereign. Let it be considered then, whether having taken two opposite Oaths, one to a Prince whom he looks " upon as a Foreigner, the other to him whom he believes " to be his lawful King; he will chuse to keep the first " rather than the last. This is so much the more improbable, as he will always regard the first as extorted from " him, whilst he was actually a Prisoner, and as he cannot " moreover stand to it, without forfeiting his Possessions " in *France*.

V. " It would be proper to see what Remedy may be " had, in case he breaks his Oath, under colour of obeying " the absolute Command of his Sovereign.

VI. " The

VI. " The Earl of *Huntington*, who commands in 1440.
" *Guienne*, will in all likelihood be obliged to quit his Go-
" vernment, becauſe the King ſtands not to what was pro-
" miſed him by Agreement. That Province being thus
" abandoned, and the Duke of *Orleans* being in Alliance
" with the *Houſes* of *Albret* and *Armagnac*, it ſhould at
" leaſt be conſidered how one ſhall defend that antient In-
" heritance of the King, in caſe the Duke of *Orleans* joins
" Forces with thoſe two *Houſes*.

VII. " The King has no Ally in all *Europe* but only
" the King of *Portugal*. Now if he has a mind to make
" Alliances with other Princes, how ſhall they be brought
" to hearken to his Propoſals, when they ſhall come to
" know that he had no other way to preſerve the Conqueſts
" of the King his Father, but by ſetting at Liberty one
" of his mortal Enemies?

VIII. " The Reconciliation between the Duke of *Or-*
" *leans* and *Burgundy* lately at *Calais*, ought to make it
" feared, that they will join their Forces to drive the *Eng-*
" *liſh* out of *France*, as they certainly may do unleſs God
" interpoſes; ſo far are we from having the Proſpect of any
" Advantage by their Diſſention. If any ſtreſs is laid
" upon the Oath which the Duke of *Orleans* is to take
" before he leaves *England*, let a Man examine by the *Civil*
" *Laws* how far the Oath of a Priſoner is to be depended
" upon.

IX. " If any of the Princes or Lords who ſerve the
" King in *France* ſhall chance to fall into the Enemies
" Hands, as it may eaſily happen, four or five might be
" exchanged for the Duke of *Orleans* alone. But in caſe
" that Prince is releaſed, the *Engliſh* Princes and Lords
" cannot fight for the King without being liable to utter
" Ruin.

X. " If, as it is apparent, the Enlargement of the Duke
" of *Orleans* occaſions the Loſs of *Normandy*, and the
" reſt of the King's Dominions in *France*, what will the
" King's Counſellors be able to ſay for themſelves? What
" Murmurings will there not be among the People, when
" it ſhall be conſidered that theſe Conqueſts, purchaſed with

1440. " the Lives of the late King, the Duke of *Clarence*, the " Duke of *Bedford*, and an infinite Number of Princes, " Lords and Gentlemen, were all loſt by this fatal Step?

XI. " Laſtly, Every one knows that the late King, " wiſely weighing the Danger which would ariſe from the " Enlargement of the Duke of *Orleans*, forbad upon his " Death-bed to releaſe that Prince till a Peace was con- " cluded.

" And as it may happen that after my Death I may be " accuſed of conſenting to this Reſolution, I humbly en- " treat the King that this my *Proteſtation* may be recorded, " and that I may have an authentick Copy under the " *Great Seal*, to ſerve for my Juſtification".

The Council perſiſts in their Reſolution.

The Duke of *Glouceſter*'s Requeſt was granted: but his *Proteſtation* did not hinder the Reſolution of the *Council* from being put in Execution. The 2d of *July* the Articles agreed upon for the Enlargement of the Duke of *Orleans* were ſigned by the King and the Duke, the Copy of the two *Originals* is extant in *the Collection of Publick Acts*.

Articles with the Duke of Orleans. Act. Pub. X. 776.

The Terms required of the Duke were much eaſier than thoſe he had offered himſelf before the Congreſs of *Arras*. He was not bound to acknowledge *Henry* for *King of France*, or to ſwear to him, much leſs to give him up any Towns in Hoſtage as he had proffered to do formerly. They were contented with taking his Word and Oath, for the Payment of his Ranſom, which was ſet at a Hundred and Twenty Thouſand Crowns. It is true indeed, that by theſe Articles of Agreement he was obliged to get the *Dauphin*, the Duke of *Bretagne*, and ſome others to be bound for the Sum of Sixty Thouſand Crowns, which he was not to pay till after he had his Liberty. Moreover, he promiſed to procure the King *Letters Patents* from King *Charles*, whereby that Prince ſhould ratify the Agreement, promiſe not to obſtruct the execution of it, and to account the Duke of *Orleans* baſe and infamous, if he ſhould come to break the Articles. In fine, the Duke having proteſted, that as to the half of his Ranſom, which he was to pay before

fore he left *England*, it was impoſſible for him to perform his Engagement without going to *France*. Leave was granted him for a Year. 1440.

The *Council* conſiſted then of Perſons who blindly followed their Paſſions without troubling themſelves about the Intereſts of the King and *State*. Of this we ſhall quickly ſee very evident Proofs. The only Thing that gave them any Diſturbance, was that the Enlargement of the Duke of *Orleans* ſeemed directly contrary to the late King's Will. The Truth is, that Monarch had expreſſly enjoined by his laſt *Will* and *Teſtament*, that the Duke of *Orleans* ſhould be hept Priſoner till the King his Son ſhould be of Age, unleſs his Liberty ſhould be a Means to procure a Peace; but they found an Expedient to ſcreen themſelves from the Murmurs of the People. The King declared by a *Publick Act*, that in releaſing the Duke of *Orleans*, he intended not to proceed in Contradiction to the King his Father's *Will*, but that what he did was purely with a View to attain to a ſpeedier Concluſion of a Peace. The better to ſhow that this was the King's Intent, the Duke was bound by freſh Articles to uſe his utmoſt Endeavours to procure a Peace between the two Kings; and in caſe he ſucceeded, his Ranſom ſhould be forgiven, and what he ſhould have paid already ſhould be reſtored. But if on the contrary his Endeavours proved fruitleſs, he ſhould return to *England* and remain a Priſoner as before; but the Money he ſhould have paid towards his Ranſom ſhould be returned him. It is evident, that theſe new Articles were only to throw Duſt in the Peoples Eyes, ſince they were directly contrary to the others; and ſince they added a Condition which was not in the Duke's Power. In the next Place, this appears ſtill plainer, in that the Peace not having been concluded, the Duke returned not into *England*, and was never complained againſt. But he punctually performed the firſt Agreement.

He is ſet at Liberty.

Remarks upon a Miſtake of the French *Hiſtorians.*

All the *French* Authors have done the Duke of *Burgundy* the Honour to ſay, that he lent the Duke of *Orleans* Money to pay his Ranſom. But we find by *the Collection of Publick Acts*, that all he did in favour of his newly reconciled Enemy

Act. Pub. X. 787. Ibid. p. 791.

1440. Enemy amounted to no more than this. He consented that his Dutchess should promise in her own Name to send the King her *Bond* for Thirty Thousand Crowns, which the *Dauphin* was to pay; or in case of Refusal to become responsible for them. But as the *Dauphin* made no scruple to give his own *Bond*, the Dutchess of *Burgundy*'s Promise became of no Effect. It is true, the Duke of *Burgundy* received the Duke of *Orleans* in a very splendid Manner at *Gravelin*, where they confirmed their Reconciliation. I have dwelt the longer upon the Enlargement of the Duke of *Orleans*, because it serves to discover the Temper of the Court and Council, on which depend all the future Events of this Reign. Let us return now to the more general Affairs.

Conventions between Henry and the Duke of Bretagne.

The Duke of *Bretagne* pretended all along to observe a Neutrality, though the Succours which the *Constable* his Brother brought from time to time to King *Charles*, could neither be levied in his Country, nor led from thence without his Leave or Connivance. If the *English* had been in better Circumstances, they would doubtless have shown their Resentment. But in the present Posture of their Affairs, they thought themselves well off, that the Duke of *Bretagne* did not openly declare for their Enemies. Mean while, as the *English* and *Britons* molested one another at Sea, contrary to the Interests of both Nations, the King and Duke thought fit to conclude a Treaty, whereby they mutually engaged not to suffer any naval Armaments to be made in their Ports, to the Detriment of each others Subjects.

Ibid. p 789.

Death of the Earl of Warwick. p. 783.

Richard de Beauchamp, Earl of *Warwick* and Regent of *France*, dying in the Beginning of Summer, the Duke of *York* was sent thither again in that Quality, though he had been recalled before to give Place to the Earl of *Warwick**.

If

* He died at *Roan* in *Normandy*, *April* 30, 1439, (says *Dugdale*) possessed of a vast Estate, the yearly Value (as appears from the Accounts of his Bailiffs in 12 *Hen.* 6.) amounting to 8306 Marks, 11 Shillings and 11 Pence Half-penny, at a Time when *Barley* was but 4 Shillings and Two-pence a *Quarter*, *Oats* 2 Shillings and three Half-pence, *Capons* Three-pence a piece, and *Hens* three Half-pence, as appears from the Accounts of his Houshold Officers.

If the *Engliſh* had been ſtrong enough in *France* to improve the preſent Opportunity, never had a fairer offered to repair their paſt Loſſes. The *Dauphin* and all the Princes of the Blood, except the Duke of *Burgundy* and the Earl of *Eu* were joined in a League againſt the King. This League tended to no leſs than the dethroning of *Charles*, and ſetting the Crown on the Head of the Prince his Son. But luckily for him, the Confederates had engaged *La Trimouille* in their Party, and by ſo doing they entirely loſt the *Conſtable*. As he mortally hated that Lord, his Hatred reflected upon the whole Party, and induced him to bring the King a powerful Aid, which enabled him to get the better of the Princes. This Civil War was called *La Praguery*, but for what Reaſon I know not. The League was ſo ill managed on the Part of the Confederates, that the King at length compelled them to caſt themſelves upon his Mercy. In the mean Time, the *Engliſh*, who no longer carried on the War with vigour, made ſome Incurſions about *Paris*. But the Baſtard of *Orleans*, who after having ſided firſt with the *Dauphin*, was come over to the King, ſtopped their Progreſs, which was not very conſiderable by reaſon of their Weakneſs.

1440. *Quarrels in* Charles's *Court.*

After *Charles* had put an End to this dangerous War, he marched back towards *Paris*, and in his way became Maſter of *la Charité* by bribing the Governour.

In the mean Time the Dutcheſs of *Burgundy* never ceaſed her Endeavours to get the Conferences about a Peace ſet on Foot again. At length after having laboured to compaſs her Ends this whole Year, ſhe prevailed with the two Kings to appoint Plenipotentiaries to meet at St. *Omer*. The Duke of *Orleans* was made choice of for one of the Mediators.

This new Congreſs had no better Succeſs than the former. The Ambaſſadors were all come to St. *Omer*. But the Earl of *Vendôme*, Head of the *French* Embaſſy, refuſed to treat with thoſe of *England*, on pretence that they were of an inferior Quality. They were however Peers of the Realm, namely, the Biſhop of *Rocheſter* and the Lord *Fanhope*. In the Reign of *Henry* V the *French* did

1441. *A new Congreſs about a Peace.*

1441. did not ſtand upon ſuch *Punctilio's*. They conferred without any Scruple with bare *Doctors in Law*, provided they were duly impowered. It is true, the Ambaſſadors nominated for this Congreſs were not of ſo high a Degree as the former ones. But as there was no likelihood that the *French* would be more moderate in their Demands, the *Council* did not think proper to put the King or the Princes or any of the higheſt Quality to a needleſs Expence. Be that as it will, *Charles* took occaſion from thence to revoke the Powers he had given his Ambaſſadors. Thus the Congreſs was broke off without being ever opened. The *French* caſt the blame on the *Engliſh*, pretending that the Court of *England* had pitched upon Perſons of no Birth or Note, on purpoſe that they might not be treated with. The Truth is, both Parties generally aimed only at amuſing one another by theſe Conferences. They both gueſſed pretty well what their Ambaſſadors were to demand; and as they were reſolved not to grant it, they could expect no great Matters from theſe Negotiations. They conſented to them however, as well to juſtify themſelves to the Publick, as to try to amuſe each other by the Proſpect of a Peace.

Charles takes Creil.

Whilſt the Ambaſſadors were repairing to St. *Omer*, *Charles* was preparing an Army with Deſign to make a powerful Effort, and take Advantage of the Indolence of the *Engliſh*. As ſoon as he was ready, he ordered Admiral *de Coitivy* to inveſt *Creil upon Oyſe*, with a Detachment of the Army. The *Conſtable* having joined him with the reſt of his Troops, the Siege was regularly formed, and the King came thither about the End of *April*, to take the Town by Capitulation.

He lays Siege to Pontoiſe.

This was only to pave the Way to a more conſiderable Undertaking, namely, the Siege of *Pontoiſe* which *Charles* laid in the Beginning of *July*, with an Army of twelve Thouſand Men. He had with him the *Dauphin* his Son and all the Generals and Officers of Note in *France*. This Siege was at firſt carried on very vigorouſly; but the Beſiegers ſhowed no leſs Bravery. *Talbot*, whom the moſt difficult Undertakings could never daunt, being ordered by the Duke of *York* to get a *Convoy* into the Town, attack-

Talbot *throws Succours into the Town.*

ed

ed one of the Enemies Quarters, and breaking through, entered the Place with his *Convoy*. This ſeaſonable Supply inſpired the Garriſon with freſh Courage, who made ſo brave a Defence, that the Siege went on but ſlowly. Though the Beſiegers were exceeding watchful, having to do with ſo experienced a Warrior as *Talbot*, they could not hinder him from throwing Succours into the Town three ſeveral Times. Nevertheleſs *Charles* was obſtinately reſolved to continue the Siege which he had taken in Hand at the Deſire of the *Pariſians* who defrayed all the Charges. 1441.

The Duke of York raiſes the Siege.

But at length the Duke of *York* having approached the Town and ſent a Herald to the King to offer him Battle. *Charles* ſent back Word, that he ſhould ſee what he had to do, and that he intended not to regulate his Time by that of his Enemies. He ſaw the *Engliſh* Army on the other Side of the River *Oyſe*, which they could not paſs but over a Bridge guarded by a Detachment of a Thouſand Men. And therefore being under no Apprehenſion of a ſudden Attack, he continued the Siege at leiſure. Mean while the Duke of *York* reſolving at any rate to relieve the Place, found Means to paſs over in the Night with five or ſix Hundred Men in Boats made of boiled Skins. This Detachment falling unexpectedly upon the Guard of the Bridge, and cutting them in Pieces, opened a way for the Duke, who immediately came over to the other Side with his whole Army. *Charles* was ſo aſtoniſhed at this Action, which he little expected, that he ſuddenly raiſed the Siege and retired under the Cannon of *Poiſſi*. The Duke of *York* followed him and offered him Battle to no Purpoſe. At laſt, having braved him for ſome Time, and plundered before his Face the Abbey of *Poiſſi*, he retired, not thinking proper to attack him in that Poſt.

Charles ſuffers in his Reputation by it.

The haſty Retreat of King *Charles* before an Enemy much weaker than himſelf, was extremely injurious to his Reputation. All the *French* loudly murmured at it, but the *Pariſians* more than all the reſt. The King's beſt Friends were diſmayed at it, and openly ſhowed the Fears they were under, that ſo general a Diſcontent would prove fatal to him. In fine, thoſe neareſt his Perſon having made him ſenſible

1441. ſenſible how much he endangered his Reputation by an Action ſo unbecoming his Honour, he reſolved to retrieve his Credit let the Conſequence be what it would. Wherefore when it was leaſt expected, he went and ſat down again before *Pontoiſe*, and preſſed the Place ſo hard that it was carried by Storm. He ſignalized himſelf in the Aſſault in ſuch a manner as ſerved to wipe out all the ill Impreſſions which his former Conduct had made to his Diſadvantage. He was ſeen on the Breach, Sword in Hand, fighting with an undaunted Courage, and expoſing his Perſon like a common Soldier. By this vigorous Exploit, he plainly diſcovered that if he delighted not in War, it was not ſo much for want of Courage, as from a too great Attachment to his Pleaſures. Some Time after the Town of *Evreux* was taken from the *Engliſh* by the help of a Fiſherman, who found Means to let in the *French*.

He returns before Pontoiſe, *and takes it by Storm.*

Whilſt theſe Things were doing in *France*, a very ſtrange Incident happened in *England*. I have frequently obſerved, that the Duke of *Glouceſter*'s Credit ſenſibly declined, or rather was entirely ſunk. We have ſeen a glaring Proof of this in the Courſe of the preſent Reign. This Prince was unblameable in his Conduct with regard to the King. Notwithſtanding all the Spies which his Enemies had about him, they could diſcover nothing that might ſerve for a Cloak to the leaſt Charge againſt his Perſon. But at length by narrowly prying into what paſſed in his Family, they came to know that his Dutcheſs had frequent Conferences with [one Sir *Roger Bolinbroke*] a Prieſt who was reckoned a *Negromancer*, and a certain Woman * who was counted a *Witch*. This was enough whereon to ground an Impeachment of *High-Treaſon* againſt her. She was charged with making together with theſe two Perſons, the Figure of the King in Wax, and that by placing it before a gentle Fire, ſhe intended that the King's Strength ſhould waſte inſenſibly as the Wax diſſolved, and that his Life ſhould be at an

The Dutcheſs of Glouceſter *accuſed of Witchcraft and Treaſon.*

* *Marjery Gurdemain* of *Eye* near *Wincheſter*, who was burnt in *Smithfield*. *Thomas Southwell* and Sir *John Hume* Prieſts were accuſed likewiſe of being concerned with the Dutcheſs.

an end when the Image was all diſſolved. By this Indict- 1441.
ment, their Aim was to make appear that the Dutcheſs's Intent was to deſtroy the King, to the end the Crown might fall to the Duke her Husband. At the ſame Time they would have raiſed in the King and People ſuſpicions againſt the Duke himſelf. When the Parties accuſed were examined, the Prieſt denied all; but the Dutcheſs confeſſed that ſhe had deſired the Woman to make her a *Philter*, to fix the Love of her Spouſe, which ſometimes wandered after other Objects. Though this Confeſſion did not make her guilty of the Crime ſhe was accuſed of, yet the Duke's Enemies had taken ſuch Meaſures, that the Prieſt was condemned to be hanged, and the Woman to be burnt. As for the Dutcheſs, though ſhe would have been the moſt guilty, if the Thing had been well proved, they were contented under colour of the Regard they had for the Duke her Husband, with putting her to *ſolemn Penance* in St. *Paul*'s Church before all the People, and condemning her to perpetual Impriſonment *. This was a terrible Mortification to the firſt Prince of the Blood, who had been *Protector of the Realm*, and all along ſhown an ardent Zeal for the Intereſts and Honour of the King. But his Enemies were ſo powerful that he found himſelf conſtrained to be quiet, for fear of giving them a Handle to fall directly upon him.

She is condemned to do Penance, and to be impriſoned for Life.

Charles had ſcarce taken Breath after the Siege of *Pontoiſe*, before he ſaw himſelf in a very great Streight. All the Princes of his *Houſe* were in a freſh League againſt him, with the Duke of *Orleans* at their Head. This Prince was highly offended at the cold Reception the King had given him, after a Twenty-five Years Captivity which he had undergone for the Intereſts of *France*, and even during which he had done him very ſignal Services. In all likelihood this League would have given a deadly Blow to the King's Affairs, if purſuant to a lucky Piece of Advice, he had not

New League againſt King Charles.

* Her Judges were the Earls of *Huntington*, *Stafford*, *Suffolk*, and *Northumberland*, with ſome other Lords. She was kept Priſoner in *Cheſter*-Caſtle, under the Cuſtody of Sir *Thomas Stanly*.

1441. brought off the Head by considerable Favours. The Defection of the Duke of *Orleans* having broken all the Confederates Measures, they were fain to have recourse to the King's Clemency. Thus ended the League, and thus end generally all Leagues of Subjects against their Sovereigns, when the Sovereigns are wise enough to find Means to content the Ring-Leaders.

Tartas besieged by the English. The Rebellion of the Princes was not the only Thing that made King *Charles* uneasy. His Honour as well as his Interest called upon him to relieve *Tartas* a Town of *Guienne* besieged by the *English*. This Place belonged to the *House of Albret*, which a good while since did great Service to *France* by the Diversions they gave the *English* in *Guienne*. It greatly concerned the King therefore to succour this *House* which was in Danger of losing the most considerable Place in their Possession. Otherwise it was to be feared that all the Lords of *Guienne* which were of his Party, would leave him and turn to the King of *England*. Mean Time the League of the Princes having hindered him from thinking sooner of relieving *Tartas*, it was not till *November* that he began his march to *Guienne*. The Town still held out, and it was *January* first before the Garrison capitulated upon a Condition which afforded the King more Time than he had occasion for to prepare for its Relief. The Capitulation ran, that the Town should be committed to the Custody of the Lords, *Cognac* and *Saint Per*, to be surrendered to the *English*, if on the 24th of *June* next there appeared not a *French* Army strong enough to give Battle. But if it was relieved on the Day prefixed, it should be restored to the Lord *D' Albret*.

The Town capitulates to surrender if not relieved in six Months.

1442. Charles *advances towards* Guienne. *Charles* having all the Leisure necessary to get ready, spent the Winter in *Poictou*, where he drew a very considerable Army together, consisting of four Hundred Lances, eight Thousand Cross-Bow-Men, and other Archers. All the Lords of the Kingdom having repaired to him, he counted one Hundred and Sixty Banners in his Army. In the mean Time *England* made no Attempt to defend *Guienne*, or give the Enemy a Diversion elsewhere. The *Council* seemed

ſeemed to have loſt their Senſes, ſince the Duke of *Glouceſter* had no longer any Credit at the *Board*. 1442.

With the Forces *Charles* had drawn together in *Poictou*, he brought down ſome Lords of that Country, who carried it there with too high a Hand. From thence he came to *Limoges*, where he made ſome ſtay. Then he went and paſſed ſome Time at *Montauban*. There it was that he loſt the brave *La Hire* or *Vignoles* one of his beſt Generals. The Relief of *Tartas* was not the only Motive of his Journey. There was another which touched him more nearly; and that was to become Maſter of the Earldom of *Cominge*, to which he laid claim by Virtue of an *Intail* upon him. As this Affair has ſome Relation to thoſe of *Eagland*, it will be neceſſary to ſhow the Ground of his Pretenſions. *Death of* La Hire.

Margaret Heireſs of *Cominge* had two Daughters by her firſt Husband *John* III Earl of *Armagnac* who died in 1391, and the two Daughters died likewiſe ſoon after. The Counteſs was married afterwards to *John d' Armagnac* Earl of *Fezenſaquet*. But by an Outrage upon the Laws unheard of in *France*, ſhe divorced her ſecond Huſband, who died with Grief in 1403. Then ſhe eſpouſed *Matthew de Grailly* Brother of *John* Earl of *Foix*, and had Iſſue a Daughter, but of ſo weak a Conſtitution that *Matthew* her Father was afraid the Death of the Mother and Daughter would out him of the Earldom of *Cominge*, of which he was in Poſſeſſion. For this Reaſon he preſſed his Counteſs, who was much older than himſelf, to make a Will, and intail it upon him after their Daughter. But the Counteſs refuſed to do it. *Margaret* perſiſting in her Reſolution occaſioned ſuch a Quarrel between her and her Husband, that he reſolved to diſpoſſeſs her, with the help of the Earl of *Armagnac*, who was very ready to join in the Project, on Condition of going ſhares with him. Whereupon the Earl of *Armagnac* attacked the Counteſs, vanquiſhed her, took her Priſoner, and with her Husband's Conſent ſhut her up in a Caſtle, where ſhe was confined Twenty-two Years. This rigorous Uſage ſerved only to exaſperate the old Counteſs the more. At length in 1435 ſhe found Means to make in her Confinement a *Will*, whereby ſhe nominated Charles's *Claim to the Earldom of* Cominge.

1442. nominated her Daughter *Jane* for her *Heir*, and after her intailed the Earldom upon King *Charles* VII. *Jane* dying ſome Time after, *Charles* was informed of this *Intail*, and as the Counteſs was ſtill living, he formed a Deſign to free her from Impriſonment, and get her to confirm her *Will*. After he had made ſome ſtay at *Montauban* he came to *Toulouſe*, and ordered the Earls of *Armagnac* and *Cominge* to be ſummoned before the Parliament of that City. The two Earls made their Appearance, not daring to ſtand out againſt a Prince backed with an Army who had it in his Power to compel them. Beſides, ſeeing the Earl of *Armagnac*'s Anceſtors had voluntarily owned the Kings of *France* for their Sovereign-Lords, there was no room to decline the Juriſdiction of their Parliaments. He was forced therefore to bring the old Counteſs now fourſcore Years of Age, to *Toulouſe*, where the Parliament decreed the *Intail* made upon the King *good* and *valid*. Purſuant to this Decree the King took Poſſeſſion of the Earldom of *Cominge*. But for the ſake of *Gaſton* Earl of *Foix*, who had ſucceeded *John* his Father in 1437, he was pleaſed to conſent, that *Matthew* his Uncle ſhould enjoy his Part of the Earldom during Life. The Earl of *Armagnac* was treated more rigorouſly. The King not only outed him of the Part he had uſurped, but moreover ſtripped him of the Privilege of the *Regale* * in his Territories, and forbad him to ſtile himſelf, *John by the Grace of God, Earl of Armagnac*, as he had done hitherto, and as his Anceſtors had always done before him.

The Earls of Armagnac *and* Cominge *cited before the Parliament of* Toulouſe.

Cominge *adjudged to the King.*

The Earl of Armagnac *is highly offended.*

The Earl of *Armagnac* did not think he had deſerved ſuch Uſage, after all the Services his *Houſe* had done the Kings of *France*. If in order to eſpouſe their Intereſts, his Anceſtors had not caſt off the Dominion of the Kings of *England*, he would not have been liable to appear before the Parliament of *Toulouſe*, nor have loſt the Privileges which the Kings of *England*, Dukes of *Guienne*, had never diſputed with his Predeceſſors. So that he beheld with extreme

* The Right of which the Kings of *France* have of diſpoſing of *Benefices* during the Vacancy of an *Epiſcopal See*.

treme Vexation the Zeal of his Anceſtors for the Intereſts of *France* become the Ground of his Oppreſſion. He burned with a Deſire to throw off his Yoke and be revenged. But as he was well aware that his Forces alone were not capable to procure him that Satisfaction, he reſolved to caſt himſelf into the Arms of the King of *England*. Shortly after he ſent to demand his Protection, with an Offer of one of his Daughters in Marriage. The Propoſal being laid before the *Council*, it was judged that in the preſent Poſture of the King's Affairs in *France*, the Alliance propoſed by the Earl of *Armagnac* could not but be very advantagious. So without Loſs of Time, Ambaſſadors were diſpatched to the Earl of *Armagnac*, to ſettle the Marriage-Articles, and to betroth one of his Daughters in the King's Name. 1442.

He offers his Daughcer to Henry. Act. Pub. XI. 6.

His Offers accepted.

Mean while, *Charles* having appeared before *Tartas* on the 24th of *June*, and no Enemy offering to give him Battle, the Place was reſtored to the Lord *d'Albret*, according to the Capitulation. They were not ignorant in *England* of the Preparations of the *French*, and yet they had taken no Meaſures for the Defence of *Guienne*, which was going to be invaded. *Charles* taking Advantage of their Careleſſneſs, became Maſter of St. *Sever*. Then he went and laid Siege to *Acs*, one of the ſtrongeſt Places in thoſe Parts, which held out ſeven Weeks. *La Reole* was carried by Storm; and *Marmande* fell likewiſe into the Hands of the *French*. During the Winter following, which was exceeding ſharp, *Acs* and St. *Sever* opened their Gates to the *Engliſh*: but the Earl of *Foix* retook St. *Sever*. *Charles* paſſed the whole Winter at *Toulouſe*.

Charles *relieves* Tartas, *and takes ſeveral Places in* Guienne.

Whilſt theſe things were tranſacting at one End of the Kingdom, the *Engliſh* were thinking of making a Diverſion at the other. They ſhould have thought of it ſooner, to the end they might have diverted *Charles* from marching into *Guienne*. By that Means they would have infallibly preſerved the Places they had juſt loſt. Be that as it will, Orders being given to raiſe five Thouſand Men in *England*, the Command of them was conferred on *Talbot*, whom the King had lately created *Earl of Shrewsbury*. *Talbot* landing in

Talbot *made* Earl *of* Shrewſbury, *and the Baſtard of* Orleans Earl *of* Dunois.

1442. *Exploits of the Earl of* Shrewsbury *in* Normandy.

in *Normandy*, soon made the Bastard of *Orleans* quit the Field, who had likewise a new Title as well as he, being made *Earl of Dunois*. He presently laid Siege to the Castle of *Conches*, and to make a Diversion, the *French* General invested *Galardon*. *Talbot* having carried the Castle in a few Days, the Earl of *Dunois* did not think fit to stay his coming, who was marching directly to give him Battle. Then the Earl of *Shrewsbury* advanced towards *Dieppe*, a Place of great Importance, which the *French* still held in *Normandy*. He made such speed, that *Estouteville*, who was marching with the utmost Expedition, in order to throw in a Supply of Troops, could not arrive soon enough. Upon his coming before the Place, he formed the Siege, though with an Army little proportionable to such an Undertaking, and especially in the Month of *November*. The Truth is, he did not expect to be Master of it during the Winter, and without more Forces. But his design was to take the Fort of *Charles Mesuil*, situated on Mount *Polet*, which hindered him from approaching the Town. After that he was in hopes to block it up so closely, that it should be forced to surrender. Having thus taking his Measures, he attacked the Fort Sword in Hand and carried it. And then ordered it to be made longer and stronger; and having mounted his Batteries, left the Management of the Siege or rather Blockade to his Bastard Son, and returned to *England* in order to sollicite Reinforcements.

He blockades Dieppe.

and goes to England *for a Reinforcement.*

The Duke of Glouceſter *accuses the Cardinal of* Winchester.

As Matters then stood at Court, it was no proper Time for the Earl of *Shrewsbury* to succeed in obtaining the Succours he demanded, at least not so soon as was necessary. The Duke of *Glouceſter* perceiving the King's Affairs grew daily worse and worse, brought at this very time before the *Council* an Impeachment of High-Treason against the *Cardinal of Winchester*. Apparently his Enmity to that Prelate made him look upon him as the Occasion of all the Misfortunes which had befallen the *English*. It may be, he had no other Design but to clear himself to the Publick by accusing his Enemy. And indeed, so well acquainted as he was without doubt with the Temper of the *Council*, he could not flatter himself with the least Prospect of succeeding

ceeding in an Affair of that Nature. However that be, the Impeachment conſiſted of Fourteen Articles, the Subſtance whereof is as follows: 1442.

Heads of Impeachments.

I. That the Biſhop of *Wincheſter* had accepted the Dignity of *Cardinal*, contrary to the late King's Orders and the Rights of the *Metropolitan See* of *Canterbury*.

II. That by the *Statute* againſt *Proviſors*, having forfeited the Biſhoprick of *Wincheſter*, he had procured the Pope's *Bull* to ſecure it, and by ſo doing had acted contrary to the Laws of the Realm, and particularly to the *Statute of Præmunire* made for that Purpoſe.

III. That jointly with *John Kemp* Archbiſhop of *York*, he had unjuſtly ſeized upon the Government of the King's Perſon without being authorized thereto.

IV. That he had defrauded the King of his Jewels.

This Article was grounded upon the Cardinal's lending the King Money upon Pawn.

V. That being *Chancellor* of the Kingdom, he had ſealed an Order for the Enlargement of the King of *Scotland*, and another to forgive that Prince part of his Ranſom, provided he would marry his Niece.

VI. That he had deprived the King of his Revenues, by applying to his own uſe the Cuſtoms on Wool at the Port of *Southampton*.

Apparently the Cardinal ſtopped by that Means the Money he had lent the King.

VII. That he had the Confidence to ſummon People before him, contrary to the Prerogatives of the Crown, and the Authority Royal.

He did this, in all appearance as Legate. But he could not do ſo according to Law, without the King's Licence.

VIII. That he had procured from *Rome* an Exemption for his *Dioceſe* from all the King's Taxes, and thereby had given a very pernicious Precedent to the reſt of the Biſhops.

IX. That he had been inſtrumental in reconciling the Duke of *Burgundy* with King *Charles* and the Duke of *Orleans*, to the great Prejudice of *England*.

X. That

1442. X. That being the King's Ambaſſador and Plenipotentiary to treat about Peace, he had ſent the Archbiſhop of *York* to the King, to perſuade him to quit the Title of *King of France*, to the Diſhonour of the King and his illuſtrious Anceſtors.

XI. That the Enlargement of the Duke of *Orleans* had been brought about by his and the Duke of *York*'s Intrigues contrary to the expreſs Order of the late King.

XII. That being *High Chancellor*, he had himſelf purchaſed *Crown Lands* inſtead of hindering ſuch kind of *Alienations* according to the Duty of his Office.

XIII. That by giving *Commiſſions* to ſuch Officers in the Army only as were his Creatures, he had been the Cauſe of all the Loſſes ſuſtained in *France*.

XIV. That he had ſold *Captains Commiſſions*, and by that Means brought into the King's Service ſuch as were incapable of doing their Duty.

The Cardinal is acquitted.

Theſe Accuſations were read in *Council*. But the *Board* had for a good while conſiſted of none but the *Cardinal*'s Creatures and the Duke of *Glouceſter*'s Enemies. And therefore, under colour of being unwilling to meddle with the Prerogative Royal, the Act of *Indemnity* which the King had granted the *Cardinal* in 1437 was trumped up. The Duke of *Glouceſter*, plainly perceiving there was no poſſibility of getting his Enemy condemned, dropped the Impeachment, and the King gave the *Cardinal* a freſh Pardon.

Act. Pub. XI. 20.

The Duke of Glouceſter *loſes Ground daily.*

Certainly the Duke of *Glouceſter* ſaw himſelf in an ugly Situation. Beſides the Vexation he was under to behold thoſe that ſat at the Helm ſteering a Courſe contrary to that which the glorious *Henry* V. his Brother had chalked out, he perceived they made it their Buſineſs to mortify him upon all Occaſions. The King his Nephew, who was ſo much beholden to him, ſuffered himſelf to be miſled by the Artifices of his Enemies, not having Penetration enough to diſcern thoſe who had only their own Intereſt in view. They made him conſider his Uncle as a ſecret Enemy, that would rejoice at his Deſtruction, ſeeing he

They prejudice the King againſt him.

was

was next Heir. What is more, they inſpired him with ſtrong Suſpicions againſt him, by repreſenting him as a Counſellor whoſe Intereſt it was to ingage him in wrong Courſes, in order to draw upon him the Contempt and Hatred of his Subjects, and by that Means pave his own Way to the Crown. It is no Wonder that a young Prince of ſo narrow a Genius as *Henry*, ſhould be blinded by ſuch Inſinuations. He had no Body near his Perſon that might help to undeceive him. For ſome Time ſince he ſaw none but his Uncle's Enemies. The *Cardinal* was ever watchful not to ſuffer any Perſon at Court, or at the *Board*, but what was devoted to him; and this he made his chief Buſineſs. He it was that had introduced to Court the Earl of *Suffolk*, of whom the King was ſo exceeding fond, that he ſaw nothing but with his Eyes, and did nothing but by his Advice. As the new Favourite was wholly indebted to the *Cardinal* for his good Fortune, he miſſed no Opportunity to inſinuate to his Maſter that of all his Subjects the *Cardinal* was the Man he could moſt ſafely confide in. By this Means, he daily ſunk the Duke of *Glouceſter*'s Credit, whoſe Counſels were always directly contrary to thoſe of his Enemy. *John Kemp* Archbiſhop of *York* and *Cardinal* (*a*), was alſo a Counſellor wholly devoted to the *Cardinal of Wincheſter*, and an Inſtrument of his to confirm the King in his Suſpicions againſt the Duke of *Glouceſter*. Thus theſe three *Miniſters* ſtrictly united together, ordered it ſo, that the King daily gave his Uncle ſome freſh Mortification. On the other Hand, the haughty and impatient Temper of the Duke of *Glouceſter* not ſuffering him to brook Indignities without complaining and threatening the Authors, he haſtened his own Ruin by the falſe Steps his Impatience made him run into. 1442.

In *September* this Year the Dutcheſs of *York* was brought to Bed of a Prince, whom we ſhall ſee hereafter mount the Throne by the Name of *Edward* IV. *Birth of* Edward *Son of the Duke of* York.

(*a*) Promoted to the Cardinalſhip by *Eugenius* IV in 1431.

1442. *John* V Duke of *Bretagne* dying the 28th of *August*, *Francis* his eldeſt Son had ſucceeded him in the Sovereignty of that Dutchy.

1443. *Truce between* England *and* Burgundy. Monſtrelet. The Year 1443 began with a private Negotiation between the King and Duke of *Burgundy*. The Duke finding that Matters were in ſuch a Way that the Quarrel between the two Kings was not likely to be decided, either by War or Peace, thought it his wiſeſt Courſe to get out of the Scrape by making a ſeparate Truce with *England*. He was not pleaſed with King *Charles* upon ſeveral Accounts too tedious to be inſerted here. On the contrary, he had reaſon to fear that *Charles* was Friends with him purely out of Policy, and that in Caſe his Affairs ſhould once come to be firmly reſtored, he might reſume his old Animoſity againſt him. For this Reaſon chiefly he judged it would be againſt his Intereſt to aſſiſt him any longer to finiſh a War, the proſperous Iſſue whereof might render him too powerful. Theſe Conſiderations induced him to give his Dutcheſs full Power to conclude with the King of *England* a general Truce for all their reſpective Dominions. That which was made before, concerned only the Trade between *England* and the *Low-Countries*. But this which was ſigned the 23d of *April* included *Burgundy* and all the Dukes Territories in general. It was to laſt till one of the Parties ſhould put an End to it, in which Caſe the other was to have notice of it three Months before-hand.

Charles *ſends the* Dauphin *to relieve* Dieppe. The Blockade of *Dieppe* was continued all this while, in expectation of the Supplies which were to come from *England* in order to carry on the Siege more vigorouſly. *Charles* perceiving the Place would be in great Danger if not relieved before the Arrival of the *Engliſh* Troops, reſolved at laſt to ſend thither the *Dauphin* his Son, who preſſed him to commit to him the Conduct of this Affair. It was not however without Reluctance that he granted him this Favour. He was not only afraid to truſt out of his Sight this young Prince who had ſeveral Times already given Proofs of a turbulent Spirit, but moreover did not Care to afford him Opportunities of acquiring Glory. Theſe Conſiderations however gave Place to the neceſſity of relieving

Dieppe,

Dieppe, which was reduced to Extremities by an eight Months Blockade. The *Dauphin* ſet out from *Guienne* with a Body of four Thouſand Horſe, and marched towards *Normandy*. When he came within Sight of *Dieppe*, he eaſily ſaw that the Fort of *Charles Maſuil* where the *Engliſh* had fortified themſelves, was impregnable on the Side next the Field. And therefore without heſitating, he choſe to enter the Town and executed his Deſign, in ſpite of all the *Engliſh* could do to hinder him. Hardly was he in, when without giving them Time to breathe, he ſallied out with all his Troops, and ſtormed the Fort on the Side next the Town. He was beat back three Times, but the fourth he carried it Sword in Hand. The *Engliſh* finding they were unable to continue the Blockade after the loſs of their Fort, raiſed it and retired in good Order. *John* Duke of *Somerſet*, who had lately ſucceeded *Henry* his Brother, arrived five Days after with a Reinforcement of five Thouſand Men. Had he came ſooner the *Dauphin* would not perhaps have got off with ſo much Honour. As the Duke found the Blockade raiſed, he could do nothing more than ravage Part of the Enemies Country, after having retaken ſome Caſtles in *Normandy*.

1443.

Lewis *raiſes the Blockade of* Dieppe.

The Duke of Somerſet *comes too late.*

Since the Departure of the *Dauphin*, *Charles* had at length quitted *Guienne*, and was come to *Tours*, where he diverted himſelf after the Hardſhips of the War. But his Pleaſures were ſomewhat diſturbed by the News he received that the Earl of *Armagnac* had taken up Arms and ſeized that Part of the Earldom of *Cominge* which he had been lately diſpoſſeſſed of. The voluptuous Life *Charles* lead at *Tours*, was to him ſo full of Charms, that he could not reſolve to interrupt his Pleaſures ſo ſoon. He waited till the *Dauphin* was returned, and as he had behaved ſo well in the Affair of *Dieppe*, he diſpatched him immediately upon his Arrival, to go and chaſtiſe the Earl of *Armagnac*. Upon the *Dauphin*'s Approach, the Earl ſaw himſelf deſerted by all his Friends, and the *Engliſh* ſtirred not in his Defence, though the King was betrothed to his Daughter. So that the *Dauphin* became Maſter without much difficulty of *Rovergne*, and of all in general that belonged to the Earl who had

The Earl of Armagnac *takes Poſſeſſion again of* Cominge.

The Dauphin *outs him of his Territories.*

1443. had nothing left but the little Town of *Liſle en Jourdain* about Twenty Miles from *Toulouſe*. The *Dauphin* kept it beſieged a good while in vain. At length, deſparing of putting an honourable End to the Siege, he managed it ſo, that he got the Earl to meet him at a Conference, upon his giving him a *Safe-Conduct*, and when he had him in his Power, ſent him to the King his Father, who made no ſcruple to detain him. Two Years after he reſtored him his Territories at the Inſtances of the Kings of *Caſtile* and *Navarre*, who interceeded in his behalf.

Makes him Priſoner by Treachery.

The Earl of *Armagnac*'s Misfortune made the King and Council of *England* grow cold with reſpect to the Match, of which there was no further Talk. They ſcrupled not to put that Affront upon an unfortunate Prince, who had it not in his Power to be revenged.

1444. Since the Duke of *Burgundy* had made a ſeparate Truce with *Henry*, the *French* were not ſo eager for continuing the War. The Truth is, they had no leſs need of reſt than the *Engliſh*. *France* was utterly ruined by this fatal War, which had laſted thirty Years without Interruption, and by the inteſtine Troubles which the Quarrel between the *Houſes* of *Orleans* and *Burgundy* had raiſed ſeveral Years before the Breach of the Truce. The Princes and great Men were diſheartened at the Hardſhips and Loſſes they ſuſtained ſo long ſince. The Country and Towns were become deſolate. *France*, though generally well peopled, could no longer find Soldiers. Beſides, the Duke of *Orleans* who had paſſed his Word to uſe his utmoſt Endeavour to procure a Peace, being willing to keep his Promiſe, never ceaſed to ſollicite King *Charles* upon that Score. The Duke of *Burgundy* preſſed him likewiſe on his Part, and the whole Kingdom in general ardently wiſhed to ſee at length an End put to ſo many Calamities. In *England* they were no leſs deſirous of Peace. All the Money that was levyed there, was ſwallowed up in *France* as it were in a bottomleſs Gulf, from whence it never returned. In a Word, the King was no Warrior, and his *Council* conſiſted for the moſt Part of *Eccleſiaſticks*, whom the *Cardinal of Wincheſter* had brought in to ſtrengthen his Party.

The two Kings are equally deſirous of a Peace.

The

The *Council* was very ſenſible that the continuance of the War would by no Means gain them the Affections of the People. As the War had long ſince been diſadvantagious to *England*, it was natural to caſt the Blame upon thoſe that ſat at the Helm, rather than upon the King who only approved of what was ſuggeſted by his *Miniſters*. The Duke of *Glouceſter* alone was of Opinion, that they ought to do their utmoſt in order to take Advantage of King *Charles*'s Weakneſs, and reap the Benefit of the Truce lately made with the Duke of *Burgundy*. But the Duke was no longer in vogue, neither were his Counſels regarded. 1444.

It is agreed to treat about a Truce at Tours.

Theſe Conſiderations, which were very weighty on both Sides, prevailed at length with the two Kings to hearken to the Inſtances of the Duke of *Burgundy*, who urged him to conſent to a Truce, that they might the more calmly ſet about making a Peace. It was agreed that the Negotiation ſhould be at *Tours*, where King *Charles* reſided, though it ſhould ſeem by that as if the *Engliſh* were to come and ſue for it. At any other Time the bare propoſing to treat at *Tours* would have been enough to ſpoil all. But *Henry*'s *Council* ſtood not ſo much upon Punctilio's. They were for having a Truce at any rate, and nothing appeared diſhonourable to attain that End. We ſhall even ſee preſently that almoſt every Thing was adjuſted in private, before the Ambaſſadors ſet out for *Tours*. This Truce, which ſeemed to be grounded upon the Publick Good, was properly deſigned purely for the Support of the *Miniſtry*, who had nothing leſs in view than the Benefit of the Kingdom. *Henry* perceived nothing of the Matter. He ſuffered himſelf to be guided according to Cuſtom, by his Counſellors, who made him believe that they had his Intereſts at Heart, when in reality they were working only for themſelves.

The Earl of Suffolk *head of the Embaſſy.*

William de la Pole Earl of *Suffolk* was appointed Head of the Embaſſy which was to go to *France*. The Earl had more than one Reaſon to deſire this Office, as will be ſeen preſently. Mean while, as he was not ignorant how tickliſh a Step he was going to make, and how liable to be ſtrictly inquired into, he preſented to the King a *Petition*, which in all appearance had been concerted with the princi-

He acts cautiouſly in the Matter.

pal

1444. February. Act. Pub. XI. 53.

pal Members of the *Council*. He appeared in his *Petition* exceeding ſcrupulous with regard to the *Inſtructions* he had received, pretending they were vaſtly beyond his Capacity, though in all likelihood he was himſelf the Author of them. Then he modeſtly begged to be eaſed of the Burden of the Negotiation, or at leaſt, if the King did not think proper to grant him that Favour, he would be pleaſed to ſecure him againſt all After-reckonings. Whereupon the King by the Advice of his *Council*, cauſed an authentick *Order* to be drawn up, impowering him to execute fully every Particular contained in his *Inſtructions*. As in all probability, this *Order* was not to be ſhown but in Caſe of Neceſſity, and after the Execution, the King ſaid in it, that the *Inſtructions* concerned not only the general Good of the Kingdom, but alſo his own Perſon and Marriage. A clear Evidence that the Marriage we ſhall ſpeak of preſently, was already reſolved upon.

A Truce is concluded at Tours. Act. Pub. XI. 54.

The Ambaſſadors of *England* being come to *Tours*, forthwith began to treat with King *Charles*'s Commiſſioners about a Peace. But after ſome Propoſals on both Sides, which came to nothing, they agreed to a Truce, which was ſigned the 28th of *May*. It was to commence the 7th of *July* this Year, and end the firſt of *April* 1446.

ibid. p. 58.

At the ſame Time, the Truce betwen *England* and *Scotland* was prolonged for ſeven Years, to begin the 1ſt of *May* 1447, which was the Day the former Truce was to expire.

Suffolk *propoſes a Marriage between the King and* Margaret *of* Anjou.

The Buſineſs of the Truce with *France* being over, the Earl of *Suffolk* propoſed, or got to be propoſed, a Match between the King his Maſter and *Margaret* of *Anjou* Daughterof *René* of *Anjou* who bore the Title of *King of Sicily*, ſince the Death of *Lewis* III his elder Brother. The *Engliſh* tax the Earl of *Suffolk* with making this Propoſal of his own Head, without any Authority; but we have ſeen the contrary above. Not but that in all appearance he was the firſt Contriver of it; but he had taken the Precaution to get it approved of by the King. He was willing to keep the Poſt he was in, and nothing was more proper to that End than the Marriage he had in View. He was ſenſible

His Motives for it.

ſible that *Henry* was uncapable of holding the Reins of the Government himſelf, and conſequently it could not be otherwiſe but that his *Miniſters* would be liable to Envy, and bear the blame of every Thing that ſhould not be reliſhed by the People. In this Belief he fancied the beſt way to ſupport himſelf was to give the King a Wife, and the Kingdom a Governeſs at the ſame Time. To that End, it was neceſſary that the Princeſs which ſhould mount the Throne, ſhould be of great Parts, able to ſupply the Defects of the King her Spouſe, and of a ſteddy Reſolution, which might afford a Proſpect that ſhe would protect the *Miniſtry*. It was neceſſary moreover, that ſhe ſhould be of ſuch a Rank as not to be a Diſparagement to the King, but withal ſhould have no Ground naturally to aſpire to ſuch a Match, to the end that being entirely beholden to thoſe that helped her to it, ſhe might be always ready to ſupport them. The Earl of *Suffolk*'s Aim was likewiſe to be ſtrictly united with the Queen, in order to complete the Ruin of the Duke of *Glouceſter*, who was a continual Obſtacle to the Deſigns of the *Miniſtry*. All theſe Requiſites were found in *Margaret* of *Anjou*, Daughter of *René* King of *Sicily*, and Niece of the Queen of *France*. She was a Princeſs of a lively, daring Spirit, of great Penetration, uncommon Reſolution, and not to be frighted by Oppoſition or Difficulties. On the other Hand, the Match which the Earl of *Suffolk* propoſed was ſo advantagious, that ſhe durſt not have had any Thoughts of it, if ſeveral Circumſtances had not concurred in her Favour. I do not ſpeak of her Birth, which certainly was illuſtrious enough to give her a Pretenſion to this Honour. But ſhe was ſo deſtitute of the Goods of Fortune, that her Parents could not give her any Dowry. To ſupply this Defect, the *Engliſh Miniſters* extolled to the Skies her noble Qualities, which they ſaid were more to be valued than all the Money in the World. Moſt eſpecially they hinted to the People, that this Princeſs being Niece to the Queen of *France*, and a great Favourite of King *Charles*'s, would be very Inſtrumental in procuring a Peace. This was too plainly ſhowing how much Occaſion there was for one. Accordingly the Court of *France*,

1444. *He ingages to deliver up* Maine *to the King of* Sicily.

1444. *France*, who had perfect Intelligence of all that passed in *England*, made their Advantage of it, by engaging the Earl of *Suffolk* to promise on the King's Name to deliver up *Mans*, and the whole Province of *Maine* to the King of *Sicily*, on Condition that he should make a Present of them to *Charles* of *Anjou* his Brother. Thus instead of receiving a Marriage-Portion with *Margaret*, *Henry* purchased a Wife with the Restitution of one of the strongest Places in *France*, or rather with the whole Province of *Maine*.

He returns to England.

The Terms being thus settled, the Earl of *Suffolk* returned to *England*, in order to lay them before the King and get his Approbation. This was no difficult Matter, since the principal Counsellors were in the Secret, and had already given their Consent. The Duke of *Gloucester*, who had never heard of this Match before, strongly opposed it for two Reasons which seemed unanswerable. The First was, That the King being already engaged to the Daughter of the Earl of *Armagnac*, it would be very dishonourable to break his plighted Faith, without alledging the least Excuse. The Second was of no less Force, namely, that *Maine* being as it were the Bulwark of *Normandy*, it could not be given up without putting *Normandy* in manifest Danger, as soon as the Truce should expire. But there was no regard had to these Reasons. So that by the Advice of the *Council*, the King impowered the Earl of *Suffolk* to go and espouse the Princess *Margaret*, in his Name.

The Duke of Gloucester opposes the Match.

Divers new Creations.

For Joy the Marriage was concluded, the King created the Earl his Ambassador, *Marquiss of Suffolk*, and upon *John Holland* Earl of *Huntington*, he conferred the Title of *Duke of Exeter*. At the same Time he created *Humphrey* Earl of *Stafford Duke of Buckingham*, and *Henry de Beauchamp* Son of the late Earl of *Warwick Duke of Warwick* *.

The

* In Consideration of his Father's great Descent, the King granted him Place in Parliament and all other Meetings, next the Duke of *Norfolk*, and before *Humphrey de Stafford* Duke of *Buckingham*, the which occasioning great Animosities between them, by a special Act made in Parliament, it was established, that they should have Precedency by Turns yearly, the Duke of *Warwick* to begin the first Year. But his Death shortly after put an End to this Matter. *Dugdale.*

The King's Marriage was ſolemnized by Proxy at *Tours*, in the Preſence of King *Charles* and his whole Court, in a ſplendid manner, little ſuitable to the preſent Circumſtances of the two Kings, and the Indigence of the new Queen. 1444. *The King's Marriage ſolemnized at* Tours. November.

Though the Nuptials were celebrated in *November*, the Queen came not to *England* till the *May* following, and on the 30th of the ſame Month ſhe was ſolemnly crowned. She was no ſooner near the King, but perceiving his Weakneſs, ſhe got an abſolute Aſcendent over him. By that Means the Marquiſs of *Suffolk*, the *Cardinal of Wincheſter*, and the Archbiſhop of *York* bore the ſame Sway they had done before the King's Marriage. They ſtood in need of the Queen, and ſhe on her Part could not do without them, ſince ſhe had yet no other Creatures but thoſe they had helped her to. For this Reaſon a very ſtrict Union was formed between the Queen and the *Miniſters* which could not but end in the Ruin of the Duke of *Glouceſter*, whom they all looked upon as their common Enemy. 1445. *The Queen's Arrival. She is crowned.* *A League againſt the Duke of* Glouceſter.

The Truce having been made purely with Deſign to bring about a Peace, this whole Year was ſpent in ſeveral Negotiations about the Time and Place of a new Congreſs. It was thought likewiſe that an Interview of the two Kings might forward the Concluſion of a Peace. Wherefore the *Miniſters* of both Courts agreed, that the two Monarchs ſhould meet ſomewhere in *France*, and to that Purpoſe *Henry* ſhould repair to *Calais*, that he might be near the Place which ſhould be pitched upon for the Interview. But ſeveral Difficulties ariſing about the choice of the Place, the Truce was prolonged till *November* the 1ſt 1446. *The Truce is prolonged at an Interview of the two Kings.*

Henry Chichely who held the *See* of *Canterbury* thirty Years, died this Year, and was ſucceeded by *John Stafford* Biſhop of *Bath* and *Wells*. John Stafford *Archbiſhop of* Canterbury.

The Duke of *York* having nothing more to do in *France*, came to *England*, where the Court gave him a very kind Reception, and thanked him for the Services he had done the *State*. The King willing to ſhow his Gratitude, granted him a *Patent* for the Regency of *France* during five Years longer. We ſhall ſee hereafter that his Enemies would not ſuffer him to enjoy that Dignity ſo long. 1446. *The Duke of* York *is made Regent of* France *for five Years longer.*

1446. *A Subsidy granted for the War.*

The Parliament which met in the Beginning of the Year 1446, granted the King a considerable *Subsidy* for carrying on the War in *France* with Vigour, as soon as the Truce should be expired. But this pretended Design of continuing the War, was only a Lure to draw Money from the Parliament. Instead of making Preparations for War, Negotiations for the Interview of the two Kings, and the holding a Congress were continued with Eagerness. Mean while, the Truce was further prolonged to *April* the 1st, 1447. This shows that the *Council* intended not to carry on the War, though the Parliament was called on that Pretence. We shall see presently that the Truce was again prolonged, and that it was not broke but by an unexpected Accident, contrary to the Intention of those that sat at the Helm in *England*.

Truce is prolonged. Act. Pub. XI. 108.

The Parliament gives the Marquis of Suffolk Thanks.

The Parliament might easily have seen through the Devices made use of to get Money from them, if they had not voluntarily shut their own Eyes. This was one of those Parliaments that are managed by the Intrigues of the Court, as it is but too often the Case. This plainly appeared by the Resolution they took to return the Marquis of *Suffolk* publick Thanks for the great Service he had done the Kingdom, in negotiating the King's Marriage. Mean time, no body as yet had been able to see any Advantage accrue to the King or State, from an Alliance with the Family of the most mortal Enemy to both. Neither did the Parliament stop there. They addressed the King, praying him to reward the Marquis; and even granted a *Subsidy* on purpose to make him amends for the Expence he had been at in his Embassy.

Project against the Duke of Glocester.

The Queen, the Cardinal of *Winchester*, the Marquis of *Suffolk*, and the rest of that Party finding themselves firmly established, and having nothing to fear from a Parliament so much at their Devotion, began to contrive Means to ruin the Duke of *Glocester*, who was ever formidable to them. The People, for the most Part, were for him. Besides, as hitherto he was the Heir-apparent of the Crown, they had reason to fear, that in case he should one Day mount the Throne, he would call them to account.

The

The first Step they made was to remove him from the *Council-Board.* To give some colour to this Act of Injustice, they suborned Persons to accuse him of divers Crimes, the Principal whereof was, that being Protector of the Realm, he had put several People to Death by his own Authority, and aggravated the Condemnation of others. Upon these Accusations, about which a great Noise was made, he was summoned before the *Council.* But he cleared himself with such Evidence from all that was laid to his Charge, that the *Council*, though entirely made up of his Enemies, thought not proper to push the Business any farther. It is not in *England* as in other Countries, where the Lives of the Subjects depend in some measure on the Will of the Sovereign, who appoints such Commissioners as he pleases, to prosecute those he has a mind to destroy. To take away the Duke of *Glouceſter*'s Life in a legal Manner, there was a Necessity of having him tried by his *Peers.* But his Enemies were well aware, that how great soever their Credit might be, the Body of the Nobility was not so corrupted, as that they could have any Prospect of getting the first Prince of the Blood condemned upon forged Crimes. Mean while, this Precedure raised such an Agitation among the *Londoners*, that nothing was heard throughout the City, but Praises of the Duke of *Glouceſter*, and Curses against those that governed in the King's Name. These Clamours, which were plain Indications of the Peoples Affection for the Duke, convinced his Enemies that there was no Medium between his and their Ruin. And therefore, without further Consideration, they resolved to dispatch him out of the way. The Queen, who was of a bold and enterprizing Genius, was the Person that stirred them up to this Resolution. This at least is what the Historians insinuate, if they have not said it in so many Words. And indeed the *Ministry* would never have ventured upon so bold a Stroke, had they not been incouraged by her. 1446.

His Ruin determined.

It was not practicable, as has been observed, to put this Prince to Death by the usual Course of Justice; and it would have been too hazardous to have him openly assassinated. His Enemies were bent upon his Destruction, but they 1247. *The Parliament is summoned to St.* Edmundsbury.

1447. they had a mind to conceal the Hand that ſhould give him the deadly Blow. To execute their Deſign with all the Secrecy poſſible, they deviſed a Means which the Queen countenanced, if ſhe was not herſelf the Contriver. This was to impeach him of ſome Crime, that they might have a Handle to put him in Priſon, where they ſhould be able to compaſs their Ends privately, and without Impediment. To that Purpoſe it was given out, that a very important Affair required the ſpeedy Meeting of a Parliament. Accordingly one was called for the Month of *February* next. In the Interim, the Queen and *Miniſtry* affected to load the Duke of *Glouceſter* with Honours and Careſſes, not to inſpire him with Confidence but with Suſpicions. They would not have been ſorry at his abſenting himſelf, or taking ſome other Step that might have given them an Advantage againſt him. With this view it was, that by ſecret Emiſſaries they endeavoured to fright him, warning him to take care of himſelf, and hinting that a Deſign was on Foot to impeach him before the Parliament of ſundry Crimes, and ſeveral Miſdemeanors; and that every Thing was prepared to get him condemned: That they had purpoſely made choice of St. *Edmundsbury* to hold the Parliament there, as a Place more proper for their Deſigns than *London*, where the People were too much his Friends. All this was hinted to him, purely to induce him to withdraw, and by that Means give himſelf ſome Appearance of Truth to the Calumnies they intended to blacken him with. But as he knew his own Innocence, he would not, by abſenting himſelf, give any room to the World to believe him guilty. However, let him have done what he would, it was not in his Power to eſcape falling into his Enemies Snares.

The Duke is confined. The firſt Day of the Seſſion of Parliament the Duke was apprehended and put into cloſe Confinement, not having the Liberty to keep any of his Domeſticks with him. To give a plauſible Colour to this ſevere Uſage, care was taken to have it given out, that he had plotted to go with an armed Force, and deliver his Dutcheſs out of *Kenelworth*-Caſtle, where ſhe was impriſoned. The former of theſe Charges found no Credit at all with the People. On the

con-

contrary, there was preſently a Commotion in the City on his Score; but it was ſoon appeaſed. As the People thought him innocent, every one imagined that he would come off as well now as he did before. But he was allowed neither Time nor Opportunity to make his Defence. On the Morrow he was found dead in his Bed, without any Signs of Violence on his Body. Nevertheleſs, People were convinced that he was murdered. Some ſaid, he was ſmothered between two Feather-beds; and others that he underwent the ſame Fate with *Edward* II. To remove theſe Suſpicions, his Body was expoſed to the View of the Two *Houſes* of Parliament, and of all others that had a mind to ſee it. But a Man muſt have been very bold publickly to charge with the Murder thoſe that were conſidered as the Authors. They were no leſs than the Managers of the Affairs of the Kingdom, who in ſacrificing the firſt Prince of the Blood to their Malice and Vengeance, plainly enough ſhowed what Enemies of an inferior Rank were to expect.

1447.

He is found dead in his Bed.

His Body expoſed to view.

Mean while, to make good in ſome Meaſure the Impeachment againſt the Deceaſed, ſeveral of his Domeſticks were apprehended and accuſed of conſpiring to kill the King. Whereupon they were all ſentenced to die, by Judges appointed by virtue of the King's Commiſſion, of whom the Marquiſs of *Suffolk* was chief. But notwithſtanding the Crime for which they were condemned was the moſt heinous, the King pardoned them all without Exception *. This Act of Grace was grounded upon the Conſideration of *Good-Friday*, and *the Aſſumption of the Virgin*, and the like pious and religious Motives. This makes it ſuſpected, that they had bribed theſe People to confeſs themſelves guilty, upon Promiſe and Aſſurance of their Pardon beforehand. Be that as it will, there was no Inquiry made concerning the ſudden Death of the Duke of *Glouceſter*. It was even pretended, that he was notoriouſly guilty of the

His Domeſticks condemned for High-Treaſon. Act. Pub. XI. 178.

The King pardons them. Ibid.

* Of Thirty-two that were attached, Five were drawn to *Tyburn*, hanged, let down alive, ſtript naked, marked with a Knife to be quartered, and then a *Pardon* was ſhown for their Lives. *Speed*, p. 662.

1447. the Crime for which his Domeſticks had been condemned, though they had never been brought Face to Face with him. But as theſe Domeſticks were not of the Number of thoſe whom he truſted the moſt, nor even ſome of the principal, no body could believe that he would have been ſo unwiſe as to make them his Inſtruments, or communicate to them a Deſign of that Nature, if he had in reality intended any ſuch thing.

Hatred of the People againſt the Queen and Miniſtry.

The Outrages exerciſed upon a Prince of that Character, ſo univerſally beloved and eſteemed by the People, drew upon the Queen and the *Miniſters* almoſt as univerſal a Hatred which Time could never efface. The Queen eſpecially was publickly charged with the Murder, and the Reſpect which was due to her was not capable of curbing the Tongues of the People. This however is the very Queen whom the *French* load with exceſſive Commendations, apparently becauſe ſhe was of the Royal Family of *France*. It is true, they very ſlightly paſs over the Death of the Duke of *Glouceſter*, and there is not one that undertakes to juſtify her. As to the King, it is probable enough that he was not conſulted in this infamous Action. But whether he never ſo much as ſuſpected the Authors of the Murder, or whether he had not the Courage to call them to an Account, he can in no wiſe be excuſed but on the Score of his natural Weakneſs. I cannot leave this Subject, withour remarking how ſhort-ſighted *human Policy* is. The Queen and the reſt of the Duke of *Glouceſter*'s Enemies, thought his Death had placed them out of the Reach of all Oppoſition. But by the juſt Judgment of God, the Duke's Death was the very Cauſe of the Ruin of the King, Queen, and all that had been concerned in it. Hence it was that the Duke of *York* ſaw himſelf at Liberty to aſſert his Claim to the Crown; a Claim, which occaſioned the ſpilling of Torrents of *Engliſh* Blood, and which he would doubtleſs never have thought of, had he had ſuch a Competitor againſt him as the Duke of *Glouceſter* *.

Whilſt

* His Body was carried to St. *Albans*, where a noble Monument afterwards erected to his Memory, ſtill remains in the *Conventual Church*.

Whilſt this Tragedy was acting in *England*, the Negotiations about a Peace were carrying on in *France*. But as great Difficulties aroſe againſt the projected Interview of the two Kings, the Truce was further prolonged to *January* the 1ſt, 1448. 1447. *The Truce prolonged.* Act. Pub. XI. 151.

Mean time, the Dutcheſs of *Burgundy*, by virtue of the Power ſhe had received from the Duke her Husband, had lengthned the Truce with *England* till 1459, on Condition that if either of the two Parties had a mind to break it, the other ſhould have a Twelve Months notice. After which, a new Treaty was made *May* the 4th, whereby the two Princes agreed, that the Truce ſhould not be broken within the firſt four Years. *The Truce between* Burgundy *and* England *prolonged.* p. 140. p. 171.

The *Cardinal of Wincheſter*, one of the principal Contrivers of the Death of the Duke of *Glouceſter*, enjoyed but one Month the Satisfaction of ſeeing his Enemy fallen. He was a Prelate much better cut out for the *World* than the *Church*. Accordingly, he remained attached to the former to his laſt Gaſp. It is ſaid that he died in a kind of Rage and Deſpair, that his Riches were not capable of exempting him from the common Fate of all Mankind, and to ſee himſelf by that Means upon a Foot with the moſt miſerable. *The Death of the Cardinal of* Wincheſter.

Mean

Church. He was called *the good Duke of Glouceſter*, having had his Education in *Baliol-College*; he became a great Proficient in Learning, and was a great Favourer of learned Men. He laid the firſt Foundation of the famous Library at *Oxford*, ſince known by the Name of *Bodleian*, from Sir *Thomas Bodley*, by whom it was wonderfully increaſed. Sir *Thomas Moor* gives an Inſtance of this Duke's Sagacity. The King coming one time in Progreſs to St. *Albans*, a Beggar born blind, as he ſaid, recovered his Sight at the *Shrine* of St. *Albans*. The Miracle being noiſed about, the Duke being there with the King, deſired to ſee him; the Beggar being brought, he asked him whether he was born blind? he anſwered, Yes truly. And can you now ſee, *ſays the Duke*? Yes, I thank God and St. *Alban* replies the Beggar. Tell me then, ſays the Duke, what Colour is my Gown? the Beggar readily told him the Colour. And what Colour, ſays the Duke, is ſuch a one's Gown? The Beggar likewiſe told him; and ſo of ſeveral others. You counterfeit Knave, *ſays the Duke*, how came you that were born blind, and could not ſee till now, ſo ſuddenly to know the Difference of Colours? And thereupon, inſtead of an Alms ordered him to be ſet in the Stocks.

1447. *The People murmur againſt* Suffolk.

Mean while, the People perceiving that the Time appointed to work out a Peace was ſpent in vain, loudly murmured againſt the Marquiſs of *Suffolk*. They made no ſcruple to ſay openly, that he had betrayed the King and the *State*; that the Treaty he had made with the *French* tended only to a Truce deſtructive of *England*, as it afforded the Enemy time to fortify himſelf; that he had engaged to yield up *Maine* to the *French*, in order to marry the King with a Princeſs, who had juſt given ſenſible Proofs of the Calamities they were to expect under her Government. Theſe Murmurs were ſo publick, that the Marquiſs could not help taking notice of them. In order therefore to endeavour to ſilence them, he requeſted the King that he would be pleaſed to hear his Defence, that he might ſatisfy him of his Innocence. Whereupon the King ſet him a Day to come and clear himſelf, and heard him in his own Apartment, in the Preſence of ſeveral Lords, none of whom were come there to refute him. He gave an Account of all he had done in *France*, wherein he was at no great Loſs to juſtify himſelf, ſince before his ſetting out upon his Embaſſy, he had taken care to be provided with the King's Orders. Having finiſhed his Diſcourſe, the King declared he was ſatisfied, and gave him *Letters Patents* under the Great Seal, whereby he acquitted him from all Imputation of Miſdemeanor, and enjoyned all Perſons under Pain of his Diſpleaſure, not to accuſe or ſpeak ill of him. But this was not capable of putting a Stop to the Murmurs of the People. No body queſtioned but the King would be ſatisfied: but that was not thought a Reaſon ſufficient to ſatisfy the Nation. In ſpite of the Marquiſs's pretended Defence, he was looked on with Horror, as he was believed to have the greateſt Hand in the Murder of the Duke of *Glouceſter*. Beſides, the King's Marriage brought about by his Means, was conſidered as one of the ſaddeſt Calamities which could poſſibly befal *England*. This was the general Opinion of Town and Country. But the Court, where the Queen would allow none but her Creatures, was of another Temper. The *Miniſters* had likewiſe for Adherents all over the Kingdom, ſuch

He makes his Defence before the King,

who gives him an authentick Diſcharge. Act. Pub. XI. 172.

ſuch as found their Account in ſiding with the Court, that is thoſe that held any Poſt or Office under the *Miniſtry*. All ſuch made uſe of their Authority, and took Pains to ſtifle the Complaints and Murmurings of the People, who could not bear to ſee the Adminiſtration of the publick Affairs in the Hands of a Foreigner. The Truth is, the King, uncapable of holding the Reins of the Government himſelf, did little elſe but lend his Name to the Queen, who made uſe of it as ſhe pleaſed. For his part, he minded nothing but his *Devotions*, wherein the Queen took care to cauſe him to ſpend his whole Time as, in the only Thing he was fit for, to the End ſhe might take him off from the Thoughts of the Government. Some have been very deſirous of making a *Saint* of this Prince. But it may be ſaid, that he was one of thoſe *Saints* not ſo much Praiſeworthy for the Virtues they poſſeſs, as for the Vices they ſtand clear of, and to whom a great Weakneſs of Mind is inſtead of Merit and Worth. 1447. Le P. d'Orleans.

It was impoſſible that the Queen and Marquiſs of *Suffolk* ſhould rule the Kingdom alone without raiſing a Jealouſy. People had not been uſed to ſee Queens take upon them the Government. Wherefore it was with great Uneaſineſs that they beheld the Queen exerciſing an arbitrary Power in the King's Name, who had no other ſhare in Affairs, but to ſet his Hand without Examination to the Orders that were brought to him. The Queen's haughty Carriage, her Partiality in diſpoſing of Places, and above all, the Murder of the Duke of *Glouceſter*, had drawn upon her the Ill-will of the Nation to ſuch a Degree, that ſhe was every where talked of with very little Reſpect. Her intimate Union with the Marquiſs of *Suffolk*, gave her Enemies a freſh Handle to ſpread Reports not much to her Honour. The Marquiſs was no leſs hated than the Queen. He it was that had brought her into *England*, and in order to make the Match, had ſacrificed the Intereſts of the Kingdom. But the King's Name was ſo reverenced, that beſides thoſe whoſe Intereſt made them ſide with the Court, abundance of People were of the ſame Party from the Mo- *The Peoples Diſpoſition with regard to the Queen.*

1447. tive of Duty. It was therefore no easy Matter to wrest from the Queen and Favourite the Authority they enjoyed.

They begin to talk of the Duke of York's Title to the Crown.

The Temper most People were in with regard to the Queen and *Ministry*, inspired the Duke of *York* with hopes he should one Day be able to assert his Title to the Crown. He was by his Mother the only Heir of the *House* of *Mortimer* or *March*, descended from *Lionel*, Second * Son of *Edward* III. and elder Brother of *John* of *Gant* Duke of *Lancaster*, whose Posterity was in actual Possession of the Throne. But in all appearance he would never have formed any such Design, if the Duke of *Glouceſter* had been alive, or if the People had not been dissaffected to the Queen and the *Ministry*. Mean while, as it would have been very dangerous for him to discover his Intentions, before he had sounded the Peoples Inclinations, he took care to proceed in such a Manner, as that it should not be possible to convict him of having made the least Step tending that way. He contented himself with making use of some secret Emissaries, who industriously spread among the People such things as served to turn their Thoughts to his Title to the Crown. It was whispered about, that the *House* of *Lancaster* had usurped the Throne. That indeed, the Usurpation had been tolerable whilst the Kings of that *House* were Princes of distinguished Worth, and had acted for the Welfare and Honour of the Nation; that even, during the *Nonage* of the present King, there was a Prospect of his treading in the Steps of his Ancestors, and his being a worthy Follower of the King his Father; but that since he became of Age, nothing glorious was to be expected from him: That therefore the *English* could have no reason to support any longer the Usurpation of the Crown for the sake of a Queen, who, being sprung from the Blood of their most mortal Enemy, ruled the Kingdom with an arbitrary Power: That in taking a View of the Posterity of *Edward* III. it evidently appeared that *the House of March* had been unjustly deprived of the Crown: That the Duke of *York*, being the sole Heir of that *House*, and descended from

* Third Son.

from *Edward* III. by his Father's Side, ought to have his due Right. In fine, that his noble Qualities, his known Virtue, and the ſignal Services he had done the Nation, very ſtrongly ſupported the juſt Title his Birth gave him. Theſe Things dextrouſly ſpread among the People, began to gain the Duke of *York* a Party. But he appeared not himſelf: every thing was done in private by his Friends. 1447.

Mean while, the Queen, Favourite, and all the *Houſe* of *Lancaſter*, failed not to take notice of what was handed about concerning the Pretenſions of the Duke of *York*. He might indeed keep himſelf concealed from others, but it was no eaſy matter to deceive ſuch quick-ſighted Perſons, who were ſo nearly concerned in the Affair. As they did not queſtion in the leaſt but that all theſe Things were divulged abroad with his Approbation, they believed it requiſite to leſſen his Credit, by giving him ſome Mortification. *John* Duke of *Somerſet* dying during theſe Tranſactions, *Edmund* his Brother, who ſucceeded him, ſeemed to be a very proper Perſon to ſet againſt the Duke of *York*. Wherefore, without any manner of Pretence, the Queen and Marquiſs of *Suffolk* managed ſo, that the King removed the Duke of *York* from the Regency of *France*, before his Time was expired, and conferred it upon the new Duke of *Somerſet*. This laſt was of an exceeding haughty Temper, and as his Brothers had been engaged in pretty great Conteſts with the Duke of *York*, he behaved to him upon this Occaſion in ſuch a Manner, that he made him his implacable Enemy. On the other Hand, the Duke of *York* very highly reſented this Affront. But as it was not in his Power to be revenged, he diſſembled his Reſentment, in hopes that Time would furniſh him with a fairer Opportunity to ſhow it.

The Court takes from the Duke of York *the Regency of* France, *and gives it to the Duke of* Somerſet.

In the Beginning of the Year 1448, the King, who was entirely guided by the Directions of the Queen, created the Marquiſs of *Suffolk* Duke of *Suffolk*. The Queen one would have thought intended to brave the People, by ſhowring daily her Favours upon that Lord extremely hated by the whole Nation. By ſo doing ſhe gave her own Enemies great Advantage, who only wanted a Handle to 1448.

The Marquiſs made Duke of Suffolk.

1448. ſtir up the People againſt her. It is a falſe Step which thoſe at the Helm frequently make, not to regard the Complaints of the People. As they are always beſet with Flatterers, or ignorant of what paſſes any where but at Court, or imagine that as long as the Majority of the great Men are for them, the reſt of the People are to be counted as nothing. But it often happens, that they find to their coſt that the great Men and Kings themſelves have no more Power than bare private Perſons, when they are not backed by the People. This is what we ſhall have occaſion to ſee more particularly in the Sequel of the preſent Reign. But we muſt firſt return to the Affairs of *France*, which will afford us yet Matter for ſeveral Years.

Mans *delivered up to* Charles *of* Anjou.

In the Treaty about the King's Marriage, it was agreed that the City of *Mans*, and all the *Engliſh* held in *Maine*, ſhould be delivered up to *Charles of Anjou*, Uncle of the Queen that was to be. But the Noiſe this Article had made in *England*, and the Duke of *Glouceſter*'s Oppoſition, had cauſed the Reſtitution to be put off till this Year. In the Month of *February*, *Charles of Anjou*, at the Head of ſome Troops, appeared before *Mans* in order to take Poſſeſſion. The *French* ſay he beſieged the City, and that the Duke of *Exeter* the Governor, not daring to ſtand an Aſſault, ſurrendred by Capitulation. But it is certain that the Duke of *Exeter* was not at that time in the Place, neither was there any Appearance of a Siege. The Reſtitution was made by Agreement between the two Courts, and *Henry* ſent to *Mans* two Commiſſioners to give up the City to the Prince of *Anjou*. Juſt as he was going to enter, the two Commiſſioners met him upon the Bridge, and made a formal *Proteſtation* before a publick *Notary*, declaring that the ſole Intent of the King of *England* in reſtoring that Place, was purely to procure a final Peace between him and *Charles* his Uncle, and during the Truce only. Moreover, he reſerved to himſelf the Sovereignty of the City and Province, and that in caſe any Attempt ſhould be made upon the Right of this Sovereignty, he claimed a Power to revoke the Ceſſion without injuring his Honour. *Charles* of *Anjou* heard the *Proteſtation* without

Henry's *Proteſtation* Act. Pub. XI. 204.

out giving his Approbation, and took Poſſeſſion of the Place. 1448.

After the ſurrender of *Mans* to the *French*, the Negotiations about a Peace, and an Interview of the two Kings were continued. But by reaſon of ſome Difficulties, they were obliged once more to prolong the Truce to *April* the 1ſt 1449. It did not laſt however ſo long, an unforeſeen Accident put an End to it ſooner than it was expected. *The Truce is prolonged.* p. 199.

About the Middle of this Year *Surienne* the *Arragonian*, who had ſerved the King of *England* twenty Years, and was *Knight of the Garter*, and Governour of *lower Normandy*, carried by Scalado in the Night the Town of *Fougeres* belonging to the Duke of *Bretagne*, and got a great Booty. Upon this News the Duke of *Bretagne* immediately ſent a *Herald* to the Duke of *Somerſet* who was then at *Roan*, and demanded the Reſtitution of the Place with all that had been plundered. The Regent replied, that he was extremely troubled at what was done, and would give the Duke of *Bretagne* all the Satisfaction he could reaſonably expect. Surienne *ſurprizes* Fougeres. *The Duke of* Bretagne *complains of it.* *The Regent promiſes Satisfaction.*

Mean while, as it would take up ſome Time to enquire more particularly into this Affair, and notify it to the Court of *England*, the Duke of *Bretagne* impatient of the leaſt Delay, complained to the King of *France* of the Breach of the Truce wherein *Bretagne* was expreſſly included. *Charles* conſidering that his Affairs were in a good Poſture, and thoſe of *England* in great Diſorder, as well by reaſon of the King's Inability as of the People's Diſcontent, took Fire at this News as if the Injury had been done to himſelf. And yet to look back on the Proceedings of the late Duke of *Bretagne*, during the whole former War, *Charles* had no great Reaſon to be well ſatisfied with that *Houſe*. Be that as it will, perceiving that a favourable Opportunity offered to renew the War, whilſt the *Engliſh* thought nothing of the Matter, he ſent a Gentleman to the Duke of *Somerſet*, and two Ambaſſadors to *London* to demand Satisfaction for this Inſult. But at the ſame Time to make all Reparation impracticable, he inſiſted upon the Payment of ſixteen Hundred Thouſand Crowns to the Duke of *Bretagne*, 1448. *The Duke of* Bretagne *carries his Complaints to the King of* France, *who takes the Thing to Heart.* *The King of* France *demands an extravagant Satisfaction for the Duke of* Bretagne.

1448. *tagne*, for the Damage he had ſuſtained by the taking of *Fougeres*. This Sum was ſo exorbitant, that it muſt not be wondered at if the Court of *England* offered not to pay it down. Beſides it was next to impoſſible that in ſo ſhort a Time a juſt Calculation could be made of the Damages the *Engliſh* had done. They could not even help thinking it very ſtrange that *Charles* ſhould ſo eagerly eſpouſe the Duke of *Bretagne*'s Quarrel, he not being included in the Truce as his Ally, but rather as a neutral Prince who had frequently ſerved for Mediator between the two Kings.

Anſwer of the Court of England. Anſwer was returned however to the Ambaſſadors, that the King would take care to make the Duke amends, as ſoon as it ſhould be known what his Loſs might amount to; and that if *Charles* would ſend Ambaſſadors to *Louviers*, the King of *England* would do the ſame, in order to ſettle all Things to the common Satisfaction of the two Kings and the Duke of *Bretagne*.

The Conference at Louviers, At the Congreſs held at *Louviers*, the *Engliſh* repreſented, that the taking of *Fougeres* was done without Orders; and that the Regent knew nothing of the Matter before it was over. They exclaimed likewiſe againſt the Sum demanded, as vaſtly beyond what the Duke of *Bretagne* could lawfully challenge. But the *French* plainly told them, that if they gave not the Duke the Satisfaction their Maſter demanded, he held the Truce for broken. This haughty and peremptory way of treating on *Charles*'s Part, ſeemed very ſtrange to the *Engliſh*; but the *French* reſolutely perſiſting in their firſt Demand, the Conference broke up and

to no Purpoſe. nothing was done.

Charles ſeeks occaſion to renew the War. So bent was *Charles* upon renewing the War, whilſt the King of *England* was unprovided for his Defenſe, that in Caſe the *Engliſh* had reſolved to give the Satisfaction required, he had another Pretence ready for a Rupture. He pretended they had violated the Truce with *Scotland*, and that he was obliged to take in Hand the Cauſe of the *Scots*. Indeed there had been a Conflict between the *Engliſh* and *Scots*, wherein the *Engliſh* had been worſted. *Buchanan* makes it a pitched Battle, and ſays, the *Engliſh* loſt three Thouſand Men. However this Affair does not ſeem to have

have been of ſo great Conſequence, ſeeing it was preſently ſtifled. This Year the two Nations renewed their Truce without ſetting any fixed Time to it. Only it was agreed, that if either of the two Kings ſhould have a Mind to break it, he ſhould give the other warning of it ſo long beforehand. Be that as it will, King *James* had not deſired *Charles* to take his Quarrel upon him, and conſequently it is evident, that *Charles* ſought an Occaſion of breaking with the King of *England*. 1448.

Whilſt *Charles* was making his Preparations, he amuſed the *Engliſh* with fruitleſs Negotiations. One cannot enough wonder at the Imprudence of the Court of *England* at this Juncture. They knew neither how to preſerve the Truce, nor prepare for War. If they had been willing to avoid a Rupture, they ſhould at leaſt have reſtored *Fougeres* to the Duke of *Bretagne*, with Promiſe of Amends for all Damages. But they kept that Place without uſing hardly any Endeavour to appeaſe the incenſed Duke. A Spirit of Inconſideration ſeemed to have ſeized the *Council*, where greater Care was taken to thruſt in the Queen's and Duke of *Suffolk*'s Creatures, than Perſons qualified to manage the Publick Affairs. To ſee the Indolence of the Queen upon this Occaſion, one would have thought that finding herſelf without Iſſue, ſhe was in a Plot with the King's Enemies, in order to diſpoſſeſs him of all he ſtill held in *France*. If ſhe and her Favourites and *Miniſters*, or even the whole *Council* had ſuch a Deſign, they ſucceeded but too well in it. However that be, the Faults they committed upon this Occaſion cannot be excuſed, but by the Conſideration of the Haughtineſs wherewith *Charles* acted, who rendered an Accommodation impracticable. But at the ſame Time they ſhould have provided for their Defenſe. 1449. *Imprudence of the Council of* England.

As ſoon as *Charles* ſaw himſelf in Condition to renew the War, he cauſed the Caſtle of *Conches*, and *Pont de l'Arche* in *Normandy*, and about the ſame Time *Gerboy* in *Beavoiſis*, *Cognac*, and St. *Maigrin* in *Guienne*, to be taken by Surprize in the Duke of *Bretagne*'s Name. The *Engliſh* complained in their Turn of the violation of the Truce; but they were told that it was by way of Repriſals for *Fougeres*. Charles *ſurpriſes ſeveral Places of the* Engliſh *by way of Repriſals for* Fougeres.

1449. *geres.* Thus the War was rekindled at a Juncture very diſadvantagious to the *Engliſh*. As they had made no Preparations, the Duke of *Somerſet* Regent of *France*, was deſtitute of Forces when he ſtood in moſt need of them. *Charles* had therefore the Way open to puſh his Conqueſts. This gives room to believe that *Fougeres* was ſurprized without the Knowledge of the Court of *England*. Otherwiſe one cannot help thinking, either that the *Miniſters* had loſt their Senſes, in not preparing to back their Enterprize, or that they had among them Traitors, who had a mind by that Means to re-engage the *Engliſh* in War, before they had any Thing ready. Certainly when a Man conſiders that the Court acted ſo remiſſly in ſatisfying the Duke of *Bretagne*, and ſo careleſſly in providing for the War, he is at a loſs what to think of ſuch Management.

Charles *acts againſt* Normandy *with four Armies.*

Charles's chief Aim was to recover *Normandy*, and to that End he had prepared four Armies. A plain Demonſtration he was not deſirous that the Buſineſs of *Fougeres* ſhould end in an Accommodation. Since the Congreſs of *Louviers*, which broke up in *April*, he would not have had Time to put ſo many Forces on Foot. The firſt of theſe Armies he headed himſelf. The Earl of *Dunois* lately made *Earl of Longueville* and Generaliſſimo of the King's Forces under the *Conſtable*, commanded the Second. The Duke of *Alenſon* had the Command of the Third, and the Duke of *Bretagne* led the Fourth, conſiſting wholly of his own Troops. All the Towns in *Normandy* were ill provided with Men and Ammunition. Moſt of the Governours depending upon the Truce, were gone to *England*. So that the *French* Armies had nothing more to do than to appear before the Towns in order to carry them. Several Places did not ſtay to be attacked. Some riſe up againſt the *Engliſh* Garriſons and drove them away. Others were ſold by the commanding Officers. *Pont Audemer* and *Chateau Gaillard* were the only Places that made a tolerable Defenſe. In fine, not to enter into the Particulars of all theſe Sieges, whether real or feigned, it will ſuffice to ſay in a Word, that before the Campaign was over, *Charles* ſaw himſelf in Condition to go and beſiege *Roan*, where he had ſome

Friends.

Friends. Having drawn together all his Forces, which made a Body of fifty Thousand Men, he ordered the Capital of *Normandy* to be invested upon the 8th of *October*. He would not form a regular Siege, being well assured that the Duke of *Somerset* and Earl of *Shrewsbury*, who were shut up there with three Thousand Men only, would not be able to stand against the Inhabitants who had promised to rise in his Favour. And indeed within a few Days the Earl of *Dunois* was going to be let in at St. *Hilary*'s Gate with three Hundred Men, if the Earl of *Shrewsbury* had not come just in the Nick of Time, and beat back that Detachment. 1449. *He invests* Roan.

The Inhabitants, notwithstanding this Disappointment, persisted in their Resolution. On the 19th of *October* the whole City having taken up Arms with one Consent, all that the Duke of *Somerset* could do, was to distribute his Garrison in some of the most advantagious Posts. But the *French* being let in, quickly drove them from all their Posts Sword in Hand. There was only the Palace left, where the Duke of *Somerset* and Earl of *Shrewsbury* had posted themselves with eight Hundred Men. As they foresaw that they should soon be in want of Provisions, the Duke desired to speak with the King in order to capitulate. His Request being granted, he offered to retire upon honourable Terms. But the King insisted upon his surrendering at Discretion, unless he would treat for the rest of *Normandy*. Not being able to settle this Point, the Duke returned to the Palace and held out ten or twelve Days longer. At last he was fain to capitulate, on Condition of leaving behind all his Artillery, paying fifty Thousand Crowns of Gold, and yielding up to the King *Caudebec*, *Arques*, *Lillebonne*, *Tancarville*, *Montrevilliers*, and *Harfleur*. The Earl of *Shrewsbury* was left in Hostage for Security of this Engagement, and the *English* Garrison marched out of *Roan*, where *Charles* made his Entry on the 19th of *November*. The Governour of *Harfleur* not thinking fit to comply with this Capitulation, the Earl of *Longueville* was detached by the King to go and besiege that Place, which surrendered in the Beginning of *January*. Though *Charles* might just-

The Citizens open the Gates to the French.

The Duke of Somerset *surrenders upon Terms.*

Siege and taking of Harfleur.

1449. ly have detained the Earl of *Shrewsbury*, since the Capitulation of *Roan* had not been kept by the *English*, he was pleased, as a Mark of his Esteem to give him his Liberty without Ransom. In the mean Time the Earl of *Foix*, who commanded in *Guienne* for King *Charles*, took the Castle of *Maulcon*, standing upon an inaccessible Rock. Thus ended the first Campaign which proved so fatal to the *English*.

The Earl of Foix takes Maulcon.

Rebellion in Ireland.

Besides the Concern which the Court of *England* was under on account of the ill Posture of Affairs in *France*, a Rebellion raised in *Ireland* at the same Time gave the *Ministry* a fresh Cause of Uneasiness. Nevertheless the Queen and Marquis of *Suffolk* reaped some Advantage by these Commotions, as they furnished them with a Pretence to send off the Duke of *York*. This Prince beginning to be an Eye-sore to them, they made him Lord Lieutenant of *Ireland*, under Colour that no Body could suppress the Rebellion so well as he. But withal they gave him but few Troops for that Purpose. They were in hopes that either he would perish in the Attempt, or forfeit his Reputation. The Duke smelt their Design, and had the Address to turn against themselves the Devices they laid for his Ruin. He ordered Matters so, that by his mild and obliging Behaviour he won the *Irish*, and brought them back to their Duty without being obliged to use any Force. What is more, he found Means to make them his Friends in such a manner that from thenceforward they were always devoted to the Service of himself and his Family, even in the midst of his greatest Misfortunes.

The Duke of York sent thither.

He suppresses the Rebellion.

1450. The universal Confusion of the Affairs of *France*, the Negligence of the Court in that Respect, the Loss of almost all *Normandy* in one single Campaign, after the shedding of so much Blood in the Conquest of it, began at length to stir up openly the impatient Temper of the *English*. The whole Kingdom rung with Complaints against the Duke of *Suffolk*. It was publickly said, that he had betrayed the *State*, and that *Maine* the Key of *Normandy* had been given up to the *French* on the Score of a Marriage, which was advantagious to none but himself alone. He was accused of being

Complaints of the People against the Duke of Suffolk and the Queen.

being the principal Contriver of the Death of the Duke of *Glouceſter*, for fear that clear-ſighted Prince ſhould ſee through his treaſonable Practices. People complained that there were but few Perſons of Parts, and ſtill fewer of Honeſty in the *Council*; that on the contrary the *Board* was filled with wicked Counſellors, without Principles of Honour or Religion, to the end no Conſideration might hinder them from being wholly devoted to the Will and Pleaſure of the Queen and her *Miniſter*: That it was the ſame Thing with regard to thoſe in publick Poſts, in whom Honeſty and Ability were not ſo much required, as an Attachment to the *Miniſtry*. They were no leſs diſſatisfied with the Queen. They complained that ſhe ruled with inſupportable Pride a free Nation, which had been uſed to be governed ſolely by Laws, and had never bore with a deſpotick Power, adding that the Uſurpation of ſuch a Power was not to be ſuffered even in a King, much leſs in a foreign Queen. They took notice likewiſe, that by Degrees ſhe had turned out of the *Council* all thoſe that gave her any Umbrage, in order to ſubſtitute in their Room ſuch as were at her beck, without troubling herſelf whether they were fit for ſo high an Office. 1450.

In this Temper were the People when the Parliament met in the Beginning of the Year 1450. The Court ſtood in need of a Parliament for an Aid to enable them to ſet Things to rights in *France*: Otherwiſe they ſaw themſelves obliged entirely to throw up Matters there, and by that Means give their Enemies a further Handle againſt them. The Queen ſoon found that the general Diſcontent had ſeized the very Members of Parliament. She believed ſhe ſhould carry her Point by cauſing the Parliament to be removed to *Leiceſter*, where ſhe was in hopes ſhe ſhould have greater Sway than at *London*, of whoſe Inhabitants ſhe was jealous. But ſhe met with ſo ſtrong Oppoſition from the Lords that ſhe was fain to drop her Deſign. Apparently they were afraid of ſomething like what had been done at St. *Edmunds-bury* with regard to the Duke of *Glouceſter*.

The Parliament meets.

The Queen tries in vain to adjourn it to Leiceſter.

1450. Upon the meeting of the Parliament, the *lower House* exhibited before the Lords an Impeachment againſt the Earl of *Suffolk* containing the following Articles.

Articles of Impeachment againſt Suffolk.

I. That the Duke of *Suffolk* had treated with the Baſtard of *Orleans* and the other *French* Ambaſſadors to perſwade King *Charles* to invade *England*. That his End in this, was to place his Son on the Throne, by marrying him with *Margaret* only Daughter of *John* Duke of *Somerſet*.

II. That being bribed by the *French*, he had ſet the Duke of *Orleans* at Liberty, againſt the expreſs Orders of the late King.

III. That *Normandy* was invaded by his Means, and by his Counſels.

IV. That being Ambaſſador in *France*, he had engaged to get *Maine* reſtored to the *French*, without letting the reſt of the Ambaſſadors know any Thing of the Matter, and that he had impoſed upon the King and *Council*, in order to get them to ratify his Engagement.

V. That he had informed the Enemies of the Weakneſs of the *Engliſh* Towns in *France*, and incouraged them to aſſault them.

VI. That he had diſcloſed the Secrets of the *Council* to the Enemies of the *State*.

VII. That he had hindered the Concluſion of a Peace, by diſcovering the Weakneſs of *England*.

VIII. That he had made his Boaſts, in the hearing of ſeveral Lords, that his Credit at the Court of *France* was no leſs than at that of *England*.

IX. That he had obſtructed the ſending of Succours to *France*, that the Enemies might make the greater Progreſs.

X. That he had included in the Treaty of Truce, neither the King of *Arragon* nor Duke of *Bretagne*, and by that affected Omiſſion *England* had loſt thoſe two Allies.

The Duke's Defence.

The Duke of *Suffolk* replied to theſe Accuſations, by a formal Denial of the greateſt Part, and demanded that the Evidences they pretended to go upon, might be communicated

cated to him. As to the Articles which he owned, he produced the King's expreſs Orders. But that was not ſufficient to juſtify him, ſince his chief Crime was the making an ill uſe of his Credit with the King, and impoſing upon the *Council*. Hiſtorians remark, that he cleared himſelf of all but the laſt Article relating to the Duke of *Bretagne*. Indeed, it is certain that in the firſt Treaty of Truce concluded at *Tours*, and in ſeveral ſubſequent ones made to prolong the Truce, the Duke of *Bretagne* was not included but on the Part of *France*. This is a Myſtery not very eaſy to be unravelled. We have ſeen heretofore that the Duke of *Bedford* had obliged the Duke of *Bretagne* to renounce the Alliance of *Charles*, and acknowledge *Henry* for King of *France*. Since that Time, there had been no Rupture between *England* and *Bretagne*. And yet *Charles* took care to get the Duke of *Bretagne* included in the Treaty of Truce concluded at *Tours*; but the *Engliſh* made no mention of him. Was it out of Negligence, Forgetfulneſs, or on ſet Purpoſe? The laſt is moſt likely. However, the Duke of *Suffolk* had in ſome meaſure repaired this Omiſſion, by including the Duke of *Bretagne* as an Ally of *England*, in the prolonging of the Truce in 1447, as appears by *the Collection of Publick Acts*. But that was not enough it ſeems to ſatisfy his Enemies. 1450.

Remark on the laſt Article.

The Queen perceiving that Matters were like to go ill with the Duke, ordered it ſo, that the King ſent him to the *Tower*. This was done not ſo much with Deſign to puniſh him, as to give ſome Appearance of Satisfaction to the *Commons*. Mean while, for fear they ſhould obſtinately perſiſt in proſecuting him, ſhe got the Parliament adjourned to *Leiceſter*. Preſently after, the Duke came out of the *Tower*, and took his old Poſt at Court. The News of his Releaſe raiſed a Sedition in *Kent*, headed by a *Fuller* *. But before the Rebels could attempt any thing conſiderable, the Ring-leaders were apprehended and executed, and by that Means the Sedition was ſtifled in its Birth.

The King ſends the Duke to the Tower.

The Parliament adjourned to Leiceſter.

The Duke is freed.

A Sedition in Kent.

The

* A deſperate Fellow, who ſtiled himſelf *Blue-beard*.

1459. *The Parliament sits again.* *The Commons offended at the Duke of* Suffolk's *appearing.*

The Parliament being met again at *Leiceſter*, the King and Queen appeared, attended by the Duke of *Suffolk* in quality of *Prime Miniſter*. The *Commons* were extremely offended at this Procedure, which they conſidered as done in Contempt of them. To ſhow their Reſentment, they went in a Body and petitioned the King, that they who had been inſtrumental in giving up *Normandy* to the *French*, might be puniſhed according to their Demerits. The Queen was alarmed at this *Petition*. She found that the *Commons* were bent upon the Duke of *Suffolk*'s Ruin, and that there was no way to help it but by coming to an open Quarrel with the *Lower-Houſe*. Wherefore, to ſave the *Miniſter* ſome part of the Puniſhment which in all likelihood was deſigned him, ſhe reſolved to prevent a formal *Sentence*, which could not but have been a very ſevere one in the preſent Juncture. A few Days after receiving the *Petition*, the King baniſhed the Duke the Realm for five Years, and turned out all his Creatures. The Duke looking himſelf upon his Exile as a proper Means to ſcreen him from the Fury of the People, ſpeedily imbarked for *France*. But he could not eſcape his Deſtiny. He was met in his Paſſage by an *Engliſh* Man of War, commanded by one *Nicholas*, who having a mind to ſearch the Ship the Duke was in, and finding him there, ordered his Head to be chopped off without any further Ceremony *. Thus fell *William de la Pole* Duke of *Suffolk*, who a few Days before ſaw himſelf the greateſt and moſt powerful Perſon in the Kingdom. It is uncertain whether he was guilty of all the Crimes the *Commons* laid to his Charge: But it cannot be denied, that the Diſaſters which one in the Neck of another happened to the Affairs of the *Engliſh* in *France*, are

He is baniſhed.

He is beheaded in his Paſſage to France. April.

* *Dugdale*, from *Hollingſhead*, ſays, the Ship (belonging to the Duke of *Exeter*, then Conſtable of the *Tower*) was called *the Nicholas of the Tower*, and not the Captain. The Duke's Body was taken up and buried in the Collegiate Church of *Wingfield* in *Suffolk*. He was beheaded, ſays *Dugdale*, *May* 2. He ſerved 24 Years in *France*, and 17 without ever returning home. He was Privy Counſellor 15 Years, and a *Knight of the Garter* 30. His Dutcheſs *Alice*, Daughter and Heir of *Chaucer*, died in 14 *Edward* 4. and was buried at *Ewelme*, in the Church of her own founding.

are to be imputed to his ill Conduct, ſuppoſing it true that they are not to be conſidered as the Conſequences of a Plot contrived on purpoſe to make the King loſe all his Conqueſts in *France*. 1450.

The Duke of York *aſpires to the Crown.*

By the Death of the Duke of *Suffolk*, the Duke of *York* ſaw himſelf rid of a potent Enemy, who, being attached to the Houſe of *Lancaſter*, would doubtleſs have ſtrongly oppoſed the Execution of his Deſigns. Though *York* was in *Ireland*, yet his Friends effectually ſerved him in *England*, by crying up his Merit, and repreſenting to the People the King's Incapacity, and the Queen's Male-Adminiſtration. Theſe Diſcourſes joined to the entire Loſs of *Normandy*, which happened at the ſame Time, made deep Impreſſions on the Minds of the People, and daily increaſed the Number of the Duke's Adherents. He had perfect Information of all Matters. But, not to hazard himſelf to no purpoſe, he deviſed an Expedient, which he thought proper to ſound the Peoples Inclinations, to the end he might take his Meaſures with the greater Safety. By his Inſtigation, an *Iriſhman*, one *Jack Cade*, took the Name of *John Mortimer* of the *Houſe of March*, who had been executed in the Beginning of this Reign. Under this borrowed Name he repaired into *Kent*, where the Duke of *York* had many Friends, and drew together great Numbers of Male-Contents, uſing for Pretence the Neceſſity there was of reforming the Government and eaſing the People. In the Temper the greateſt Part of the Nation was in with regard to the Court, the Rebels increaſed to ſuch a Degree, that in few Days *Cade* ſaw himſelf in Condition to go and incamp on *Black-Heath*, hard by *London*.

Jack Cade's Inſurrection in Kent.

He approaches London.

He preſents two Petitions to the Parliament.

The King having notice of the Approach of the Rebels, ſent to demand the Reaſon of their appearing thus in Arms. *Cade* anſwered in the Name of All, that they had no ill Deſign upon the King's Perſon: That their Intention was to petition the Parliament to order Matters ſo, that the evil *Miniſters* might be brought to condign Puniſhment, and the People live more happily than they had done for ſome Years paſt. A few Days after they preſented to the Parliament two *Petitions*, ſetting forth the *Grievances* of the Nation,

1450. Nation. Among other Things they prayed, that the Duke of *Somerset* might be punished, as being the principal Author of the Loss of *Normandy*. That the King's *Council* might be filled with the Princes of the Blood, and other prudent and judicious Persons. and not with vicious and profligate Men, of ill Principles and Manners, and uncapable of managing the Affairs of the *State*. These *Petitions* being communicated to the King, the *Council* condemned them as seditious, and resolved to suppress the Rebellion by Force of Arms. Whereupon, the King having drawn together a Body of Fifteen Thousand Men, headed them himself, and marched against the Rebels. Upon his Approach *Cade*, making as if he was afraid, retreated, and went and lay in Ambush in *Sevenoak*-Wood, not questioning but the King would follow him. But *Henry* imagining the Rebels were dispersed, returned to *London*, being contented with sending after them a Detatchment of his Army commanded by the Lord *Stafford* *. This Detachment falling into the Ambush were cut in Pieces, and the Leader himself lost his Life in the Fight.

The King marches against them.

Cade retires, and cuts in pieces a Detachment of the King's Army.

At the same Time *Cade* began his March towards *London*, whilst the King and his whole Court hastily retired to *Kenelworth* Castle, leaving a Garrison in the *Tower* under the Command of the Lord *Scales*. *Cade*'s Success against *Stafford* increased his Army with prodigious Multitudes, who ran from all Parts to join him. The City of *London*, either out of fear or from some other Motive, opened her Gates to the Rebels, and *Cade* entered as it were in Triumph, at the Head of his Troops. But he prohibited under severe Penalties the doing any Injury to the Inhabitants. Next Day, being informed that the Lord *Say* High-Treasurer was in the City, he ordered him to be apprehended and beheaded *'. Towards the Evening he retired to *Southwark*,

Cade is let into London.

He beheads the High-Treasurer.

* This was Sir *Humphrey Stafford* Knight, a collateral Branch of the Family of *Humphrey de Stafford* Duke of *Buckingham*.

' *James Fienes*, who by reason his Mother was Sister and Coheir to *William de Say*, a Descendent of the former Baron *de Say*, was created 25 *Hen.* 6. a Baron by the Title of *Lord Say and Sele*. He was accused with

Southward, on the other Side of the *Thames*, and continued for ſome Days, to go into the City in the Morning, and out again at Night, on purpoſe to take from the Citizens all Occaſion of Fear. 1450.

Cade's Soldiers and the *Londoners* lived at firſt very friendly together. But at length, the Soldiers having committed ſome Riot in the City, when they would have come in as uſual, in the Morning they found the Bridge-Gate ſhut againſt them. Whereupon a Battle enſued between them and the Citizens, which laſted all Day, and ended at the Approach of Night, by a Suſpenſion of Arms till the Morrow. Mean while the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury* and the *Chancellor*, who had taken Refuge in the *Tower*, having obſerved by their Spies, and the Motions of the Rebels, that their Hearts began to fail them, inſtantly drew up an *Act of Indemnity*, ſet the *Great Seal* to it, and caus'd it to be proclaimed in the Night in *Southwark*. The *Pardon* produced ſo ſudden and wonderful an Effect, that before it was Day *Cade* found himſelf deſerted by his Followers, and conſtrained to fly by himſelf in order to go and conceal himſelf in the County of *Suſſex*. But the King having promiſed by *Proclamation*, a Thouſand Marks to any Perſon that ſhould bring him dead or alive, he was ſlain in his lurking Hole by [*Alexander Eden*] a Gentleman of *Kent*, who brought his Body to *London* *. The *Pardon* under the *Great Seal* did not hinder but that abundance of his Accomplices were put to Death. Thus ended this dangerous Rebellion, which might have been attended with more fatal Conſequences, had it been conducted by a more experienced Leader.

Quarrel between the Soldiers and Citizens.

Fight on the Bridge.

Cade *is deſerted.*

and ſlain.

with the Duke of *Suffolk* about the Affair of *Maine*, aud thereupon to appeaſe the People was turned out from being *High-Treaſurer*, and upon the Clamours of the Rebels was ſent to the *Tower*, from whence they fetched him and arraigned him at *Guild-Hall* before the *Mayor*: Then hurrying him to the Standard in *Cheap*, they cut off his Head, and dragged his naked Body at a Horſe-Tail into *Southwark*, where it was hanged and quartered. *Dugdale.*

* He was ſtiled Captain *Mend-All*.

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Cade retires, and cuts in pieces a Detachment of the King's Army.

Cade *is let into* London.

At the same Time *Cade* began his March towards *London*, whilst the King and his whole Court hastily retired to *Kenelworth*-Castle, leaving a Garrison in the *Tower* under the Command of the Lord *Scales*. *Cade*'s Success against *Stafford* increased his Army with prodigious Multitudes, who ran from all Parts to join him. The City of *London*, either out of fear or from some other Motive, opened her Gates to the Rebels, and *Cade* entered as it were in Triumph, at the Head of his Troops. But he prohibited under severe Penalties the doing any Injury to the Inhabitants. Next Day, being informed that the Lord *Say* High-Treasurer was in the City, he ordered him to be apprehended and beheaded*'. Towards the Evening he retired to *Southwark*,

He beheads the High-Treasurer.

* This was Sir *Humphrey Stafford* Knight, a collateral Branch of the Family of *Humphrey de Stafford* Duke of *Buckingham*.

1' *James Fienes*, who by reason his Mother was Sister and Coheir to *William de Say*, a Descendent of the former Baron *de Say*, was created 25 *Hen.* 6. a Baron by the Title of *Lord Say and Sele*. He was accused with

Southward, on the other Side of the *Thames*, and continued for ſome Days, to go into the City in the Morning, and out again at Night, on purpoſe to take from the Citizens all Occaſion of Fear. 1450.

Cade's Soldiers and the *Londoners* lived at firſt very friendly together. But at length, the Soldiers having committed ſome Riot in the City, when they would have come in as uſual, in the Morning they found the Bridge-Gate ſhut againſt them. Whereupon a Battle enſued between them and the Citizens, which laſted all Day, and ended at the Approach of Night, by a Suſpenſion of Arms till the Morrow. Mean while the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury* and the *Chancellor*, who had taken Refuge in the *Tower*, having obſerved by their Spies, and the Motions of the Rebels, that their Hearts began to fail them, inſtantly drew up an *Act of Indemnity*, ſet the *Great Seal* to it, and caus'd it to be proclaimed in the Night in *Southwark*. The *Pardon* produced ſo ſudden and wonderful an Effect, that before it was Day *Cade* found himſelf deſerted by his Followers, and conſtrained to fly by himſelf in order to go and conceal himſelf in the County of *Suſſex*. But the King having promiſed by *Proclamation*, a Thouſand Marks to any Perſon that ſhould bring him dead or alive, he was ſlain in his lurking Hole by [*Alexander Eden*] a Gentleman of *Kent*, who brought his Body to *London* *. The *Pardon* under the *Great Seal* did not hinder but that abundance of his Accomplices were put to Death. Thus ended this dangerous Rebellion, which might have been attended with more fatal Conſequences, had it been conducted by a more experienced Leader.

Quarrel between the Soldiers and Citizens.

Fight on the Bridge.

Cade *is deſerted.*

and ſlain.

with the Duke of *Suffolk* about the Affair of *Maine*, aud thereupon to appeaſe the People was turned out from being *High-Treaſurer*, and upon the Clamours of the Rebels was ſent to the *Tower*, from whence they fetched him and arraigned him at *Guild-Hall* before the *Mayor*: Then hurrying him to the Standard in *Cheap*, they cut off his Head, and dragged his naked Body at a Horſe-Tail into *Southwark*, where it was hanged and quartered. *Dugdale.*

* He was ſtiled Captain *Mend-All*.

1450. *Continuation of the War in* Normandy

Whilſt theſe Things paſſed in *England*, the War continued in *Normandy*. But always to the Diſadvantage of the *Engliſh*. The Queen perceiving that the People's Diſcontents partly aroſe from the ill Succeſs of the Affairs of *France*, had attempted to ſend fifteen Hundred Men to the Duke of *Somerſet*, under the Command of Sir *Thomas Kiriel*, who landed at *Cherburg*. His Deſign was to lead his Troops to *Caen* where the Duke of *Somerſet* then was. But as it was hazardous to march with ſo ſmall a Body of Troops, he was join'd upon the Road by ſeveral Detachments of the *Engliſh* Garriſons in thoſe Parts. The *French* Authors ſay, that altogether the *Engliſh* Army amounted to five Thouſand Men, which however is not very likely. Be that as it will, the Conſtable *Richmond* having had Intelligence of *Kiriel*'s Deſign, ſpeedily drew together a Body of ſeven Thouſand Men, and went and expected him at *Fourmigni*, by which Place he was to paſs. The Armies having join'd Battle, the *Engliſh*, though the Odds were againſt them, defended themſelves a good while with great Bravery. But at length, in ſpite of their obſtinate Reſiſtance, they were put to rout, and their General taken Priſoner. Upon comparing this Battle with a certain Prediction of the *Maid of Orleans*, importing that the *Engliſh* ſhould be entirely driven out of the Kingdom, by a Defeat much greater than thoſe of *Orleans* and *Patay*, one is inclined to believe that ſhe was not really inſpired. The Truth is, in the Battle of *Fourmigni*, the only one that was fought ſince the Death of *la Pucelle*, the *Engliſh*, even according to their Enemies computation were at moſt but five Thouſand ſtrong, and their Loſs exceeded not fifteen Hundred. But yet in order to make the beſt of the *Prophecy*, the *French* Writers talk of the Battle of *Fourmigni* in a very high Strain, comparing it to the moſt famous Battles.

Kiriel brings a Supply from England.

He marches towards Caen.

The Battle of Fourmigni *wherein the* Engliſh *are worſted.*

Charles *compleats the Conqueſt of* Normandy.

Kiriel's Reinforcement being defeated, the Duke of *Somerſet* could no longer make Head againſt the victorious Arms of the *French*. It would be needleſs to give a particular Account of the Sieges carried on by the *French* in this ſecond Campaign. It will ſuffice to ſay in a Word, that

that about the middle of *Auguſt*, *Charles* ſaw himſelf Maſter of all *Normandy*. The City of *Caen* was inveſted the 4th of *June*, and on the 21ſt of the ſame Month, the Duke of *Somerſet* capitulated, againſt the Opinion of ſome of the Officers, who maintained that it was not yet Time. *Falaiſe*, *Dampfront*, and *Cherburg* were beſieged at once, and the Campaign ended in *Normandy* with the taking of *Cherburg*, which ſurrendered the 12th of *Auguſt*. Thus in two Campaigns *Charles* became Maſter of the whole Province, without ſo much as one ſingle Town remaining in the Hands of the *Engliſh*. 1450.

The Duke of Somerſet *ſurrenders* Caen.

The Parliament meets.

The Duke of Somerſet *arrives in* England.

The Parliament met at *Weſtminſter* on the 10th of *November*, and about the ſame Time the Duke of *Somerſet* having nothing more to do in *France*, came to *England*. He was blamed for the Loſs of *Normandy*, and particularly of *Caen*, where he was accuſed of not having done his Duty. Theſe Complaints were ſo publickly made, that the *Houſe of Commons* could not help taking notice of them. They preſented a *Petition* to the King accordingly, praying him to ſend the Duke of *Somerſet* to the *Tower*, that his Conduct might be inquired into. *Henry* not thinking proper to diſoblige the *Commons* at ſuch a Juncture, granted their Requeſt. The Populace of *London* were ſo tranſported with Joy upon News of the Duke being in the *Tower*, that they went out of Hand and plundered his Palace. They would have proceeded further, if the King had not ſpeedily iſſued out a *Proclamation* to diſperſe them. This hindered not ſome of the moſt Audacious from continuing the Tumult, till ſuch Time as one of the moſt inſolent had his Head ſtruck off. The Parliament was no ſooner broke up, but the Duke of *Somerſet* came out of his Confinement, and took at Court the Poſt the Duke of *Suffolk* had enjoy'd.

He is ſent to the Tower.

His Palace is plundered.

He comes out of the Tower, and is Prime Miniſter.

The *Engliſh*, not having been able to prevent the Loſs of *Normandy*, had it ſtill leſs in their Power to defend *Guienne* which was further off. King *Charles* taking Advantage of the preſent Juncture, had already ſent his Troops into that Province, where this very Year his Generals took *Bergerac*, *Gemſac*, *Montſerrand*, *Chalais*, *St. Foi*, which

Charles *takes ſeveral Places in* Guienne.

1450. made but a very faint Reſiſtance. The Seaſon which was very far advanced, hindered them from carrying on their Conqueſts.

The Earl of Orval *beats the Train'd-Bands of* Bourdeaux.

During the Winter, the Earl of *Orval* of the *Houſe* of *Albret*, making Inroads up to the very Gates of *Bourdeaux*, the Mayor of the City ſallied out with ten Thouſand Men to attack him. How inferior ſoever *Orval* might be in Numbers, he ſtood his Ground againſt theſe undiſciplined Trained-Bands, ſlew great Part of them, and took abundance of Priſoners.

1451. *Great Progreſs of the* French *in* Guienne.

In the Month of *April* 1451, the Army of *France* commanded by the Baſtard of *Orleans* Earl of *Dunois* and *Longueville* were forty Thouſand ſtrong. This General preſently became Maſter of *Montguion*, in *Saintonge*. Then on *May* the 10th, he beſieged *Blaye*, and carried it on the 21ſt. The *Engliſh* not only had no Army in the Field, but did not ſeem ſo much as to have any Thoughts of defending *Guienne*. The *French* General improving ſo favourable a Juncture, divided his Army into four Bodies, the moſt conſiderable of which he commanded himſelf. He gave the Command of the other three to the Earls of *Foix*, *Pontievre*, and *Armagnac*. All theſe Generals made ſeveral Conqueſts apart without much Trouble. *Libourn*, *Caſtillon*, *Dacs*, *Rioure*, *Bourg*, ſurrendered in a little Time. *Fronſac*, the ſtrongeſt Place of the Province, held out but three Days; however the Caſtle made a brave Defenſe.

Bourdeaux *and the reſt of* Guienne *treat with* Charles.

The Inhabitants of *Guienne* ſeeing themſelves thus deſerted by the King of *England*, thought it Time to provide for their Safety. The *States* of the Province being aſſembled at *Bourdeaux* in the Month of *June*, reſolved voluntarily to ſubmit to King *Charles*, in order to avoid the utter Ruin which hung over their Heads. Purſuant to this Reſolution, they concluded with the Earl of *Dunois* a Treaty, whereby they obliged themſelves to ſubmit to the Dominion of the King of *France*, in Caſe before the 24th of the ſame Month, they were not relieved by an Army able to give Battle. The *French* General could grant that Condition without any Apprehenſion, ſince he was well aſſured they were in no readineſs in *England* to aſſiſt *Guienne*. The

Guienne *ſurrenders to* Charles, *except* Bayonne.

Army

Army not appearing, all the Towns of the Dutchy opened their Gates to the *French*, except *Bayonne*, which refuſed to be included in the Treaty. This Place, the only one the *Engliſh* had left, was inveſted the ſixth of *Auguſt*. The Breach being large enough on the 19th of the ſame Month, the Beſiegers prepared to Storm; but the Inhabitants ſaved them the Labour by riſing in Arms and obliging the Garriſon to capitulate. The *French* Hiſtorians ſay, that a *white Croſs* was ſeen in the Air juſt over the Town, an evident Sign of the Protection God afforded *France*. 1451. *which is forced to capitulate.*

Whilſt the Court of *England* ſuffered *Guienne* to be loſt without minding it, they grew extremely uneaſy with regard to the Duke of *York*. As in the *Kentiſh* Rebellion, *Jack Cade* had taken the Name of *Mortimer*, it was eaſy to perceive that his Aim had been to ſee how the People ſtood affected to the *Houſe of March*. Conſequently it might be inferred from thence, that he had been ſet to work by the Duke of *York* ſole Heir of that Family. Indeed the Thing was palpable, but there was no Evidence to convict the Duke, becauſe *Cade* was ſlain. Beſides, in the Temper People were in with regard to the Court, they would infallible have taken the Duke of *York*'s Part, in Caſe he had been, by being publickly attacked, forced to ſtand upon his Defenſe. Mean while, as he was ſuſpected of hatching ſome Plot in *Ireland*, and of deſigning to bring an Army of *Iriſh* into *England*, the King ſent Orders to the *Sheriffs* of *Wales*, *Shropſhire*, and *Cheſhire*, to be in a readineſs to hinder his Landing. This Precaution produced ſeveral ill Effects. In the firſt Place, it let the People ſee that the Court was afraid of the Duke of *York*, which it would have been better to conceal, for fear of giving them Occaſion to inquire into the Reaſon. In the next Place, the Duke found that it was his Buſineſs to be upon his Guard: Whereas, if the Court had feigned to know nothing of his Deſigns, they might have cauſed him to fall into ſome Snare, or given him Room to make ſome falſe Step, which would have afforded a Handle againſt him. In fine, they furniſhed him with a Pretence to complain, ſince he was ſo far from being convicted of having form'd any Project

The Court's uneaſineſs with regard to the Duke of York.

The King orders his Landing to be oppoſed.

Ill Effects of this Accuſation.

1451. Project againſt the King, that he had not apparently done any Thing on which an Accuſation could be grounded. Wherefore he wrote to the King, complaining of this Suſpicion, which he pretended to look upon as extremely injurious, and as a mere Pretence to ruin him. The King ſent him a very civil Anſwer, giving him ſome ſort of Satisfaction; however he revoked not his Orders.

The Duke complains to the King. His Anſwer.

The Duke perſiſts in his Deſigns in ſpite of all Difficulties.

Though *Cade*'s Attempt had miſcarried, the Duke of *York* reaped the Benefit he intended by it. The vaſt Numbers of People that had embarked in it plainly diſcovered how much the Nation was diſpleaſed with the Queen and *Miniſtry*, and that the Remembrance of the Rights of the *Houſe of March* was not entirely loſt. Wherefore, inſtead of being diſcouraged, he entertained freſh Hopes. He judged that if the mere Shadow of one of his Family was capable of cauſing ſo great Multitudes to take up Arms, much more would they be attached to a Prince of the Blood-Royal, ſole Heir of the *Houſe of March*. Mean while, not to be two haſty in the Execution of a Project of ſuch Moment, he reſolved before he attempted any Thing, to conſult his Friends. The Time of his Government of *Ireland* being expired, he embarked for *England*. But when he would have landed in *Wales*, he found at the Port the *Militia* up in Arms ready to oppoſe him. This prevented him not from going and landing at another Place, which was not ſo ſtrongly guarded. He did this the more boldly, as he had none but his own Servants with him, and as they had yet no Handle againſt him. Then he repaired to *London*, from whence the Court was gone ſome Time before in Progreſs to the *Weſtern* Counties.

He returns to England.

He concerts Meaſures with his Friends.

The Duke of *York* was impatiently expected at *London*. His Friends had frequently conferred together in his Abſence, but had not been able to come to any Reſolution without him. His principal Adherents were *John Mowbray* Duke of *Norfolk*, *Richard Nevil* Earl of *Salisbury*, Son-in-law to the General of the ſame Name * who was ſlain

* Son-in-law of *Thomas de Montacute* Earl of *Salisbury*, in right of

ſlain before *Orleans*, *Richard Nevil* his Son who was ſhortly after *Earl of Warwick*, by his Marriage with *Ann Beauchamp* Daughter of the Earl of *Warwick* who died in *France*, *Thomas Courtney* Earl of *Devonſhire*, though Son-in-law of the Duke of *Somerſet* *, and *Edward Brook* Baron of *Cobham*. With theſe Lords the Duke immediately after his Arrival concerted the Meaſures he had to take, in order to accompliſh his Deſigns. The Reſult of their Conſultations was, that the Duke ſhould retire into *Wales*, where the *March*-Family had always had great Intereſt; that he ſhould privately make ſure of being able to raiſe an Army in Seaſon, by the Help of his Friends; That he ſhould then write to the King, warning him of the People's Diſaffection to the *Miniſtry*, and particularly to the Duke of *Somerſet*. 1451.

He retires into Wales, *and writes to the King to reform the Government.*

In Purſuance to this Reſolution, the Duke having repaired into *Wales* and taken all his Meaſures, ſent the King Word that all the Kingdom was diſſatisfied that Traitours were ſcreened from Juſtice, and took the Freedom to adviſe him to prevent the ill Conſequences that this Diſcontent might be attended with: That the ſpeedieſt Means would be to order that the Guilty might be brought to their Tryal, and particularly the Duke of *Somerſet*, who having been impeached by the *Houſe of Commons*, had been reſtored to Favour without having his Conduct examined into. In fine, that if he would be pleaſed to give the Nation this Satisfaction, he offered to aſſiſt in the Execution of ſo good a Deſign. The *Miniſtry* eaſily perceived that the Duke of *York* ſought an Occaſion to quarrel. But as in the preſent Poſture of Affairs they durſt not carry it with a high Hand, it was judged proper that the King ſhould ſend the Duke a civil Anſwer, which would diſappoint him of the Pretence he wanted. Accordingly the King in his

The King ſends him a mild Anſwer.

of whoſe ſole Daughter and Heir, he had the Title of *Earl of Saliſbury*. He was eldeſt Son by a ſecond Wife to *Ralph Nevil* Earl of *Weſtmoreland*.

* He was Son-in-law to *John* Earl of *Somerſet* (eldeſt Son of *John* Duke of *Lancaſter*, by *Catharine Swinford*) and Brother-in-law to *Edmund* Duke of *Somerſet*, third Son of the ſaid *John*.

1451. his Letter to him told him, that he had reſolved ſome Time ſince to reform whatever might be amiſs in the Government; that therefore his Intent was to appoint a certain Number of Perſons of Virtue and Parts for his Counſellors, of whom he intended him for one: That as to the Traitours mentioned in his Letter, his Deſign was not to let them go unpuniſhed, but as the Affair was of very great Conſequence, it required mature Deliberation: That as to the Duke of *Somerſet* in particular, he meant not to ſcreen him from anſwering to the Accuſations that ſhould be laid to his Charge.

1452. *The Duke marches to* London *with an Army.* Though this Anſwer took from the Duke of *York* all Pretence of taking up Arms, he imagined however that the King's bare Refuſal to remove or puniſh the *Miniſters* he complained of, was a ſufficient Warrant ſo to do. He did not expect ſo mild an Anſwer. Mean while, as he had already taken his Meaſures to raiſe an Army, he did not think proper to break them, or ſuffer himſelf to be decoyed by a Moderation which might be as well feigned as real. And therefore having put himſelf at the Head of his Army, he marched towards *London*. But he found the Queen had not been ſo neglectful as he had expected. Upon Notice of the Duke's retiring into *Wales*, ſhe had ordered Troops to be levied in the King's Name, without making known what they were intended for. So that the Duke was no ſooner upon his March, but he heard that the King was advancing towards him in order to give him Battle. Though he wanted neither Courage nor Experience, he thought it not beſt to venture to join Battle with the King, without having a more plauſible Pretence than what he would have covered his Deſigns with. His Aim was to win the People to his Side; but to fight the King without a more ſpecious Reaſon, was not the Way to Compaſs his Ends, though he could have been ſure of carrying the Day. Beſides, looking upon the City of *London* as being able to make the Balance incline to his Side, he judged that before all Things he ſhould try to make ſure of the Metropolis. For this Reaſon, as ſoon as he had received News that the King was coming againſt him, he altered on a ſudden his

The King goes out to meet him.

London-Gates ſhut againſt the Duke.

Rout

Rout, and by ſpeedy Marches got before him, and went and appeared before *London*, where he expected to be received with open Arms; but he had the Mortification to find the Gates ſhut, the Inhabitants not thinking proper to declare for him, whilſt the King was ſo cloſe at his Heels with a ſtronger Army than his. He was fain therefore to go and paſs the *Thames* at *Kingſton*, in order to encamp at *Burnt-Heath*, twelve Miles from *London*. The King following him, paſſed the River over *London*-Bridge, and encamped about four Miles from him. 1452.

The King ſends to know why the Duke had taken up Arms.

The two Armies being ſo near one another, that nothing could hinder them from engaging, the King ſent to the Duke two Biſhops, to know what had induced him to appear in Arms. As the Duke ſaw himſelf diſappointed of gaining *London* to his Side, he thought it his wiſeſt Courſe to carry it fair with the Court, for fear of ruining his Affairs by too haſty Reſolutions. In this Opinion he anſwered, that he had never intended to forſake his Allegiance to the King, but only to remove from his Perſon evil Counſellors, of whom the Duke of *Somerſet* was the principal: That if the King would be pleaſed to order *Somerſet* again to Priſon, and keep him there as long as the Parliament had decreed, he was ready to diſmiſs his Troops. He did not expect that his Demand would be granted, ſince the King and Queen were ſolely guided by the Counſels of him whoſe Intereſt it was to have it rejected. He was in hopes by that to throw all the Blame on the Court, and let the People ſee that the *Miniſtry* did not ſcruple to expoſe the Kingdom to a Civil War, for the ſake of a Man odious to the Nation. But for once he was out-witted by his own Policy. The King took him at his Word, promiſed to ſend his Enemy to the *Tower*, and ordered him to be apprehended forthwith. The Duke of *York* was ſurprized at this Condeſcenſion. He would very fain have gone back from his Engagement. But as he could not do it without laying himſelf too open, he thought beſt to run ſome Risk, rather than hazard the Loſs of the People's Good-Will, on which he grounded all his Expectations. Wherefore without any delay, he disbanded his Troops and came to Court,

The Duke offers to ſubmit if Somerſet *is ſent back to the* Tower.

He is taken at his Word.

He diſmiſſes his Troops, and comes and accuſes the Duke of Somerſet,

1452. not deigning so much as to take any Precaution for his Safety. When he was come into the King's Presence, he accused the Duke of *Somerset* with great Warmth, and endeavoured to perswade the King that he was a Traitor, and one that had sacrificed the Interest of the Kingdom to his Ambition and Avarice. Upon these Words, the Duke of *Somerset*, who was hid behind the Hangings, suddenly stept forth to answer him, and accused him of having conspired to dethrone the King. The Duke of *York* seeing his Enemy whom he thought in Confinement standing before him, and in the King's Apartment, found he had been amused, and perceived the Danger he was in. Nevertheless, without showing any concern, he modestly complained that they had broke their Word with him, by the Suggestions of the Duke of *Somerset*, on whom he cast the Baseness of this Fraud. Immediately after the King dismissed the Duke of *York*, and ordered him to be apprehended as soon as he was gone out of his Presence.

who suddenly appears and accuses him.

The Duke of York *is apprehended.*

If the Duke of *York*'s Enemies had dared to gratify their Resentment, he would never have got out of the Snare he had imprudently fallen into. But the Posture of Affairs and the Temper of the People, affording just Occasion of Fear, they durst not proceed against him. Two other Reasons helped likewise to save him. It was rumoured at Court, that the young Earl of *March* his Son, attended by all the Friends of his Family, was advancing with a strong Body of Troops to free his Father. Wherefore for fear the Duke's Army which was lately disbanded, should join his Son's Troops, the Court was fain to take a more gentle Course. On the other Hand, the *Gascons* had sent Deputies to the King, to offer to reduce *Guienne* to his Obedience, if he would send them Supplies. At such a Juncture it was believed, that as the Duke of *York*'s Blood could not be spilt without occasioning a Civil War, there would be a Necessity of detaining the Troops intended for *Guienne*, and thereby a fair Opportunity lost of recovering that Province. These Considerations induced the Queen and Duke of *Somerset* to give the Duke of *York* his Liberty, though their own Interests, that of the King and the whole

Reasons which hindered the Court from putting him to Death.

He is set at Liberty.

whole *House of Lancaster* required that he ſhould be ſacrificed to their Safety. Perhaps all the Calamities which *England* indured afterwards, might by that Means have been prevented. Nevertheleſs, as the Queen and *Miniſtry* were willing, as far as in them lay, to guard themſelves againſt his Deſigns, they obliged him to take an Oath to the King, whereby he ſwore to remain his faithful Subject till Death, and never to take up Arms againſt him. This done, the Duke of *York* retired to his Caſtle at *Wigmore*, and the Duke of *Somerſet* enjoyed without a Rival the Authority he had acquired at Court. 1452.

He takes an Oath to the King,

and retires to Wigmore.

Whilſt *Henry* was employed at Home in oppoſing the Attempts of the Duke of *York*, *Charles* had no leſs an Enemy to encounter in his own Kingdom. The *Dauphin* his Son, a Prince of a reſtleſs Spirit, gave him great Uneaſineſs by his Behaviour towards him. For ſome time paſt he had reſided in *Dauphine*, where he acted as Sovereign, paying but a ſlight Regard to the King his Father's Orders, and executing them no farther than he thought fit. He had even the Raſhneſs to demand of the Duke of *Savoy* his Daughter *Violante* in Marriage; and the Duke had complied with his Requeſt, without either of them vouchſafing to acquaint the King with the Matter. Provok'd at this Proceeding, *Charles* put himſelf at the Head of Thirty Thouſand Men, and marched towards *Lyons*, bent upon chaſtiſing his Son, and puniſhing the Boldneſs of the Duke of *Savoy*. But the Revolution which happened in *Guienne* at the ſame time put him upon taking other Meaſures.

Quarrel between K. Charles *and the* Dauphin.

The *Gaſcons*, who had been for three hundred Years together under the Dominion of the Kings of *England*, had not ſubmitted to King *Charles*, but purely becauſe the *Engliſh* had neglected to ſuccour them. As ſoon as the *French* Army had quitted *Guienne*, the Lords of the County, in concert with the Inhabitants of *Bourdeaux*, reſolved to return to their antient Sovereigns. To that Purpoſe they deputed the Lords of *Candale* and *l'Eſparre* to go and contrive the Means at *London*. The Troubles raiſed by the Duke of *York* had for ſome time hindered the Court from being able to attend that Affair. But upon their being ap-

The Gaſcons *offer to return to the King of* England.

This Offer is accepted.

1452. peaſed, the Queen and *Council* maturely weighing the Matter, judged that nothing ſhould be omitted in order to bring it about. Their ſucceeding in this Undertaking might redeem their Credit, and gain them an Intereſt among the People, which they ſtood in need of to bear themſelves up againſt their Enemies. *Talbot*, the valiant Earl of *Shrewſbury*, who was returned from a Journey he had made to *Italy*, was pitched upon for this Expedition. Though he was fourſcore Years old, he accepted without Heſitation an Employment which afforded him opportunity to do his King and Country a ſignal Service once more before he died. As there was an abſolute Neceſſity of being ſpeedy, he forthwith imbarked the Troops that were ready, conſiſting of Seven Thouſand Men at Arms, upon Promiſe that the reſt which were deſigned him ſhould quickly follow. He ſet Sail the 18th of *October*, and on the 21ſt landed near *Bourdeaux*. Next Day he appeared before the City; and as all was prepared beforehand to receive him, he was let in at a Gate which the Citizens had the Guard of. The *French* Garriſon, who had heard nothing of his Arrival, ſurprized at this unexpected Accident, would have gone out at another Gate, but they were almoſt all of them ſtopped.

Talbot *ſent into* Guienne.

He is let into Bourdeaux.

He retakes ſeveral Places in Guienne.

The Reinforcement promiſed from *England* being arrived a few Days after, the Earl of *Shrewsbury* took the Field at the Head of Seven Thouſand Men. With this little Army he conquered again ſome of the Towns of *Guienne*, among others *Fronſac* and *Caſtillon*, in as ſhort a Space as they were loſt. If Winter had not prevented him from puſhing his Conqueſts farther, he would have made himſelf Maſter of all *Guienne*.

1453. *Charles*, who was then at *Lyons*, having heard this ill News, thought it not beſt obſtinately to proſecute the Execution of the Deſign he had formed. The Affair of *Guienne* ſeemed to him of greater Importance. Wherefore altering on a ſudden his Reſolution, he permitted the *Dauphin* to marry the Princeſs of *Savoy*, and gave one of his Daughters to the young Prince of *Piedmont*. At the ſame time, he reſolved to ſend all his Troops into *Guienne* the next Spring. Mean while, he diſpatched before a Body of Ten

Charles *ſent* 10000 *Men into* Guienne.

Ten Thouſand Men, under the Command of *Chabanes*, and the Earl of *Pontievre*. Theſe two Generals being arrived in *Saintonge*, beſieged *Chalain* and *Caſtillon*, whilſt the Earl of *Clermont* followed them with the reſt of the Army deſigned for *Guienne*. *Chabanes* was taken up with the Siege of *Chalain* till the Month of *June*, after which he went and joined *Pontievre* before *Caſtillon*, which ſtill made a vigorous Defence. The Dread which the Valour and Experience of the Earl of *Shrewsbury* inſpired them with, made them uſe the Precaution ſeldom practiſed in thoſe Days, of making *Lines*, and defending the Avenues of their Camp with *Paliſadoes*. 1453. Caſtillon *beſieged.*

The Earl of *Shrewsbury* was at *Bourdeaux* with Six or Seven Thouſand Men, in ſuſpenſe what Courſe he ſhould take with regard to the Siege. He was very deſirous to relieve *Bourdeaux*, but was afraid he ſhould find it extremely difficult, as well by reaſon of the Intrenchments of the *French*, as of the Superiority of their Numbers. On the other Hand, being ſenſible that the Earl of *Clermont* was advancing with all ſpeed, he conſidered that there was a Neceſſity of running this Hazard before the other Troops arrived, after which it would be too late, ſince he would have all the Forces of *France* to deal with. In fine, having taken this laſt Reſolution, he ſet out from *Bourdeaux* with all his Army, and approaching the *French* Camp, attacked them immediately with a Vigour equal to that which the *Engliſh* had ſhown at the Battle of *Azincourt*, and upon ſeveral other Occaſions. He ſoon defeated Four Thouſand Men commanded by *Chabanes* without the Intrenchments, drove them back to the Camp, and in ſpite of the Beſiegers Cannon, which carried off his Men by whole Files, forc'd their *Lines*, and ruſhed in Pell-mell with the Runaways. Thus the *Engliſh* relate the Matter. But the *French* only ſay, that the *Lines* were juſt upon the Point of being forced, when the *Engliſh* were attacked in the Rear by a Body of *French* Horſe. This abated their Eagerneſs, and obliged their General to leave off attacking the *Lines*, in order to face thoſe that preſſed him behind. This Motion gave the *French* an opportunity to cauſe all their Troops to come out of the Camp. Talbot *goes and attacks them.*

1453. Camp. So that the Earl of *Shrewsbury*, who had not above Five Thouſand Men left, ſaw himſelf reduced to the Neceſſity of making two Fronts, and withſtanding Ten Thouſand Men. At length, the *Engliſh* finding themſelves overpowered by Numbers began to give Ground. At the ſame time, the Earl of *Shrewsbury* was wounded in the Thigh with a Muſquet-Ball, and had his Horſe killed under him. In this Condition, not being able to mount on Horſeback by reaſon of his Wound, he bid Sir *John Talbot* * his Son retire and ſave himſelf for another Occaſion, wherein he might be further ſerviceable to his Country. But *Talbot* rather than baſely fly, choſe to die by the Earl his Father, who preſently after reſigned his laſt Breath alſo. The *Engliſh* loſt Two Thouſand Men, but that of their General was much the greater Loſs *.

He is defeated and ſlain.

The End of the War in France, *with the Loſs of* Guienne.

After this Defeat, *Caſtillon* ſurrendred on the 16th of *July*. A few Days after the Earl of *Clermont* being arrived, and the King having repaired to the Camp, the Army was divided into four Bodies, which beſieged at once *Cadillac*, *Libourne*, *Fronſac*, and *Bourdeaux*. *Fronſac* and *Libourne* held out but a few Days; but the Caſtle of *Cadillac* ſtood out a Siege of two Months. After the taking of that Place, the whole Army joined before *Bourdeaux*, which capitulated the 17th of *October*, and the Garriſon had liberty to return to *England*. Thus of ſo many Conqueſts the *Engliſh* had made in *France* ſince *Edward* III, they had nothing left but *Calais* and *Guiſnes*, poor Remains of ſo many Provinces, ſeveral whereof had belonged to their Kings by *Hereditary Right*, and others had been won by ſo many Victories, and at the Expence of ſo much Blood!

Whilſt

* He was eldeſt Son by *Margaret* the Earl's ſecond Wife, Daughter of *Richard Beauchamp*, Earl of *Warwick*, and created Viſcount *L'Iſle* by *Hen.* 6. The Earl's eldeſt Son by *Maud* his firſt Wife was alſo called *John*, who ſucceeded him in his Honours.

*[1] He was buried at *Whitchurch* in *Shropſhire*, where a noble Monument is erected for him in the *South* wall of the *Chancel*. In his *Epitaph* he is ſtiled, *Earl of Shrewsbury*, *Lord Talbot*, *Lord Furnival*, *Lord Verdon*, *Lord Strange of Blackmore*, and *Marſhal of France*. Dug.

Whilſt the *French* were carrying on the War with ſuch Succeſs in *Guienne*, *Henry* was ſeized at *London* with a dangerous Fit of Sickneſs which held him a good while, and made it often believed he would never recover. At the ſame time the Queen was brought to Bed on the 23d of *October* of a Prince who was chriſtned *Edward*. This Prince was born in an ill Hour, ſince it was juſt as the *Engliſh* loſt all their Poſſeſſions in *France*. His Birth gave riſe to ſeveral Reports which were not at all to the Queen's Honour. There were ſome bold enough to ſay publickly, he was not the King's Son. Others maintained, that he was ſuppoſititious, grounding their Aſſertion upon the Queen's not having any Children before, tho' ſhe had been married Nine Years. In fine, ſome there were, who, without calling in queſtion the Honour or Honeſty of the Queen, took Occaſion from the Prince's Birth to hope better things for the future. Their Reaſon was, becauſe the Queen having a Son, would be more firmly attached to the Intereſt of *England*, giving to underſtand plainly enough by that, what they thought of her former Conduct.

1453. Henry *falls ſick.*

Birth of Edward *the King's Son.*

Reports to the Queen's Diſadvantage.

Cardinal *Kemp*, who had been tranſlated from the *See* of *York* to that of *Canterbury*, dying in *December* this Year, *Thomas Bourchier*, Brother of the Earl of *Eſſex* *, was elected Archbiſhop. He was a Prelate of eminent Merit, and was made afterwards *High-Chancellor*, and then honoured with the Dignity of *Cardinal*.

Thomas Bourchier *Archbiſhop of* Canterbury.

The War in *France*, which had laſted Thirty-eight Years, being over, the remaining Events of this Reign conſiſt only of the Quarrels between the *Houſes* of *Lancaſter* and *York*: The firſt of which had for *Deviſe* a *Red*, and the other a *White Roſe*. Theſe *Deviſes* are famous for the vaſt Torrents of *Engliſh* Blood ſpilt upon their Account. The Troubles raiſed by the Duke of *York* ſeemed to be entirely ſuppreſſed ſince his Reconciliation with the King: but they ſoon broke out afreſh with ſo much the greater Fury, as the *Engliſh* were no longer taken up with a foreign War.

The Civil War is renewed in England.

I am

* *Henry Bourchier* Son of *William*, by *Anne* Daughter of *Thomas of Woodſtock* (ſixth Son of *Edward* III.) was not created Earl of *Eſſex* till *June* 30th, 1 *Ed.* 4. He was made *Viſcount* in 25 *Hen.* 6. *Dug.*

1453. I am going to give as brief an Account as possible of the Occurrences which happened on the Score of the Duke of *York*'s Claim, and which ended at length in the Ruin of the King and the whole *House of Lancaster*.

The Rights of the Houses of York *and* Lancaster.

The Duke of *York* had renewed his Oath to the King: but he had done it only to get out of the Danger which he had plunged himself into by his Imprudence. He was no less bent upon asserting his Title, and taking the Advantage of the King's Incapacity, and the Peoples Disaffection for the Queen and her *Ministers*. To consider only the Laws and Customs of the Realm, his Title was indisputable. He was descended from the Second * Son of *Edward* III. whereas *Henry* was sprung only from the Third *' Son of the same Prince. It is true indeed, it was by the Female-Line. But there was no such Thing in *England* as the *Salick-Law*, which should exclude him upon that Account. On the contrary, in the Reign of *Richard* II. *Roger* Earl of *March*, his Grandfather by the Mother's Side, was declared by the Parliament Presumptive-Heir of the Crown, in case *Richard* died without Issue. And ever since the House of *Lancaster* was in Possession of the Throne, the Parliament had confirmed by a solemn *Act* the Right of the Females and their Descendents, as we have seen in the Reign of *Henry* IV. And yet *Henry* VI. was no Usurper. It was now above fifty Years since the *House of Lancaster* had held the Crown by the Authority of the Parliament, who settled it upon the Family of *Henry* IV. So that the Duke of *York* could not pretend to the Crown, but on Supposition that the Parliament had not Power to alter the Succession. For this Reason he could not openly discover his Intention, without striking directly at the Privileges of the Parliament, which the *English* Nation has all along been watchful of. Besides, he stood in need of the Parliament to bring about his Designs. But how could he gain the Parliament to his Side, if he offered to question the *Validity* of their *Acts*? On the other Hand, there was a necessity of doing no less than

Difficulties of the Duke of York's *Attempt.*

* *Lionel* Duke of *Clarence* Third Son.
*' *John* Duke of *Lancaster* Fourth Son.

than deſtroying a Fifty-Years Poſſeſſion, confirmed by the unanimous Conſent of the People, and become ſtill more authentick by the glorious Advantages which the late King *Henry* V had procured for the Nation. 1453.

Theſe Obſtacles were ſufficient to divert the Duke of *York* from his Enterprize, if on the other Side the preſent Circumſtances had not given him Encouragement to purſue it. *Henry* was a Prince unable of himſelf to oppoſe the Attempts which the Duke could make againſt him. He was not hated by the People; but then he was but little eſteemed. He was looked upon only as the Shadow of a King, who did little elſe but lend his Name to the Queen and *Miniſters*. Nevertheleſs the ſole Name of King would have been enough to keep the People in Subjection to thoſe that were at the *Helm*, had they not made an ill uſe of their Power, as is too commonly done by them who are in the like Station. But the Authority uſurped by the Queen and the Duke of *Somerſet*, was not the only Cauſe of the Diſcontent of the *Engliſh*. When they conſidered that all the Conqueſts of *Henry* V, and *Guienne* it ſelf, which had been for three Hundred Years under the Dominion of *England*, were loſt in a few Years, they could not forbear caſting the Blame upon thoſe that governed in the King's Name. *Normandy* had been taken from *England* in two Campaigns only, in the Regency of the Duke of *Somerſet*, whilſt he was actually on the Spot to defend it. He was accuſed likewiſe of having been too haſty in ſurrendering *Caen*. On the other Hand, it was conſidered that during the Regency of the Duke of *Glouceſter* the Affairs of *France* were kept upon a pretty good Foot, and that nevertheleſs the Queen to gratify her Paſſion had diſpatched that Prince out of the Way in a baſe and violent Manner, and thereby had been the Occaſion of all the Loſſes which had happened ſince. So that People looked upon the King as a Prince uncapable of retrieving the Honour of the Nation, and reſtoring the Affairs of the Kingdom to a flouriſhing State; upon the Queen as a Perſon too well affected to *France*, and as having no other Aim but to engroſs the whole Authority in *England*, and upon the Duke of *Somerſet*

His Advantages.

1453. *merset* as a greedy *Minister*, who sought only to enrich himself at the Expence of the Publick. They loudly complained also, that in order to preserve his Authority, the Duke filled the highest Posts with his Creatures, without any Regard to their Merits and Parts. This last Article made a deep Impression in the Minds of the People. They could not behold without Indignation, the *Council-Board* filled with ill Men, and all the Places of the Kingdom held by Persons of no Principles. This gave room to suspect that the Queen's and *Ministry*'s Aim was to hinder that Religion, Honour, Virtue, Love of one's Country, should move those that were in the Publick Posts to make a stand against the Abuses and Disorders which had as it were overflowed the Kingdom. This Temper of the People gave the Duke of *York* such great Advantages, that he thought he should lay hold of them, not by acting directly for himself, but under Colour of procuring the Good of the People, by obliging the King to make use of other *Ministers*. He knew very well that if he could once turn his Enemies out of the *Council*, and get in his Creatures, it would be no hard Matter to carry on farther the Execution of his Designs.

The Earl of Salisbury *and* Warwick *chief Friends of the Duke of* York.

An Undertaking of this Nature could not be brought about without the Assistance of some Friends, and therefore he engaged several Lords in his Plot, some under Colour of driving from Court the Duke of *Somerset*, who was generally hated and envied, others by discovering to them the most secret Purposes. Among these last, the two *Nevil*'s, Father and Son, were the Principal. The Father, who bore the Title of *Earl of Salisbury*, was eminent for his Virtues and consummate Prudence. The Earl of *Warwick* his Son was universally esteemed for his Valour, and adored by the People for his obliging Carriage. He knew how to behave in such a Manner that he seemed to have solely in View the Welfare and Glory of the Nation *. Hitherto he had studied to keep between the two Parties a neutrality, which by gaining him the Good-Will of the People,

* This is he that was commonly called, *The Stout Earl of Warwick.*

ple, had taken from the *Miniſters* not only all Pretence of ruining him, but even all Occaſion of ſuſpecting him. 1453.

The Duke of York *conſults with his Friends.*

Theſe two Lords with ſome others, having conſulted with the Duke of *York* about the Means to accompliſh his Project, agreed that it was not yet a proper Seaſon to diſcover his Intention; that on the contrary, he ſhould carry himſelf very ſubmiſſively with the King, in order to efface the ill Impreſſions his former Behaviour might have made in the People. The Frankneſs wherewith he had disbanded his Troops, and his new Oath to the King were exceeding proper to remove all Suſpicion of his having any ill Deſign.

Advice given the Queen and Duke of Somerſet *for their Ruin.*

The Parliament had been ſummoned to *Reading*. But by Reaſon the King had relapſed, it was adjourned to *Weſtminſter* till *February* the 14th. In the Interim, ſome of the Duke of *York*'s private Friends, who pretended to be of the Court Party, intimated to the Queen and Duke of *Somerſet*, that in the preſent Temper of the People, it was to be feared the Parliament would come to *Reſolves* diſagreeable to them: That whilſt the King was in good Health, they could act in his Name, becauſe it was ſuppoſed that all *Orders* iſſued from him; but that the Caſe was not the ſame during his Sickneſs: That their Authority being wholly grounded upon the King's Will and Pleaſure, there was Reaſon to fear that the Royal Will no longer appearing, the Parliament would nominate other Governours: That therefore it was proper to take into the *Council* the Duke of *York*, the two *Nevils*, and ſome other of the moſt popular Lords, that it might appear, that thoſe who were at the *Helm* did not ſeek to engroſs all the Power. This Advice was built upon ſuch plauſible Reaſons, that the Queen and Favourite could not help falling into the Snare laid for them. Wherefore the Duke of *York*, the two *Nevils*, and ſome others of their Cabal were called to the *Council* before the Parliament met. They were no ſooner admitted, but they carried all before them; inſomuch that they who rul'd every Thing before, had no longer any Credit.

1453. *The Duke of Somerset sent to the Tower.* The first notable Step of these Counsellors was to apprehend the Duke of *Somerset* in the Queen's own Room, and send him to the *Tower*. Mean while the Parliament was farther prorogued to the 15th of *March*, that the Duke of *York* and his Friends might have Time to concert Measures with the *Members*. Two Days before the Parliament sat, the *Council* empowered the Duke of *York* to hold it in the King's Name. In the Beginning of the *Session* the *Commons* sent to the *House* of Lords an Impeachment against the Duke of *Somerset*, for having suffered *Normandy* to be lost during his Regency, and by his Fault. *April* the 2d, the *Great Seal* was given to the Earl of *Salisbury*. Next Day the Parliament appointed the Duke of *York Protector of the Realm, Defender of the Church, and first Counsellor of the King*, with this Restriction, *till the young Prince* Edward *the King's Son should be of Age to exercise that High Office*. Hence it appears, first, that it was believed the King's Indisposition would last as long as he liv'd, and that it affected his Understanding more than his Body. In the next Place, by reserving this Post for a Child of six Months old, who was to fill it when he came to Age, the Parliament showed that their Intent was to preserve entire the *House of Lancaster*, though they declared the Duke of *York* Protector. Generally upon these Occasions, there is too much or too little done, the which gives rise to *Civil* Wars. If the Parliament had openly declared against the *House of Lancaster*, it is very likely that at such a Juncture, the *Lancastrians* would have found but few Friends. On the other Hand, if instead of placing the Duke of *York* so near the Throne, Care had been taken to check his Ambition, which was but too manifest, doubtless he would have lost many of his Adherents, and perhaps the *Civil* War which laid the Kingdom waste, would have been avoided. But it is a very hard Matter for a Parliament at such Junctures to be able to act with Freedom, and to follow the Rules of Reason and Equity.

1454. *The Duke of York is made Protector,*

and Governour of Calais. The Duke of *York* having all the Power in his own Hands, removed the Duke of *Somerset*, who was still in the *Tower*, from the Government of *Calais*, and by the King's

Letters

Letters Patent placed himſelf in his Room. Every one imagined that the Impeachment againſt the impriſoned Duke would be carried on vigorouſly. But the Buſineſs was ſuffered to lye dormant all the reſt of the Year, without any one's ſeeming to mind it. Apparently the Evidences they had againſt him appeared inſufficient. 1454.

In the Beginning of the Year 1455, the King finding himſelf ſomewhat recovered of his long Illneſs, the Authority conferred on the Duke of *York* ceaſed of Courſe, ſince it was grounded purely on the King's Inability by Reaſon of his Indiſpoſition to govern the Realm himſelf. The Duke of *York*'s Matters were not ripe enough to enable him to diſpute with the King the Right of reſuming his Authority, though it was in effect but to put it again in the Hands of the Queen. The firſt Effect of this Change, was the Enlargement of the Duke of *Somerſet*. On the 5th of *February* the Duke of *Buckingham*, the Earl of *Wiltſhire* *, and two Knights, having offered to be bound for him, their Offer was accepted, and the King ordered the Governour of the *Tower* to releaſe the Priſoner. A Month after, theſe Lords were diſcharged from their *Bail*, without any Tryal intervening. As the Duke had been apprehended by Order of *Council*, it was ſuppoſed he could be releaſed by the ſame Authority. But there was a great deal to be ſaid againſt this Suppoſition. The Impeachment of the *Houſe of Commons* intervening ſince, it could not be maintained that the King had Power to ſet him at Liberty before he was legally acquitted. However the Court had no Regard to that Argument. Since the King had reſumed the Government, the Duke of *York* and his Party had no longer any Credit in the *Council* where the Queen and the Duke of *Somerſet* bore an abſolute Sway. So prevalent was the King's bare Name in giving a new Turn to Affairs.

1455. *The King reſumes his Authority.*

The Duke of Somerſet *is releaſed.* Act. Pub. XI. 360.

Mean

* *James Boteler* or *Butler*, Son of *James* the fourth Duke of *Ormond* in *Ireland*, was created Earl of *Wiltſhire* 27 *Hen.* 6. and was now alſo by his Father's Death Duke of *Ormond*. Dugdale.

1455. *The Duke of* York *and* Somerset *put Things to Arbitration.* Act. Pub. XI. 263.

Mean while some of the most prudent Lords dreading the ill Consequences of the Quarrel between the two Duke's, used their Endeavour to make them Friends. It was the Interest of both to show that they acted not from ambitious Motives; for their Aim was to gain the People's Affection. Wherefore they both consented to put Matters to Arbitration, and to stand to the Decision of the Umpires, under Penalty for him that refused of paying to the other Twenty Thousand Marks. But it was on Condition that the Sentence of the Arbitrators should be pronounced before the 20th of *June*.

The Duke of York *removed from the Government of* Calais. March.

Whilst People were in Expectation of the *Sentence*, the Duke of *Somerset* represented to the King, that he had been removed from the Government of *Calais* upon a bare Impeachment which had never been determined, and that it was not just that his Adversary should continue cloathed with his Spoils, since their Quarrel was not yet decided. Upon this Remonstrance, the King took from the Duke of *York* the Government he had conferred on him for seven Years. Then under Colour of being willing to stand Neuter between the two contending Parties, he declared himself *Governour of Calais*. In the *Act* whereby the Duke of *York* was removed, it was said, that the King had done it at the Duke's own Request. But the Duke taking this as a heinous Affront, withdrew from Court, where he found his Affairs began to be in a very ill Way.

He retires into Wales, *and raises an Army.*

He retired into *Wales*, not so much to screen himself from the Attempts of his Enemies, as with Design to levy an Army, and have it in his Power to attack them. He was very sensible that the Queen and Duke of *Somerset* being absolute Masters of the King's Person, had an Advantage of him which could not be taken from them but by Force. And therefore without further Consideration he resolved to take up Arms. The Court's Proceedings in releasing the Duke of *Somerset* out of the *Tower*, without giving the Nation any Satisfaction in that Respect, made him imagine he should be strongly supported, when he came to use that Pretence. He was not deceived in his Expectations. In a short Space he saw himself at the Head of a nu-

a numerous Army, and in Condition to make Head againſt the King, who was likewiſe prepared on his Part, and was marching directly towards him in order to give him Battle. The two Armies met near St. *Albans* on a level Ground, where nothing hindered them from engaging. The Duke of *York* willing to ſhow that he had not taken up Arms but purely for the Good of the Publick, ſent and offered the King to diſmiſs his Troops, if the Duke of *Somerſet* was delivered to Juſtice, in order to be condemned if Guilty, or acquitted if Innocent. But the Court well knowing that this was only a vain Pretence, and that one Time or other, there would be a Neceſſity of deciding the Quarrel by Arms, rejected his Offer, and the Battle was fought on the 31ſt of *May*. 1455.

The firſt Battle of St. Albans.

The Earl of *Warwick*, who commanded the Duke of *York*'s Vanguard, having expected this Anſwer, attacked the King's Army, whilſt the Court was waiting for new Propoſals from the Male-Contents. This Attack, which was as vigorous as ſudden, put the Royal Army in ſuch Diſorder, that it was not in the Duke of *Somerſet*'s Power to repair it. At the ſame Time the Duke of *York* improving this Advantage, advanced likewiſe from his Quarter, that the Enemies might not have Time to come to themſelves. He preſſed them ſo briskly, that the Royal Army was defeated in a few Moments, with the Loſs of five Thouſand Men, without having made any conſiderable Reſiſtance. The Duke of *Somerſet* was killed on the Spot, with the Earl of *Northumberland* *, the Earl of *Stafford* eldeſt Son of the Duke of *Buckingham*, the Lord *Clifford*, and ſeveral other Lords and Officers of Note *', all faſt Friends of the *Houſe of Lancaſter*. The Duke of *Buckingham* having received a Wound, retired out of the Battle, the which put the finiſhing Stroke to the Defeat of the King's Troops.

The King's Army is defeated, and the Duke of Somerſet *ſlain.*

Mean

* *Henry Percy* Son of *Hotſpur*, by the eldeſt Daughter of *Edmund Mortimer* Earl of *March*, he left Iſſue nine Sons (of whom *Henry* then 33 Years of Age, ſucceeded him,) and two Daughters.

*' Of whom Forty-eight were buried in St. *Albans*.

1555. *The King falls into the Hands of the Duke of* York, *who treats him with respect.*

Mean time the King, who was wounded in the Neck with an Arrow, seeing himself deserted in the Rout of his Army, retired to a little House which was presently invested. The Duke of *York* having notice of it, ran thither with speed in Company with the Earl of *Salisbury*, and presenting themselves before him on their Knees, told him, that since the common Enemy was dead, he beheld none there but such as were ready to obey him in whatever he should be pleased to command them. The King upon these Words recovering a little out of the Fright the Duke's Approach had put him into, intreated him, for God's sake, to put an end to the Slaughter, assuring him for his Part he was ready to give him all the Satisfaction he could reasonably desire. Whereupon the Duke ordered a Retreat to be sounded, and the Army to be forbid to shed any more Blood. Then he conducted the King to St. *Albans*, from whence they sat out together for *London*.

The Parliament meets,

Shortly after, *Henry* called a Parliament which met in the Month of *July*. The King being then relapsed, the Duke of *York* was commissioned to hold it in his Name. The Parliament, which at such a Juncture could scarce be made up of any but the Adherents of the Duke of *York*, forthwith made the following Declaration: That the Government had been ill-managed by the Queen and Duke of *Somerset*, who had abused the King's Goodness and Confidence: That the late Duke of *Glocester* had been unjustly accused: That all the Alienations of the Crown-lands made since the first Year of the present Reign, should be revoked: That the Duke of *York*, the Earls of *Salisbury* or *Warwick*, or any that had listed under their Banners, could not be blamed for taking up Arms against the King, seeing it was necessary in order to free his Person from Captivity: That on the contrary, the Blame was to be laid on the Duke of *Somerset* and his Adherents, for having conceal'd from the King the Duke of *York*'s Letter, which might have prevented the Troubles raised in the Kingdom. Then the Parliament petitioned the King to nominate a Protector by reason of his Indisposition, which hindered him from attending to the Affairs of the Publick. This Petition was repeated

and condemns the Queen's and Somerset's *Management, and justifies the Duke of* York.

The King is petitioned to Name a Protector.

repeated ſeveral times, and the King returned an Anſwer to it. Not that he had reſolved to reject it. He was no more at Liberty to follow his own Councils, than when he was under the Guardianſhip of the Queen and Duke of *Somerſet*. But the Duke of *York* had a mind that his Nomination ſhould not appear conſtrained. At length, the Parliament having been prorogued to the 12th of *November*, the very Day both *Houſes* met again, the King ſigned a *Patent*, wherein he ſaid, that having been frequently petitioned by his Parliament to nominate a Protector, he made choice of the Duke of *York* for that important Employ, till he ſhould be removed by the Parliament, or the young Prince of *Wales* ſhould be fit for it. Then, after a Month's Seſſion, the Parliament was prorogued to the 14th of *January*. 1455.

The Parliament is prorogued. The King makes the Duke of York *Protector.* Act. Pub. XI. 396. p. 370.

Whilſt the Duke of *York* thus enjoyed the Advantage he had gained upon his Enemies, they for their Part was not idle. The Queen, who knew very well what he was driving at, was too much concerned in the Caſe, as well upon her own as the King's Account, not to try to diſappoint his Deſigns. *Henry* Duke of *Somerſet* *, Son of him ſlain at St. *Albans*, and the Duke of *Buckingham*, were equally deſirous to revenge, the one his Son's, the other his Father's Death. In fine, all the Princes and Lords allied to the *Houſe of Lancaſter*, or attached to the *Lancaſtrian* Intereſt, beholding the Duke of *York* taking large Steps towards the Throne, were prepared to uſe their utmoſt Endeavour to ſtop his Progreſs. Mean while, the Duke of *York* lived in a Security and Unconcernedneſs which aſtoniſhed his very Enemies. He perceived it would be too hazardous openly to claim a Crown which had been Fifty-ſix Years in *the Houſe of Lancaſter*. Wherefore he choſe to wait till Time ſhould bring along with it ſome favourable Opportunity to aſſert his Right. Above all Things, he wanted to gain the Peoples Affections, without which he was ſatisfied all his Endeavours would be to no Purpoſe. So that to let the World ſee that he was not ſwayed by Paſſion or Intereſt, he left the King and Queen at full Liberty. He imagined that 1456.

Project againſt the Duke of York.

His Unconcernedneſs prejudicial to his Affairs.

* He bore the Title of *Earl of Morteign* in his Father's Life-time.

1456. it was not in their Power to deprive him of the *Protectorship*, which according to his *Patent* he was to enjoy till the Parliament removed him. But he had to deal with an able and enterprising Princess, who was not discouraged at the Rubs she met in her way.

The King recovers. The King having recovered his Health, the Duke of *York*'s Enemies resolved to lay hold of this Juncture to devest him of his Dignity of *Protector*, which gave him so great a Sway. It would have been easy for him to foresee that the King's Recovery might be made a handle, as it was once before, if the *Clause* in his *Patent* had not blinded his Eyes. But this *Clause* whereon he relied was a weak Fence against the Attempts of his Enemies. The Parliament being met again, the King went thither in Person, and declared, that being by God's Grace in good Health, and in condition to hold the Reins of the Government, he did not think the Kingdom had any longer need of a Protector. Then he desired the Parliament to consent that the Duke of *York* might be dismissed from that Office. Whether the Parliament thought the King's Demand reasonable, or whether the *Members* had been won unknown to the Duke, they immediately came to a Resolution to grant the King's Request. The same Day the King sent the Duke an Order to act no longer as Protector.

The Duke of York *is dismissed from the Protectorship.* February.

Act. Pub. XI. 373.

He withdraws from Court. The Duke of *York* and his Party were like Men Thunderstruck at this Proceeding. They easily perceived that the Combination was too strong for them to hope to be able to break it. Wherefore, making as they say a Virtue of Necessity, they feigned to submit with a good Grace to the King's and Parliament's Orders. However, under Colour of having nothing more to do at Court, they retired into the Country. But the Duke of *York*, and Earls of *Salisbury* and *Warwick* kept pretty near together in *Yorkshire*.

Sedition at London. Shortly after there was a Sedition at *London*, occasioned by a sudden Quarrel between two Merchants, an *Englishman* and an *Italian*. The Mob having rise in favour of the *Englishman*, the King impowered the Dukes of *Exeter* and *Buckingham* to bring the Guilty to a Tryal: but the Populace would not suffer them to execute their Commission.

The

The Queen ſuſpecting that this Tumult had been raiſed by the Duke of *York*'s Adherents, and not thinking the King ſafe at *London*, carried him to *Coventry*, under colour of change of Air. But beſides this, ſhe had another Motive of no leſs Importance: And that was, to intrap at once the Duke of *York* and the two Earls his Friends, who were all three retired into the *North*. She was informed, that notwithſtanding they were ſeparated in appearance, they had frequently, on divers Pretences, Conferences together, at which ſeveral other Lords of their Party were preſent. As ſhe could not queſtion but it was in order to concert Meaſures againſt the King, ſhe believed ſhe ſhould carry her Point, if ſhe could draw them to *Coventry*, where they would not find the ſame Protection as at *London*. With this view ſhe ſent them Letters under the King's own Hand, requiring their Preſence at Court, where he wanted their Advice in an Affair of the utmoſt Conſequence.

1456. *The Queen takes the King into* Warwickſhire.

She tries to draw the three Lords to Court.

They are like to be intrapped.

The Duke of *York* had not yet done any thing openly, which ſhowed that he aſpired to the Crown. This was a Secret between him and his principal Friends It is true indeed, the Court was ſatisfied of it, but it was not poſſible to prove it upon him. Hitherto he had varniſhed his Actions with the Good of the Publick. And for that very reaſon he was formidable to the Court. But though it was no eaſy thing to convict him legally, he could not be ignorant that there were ſpeedier and more certain Ways of getting rid of him, and that his Enemies were not over-ſcrupulous. Beſides, though he had been able to hide his Deſigns from the People, he could not imagine that he had blinded the Eyes of the Queen, who was too much concerned in the Caſe not to ſee through his Diſguiſe. Notwithſtanding theſe Conſiderations, which ſhould have put upon their guard the three Lords who had received the King's Letters, they reſolved to go to him. They flattered themſelves that *Henry* being at length ſenſible of the Miſmanagement of the Queen and *Miniſtry*, required their Aſſiſtance in making ſome Alterations at Court: But whilſt they were upon the Road to *Coventry*, their private Emiſſaries undeceived them, and let them know they would not be

But upon Notice of the Queen's Deſigns they retire.

1456. be safe there. This Advice having made them take other Measures they thought best to part. The Duke of *York* withdrew to his Castle of *Wigmore*, in the *Marches* of *Wales*; and the Earl of *Salisbury* to his Seat [at *Middleham* *] in *Yorkshire*; as for the Earl of *Warwick*, he went directly to *Calais*, of which he had been made Governor, after the Battle of St. *Albans*. The Queen was extremely vexed at having missed her Aim. But her Comfort was however, that she had separated the three Lords, and by that means rendered them less formidable.

1457. *The* French *invade the Coasts of* England; The Fears and Jealousies of both Parties were in some measure laid asleep during the Year 1457 by foreign Affairs. As the *English* had formerly taken the Advantage of the Dissentions which tore *France* in pieces, in order to make Conquests upon that Kingdom, *Charles* VII. thought that he ought not to neglect the Opportunity which the Quarrels at the Court of *England* seemed to offer him. To that Purpose he got ready two Fleets which were to invade *England* in two different Quarters. The first sailing to the *Downs*, plundered the Town of *Sandwich*. The other served [*Foy*] a little Town in *Cornwal* in the same manner. But this was all they did worth notice. Apparently they were but ill provided to venture upon more important Attempts. So that it was properly but a kind of Bravado to insult the *English* in their own Country, after having driven them out of *France*.

The Scots *the Northern Parts.* Act. Pub. XI. 327. About the same time the *Scots* made likewise an Inroad into the *Northern* Counties, from whence they carried off some Booty. The Truth is, there was a Truce concluded in 1453 between *England* and *Scotland*, till the 21st of *May* this Year, on Condition that upon the Time being expired, he of the two Kings that had a mind to renew the War should give the other notice of it One Hundred and Eighty

* This Lordship came to the *Nevills* by *Mary*, Daughter and Coheir to *Ralph Fitz-Randulph*, Lord of *Middleham*, who was married to *Robert de Nevil*, one of the Ancestors of the Earl of *Salisbury*. This *Robert de Nevil* frequenting the Company of a certain Lady in *Craven* in an adulterous Manner, was surprized by the Lady's Husband, who in revenge cut off his Genitals, which threw him into such excessive Grief, that he died *June* 6. 1721. 55 *Hen.* 3, *Dug.*

Eighty Days before-hand. But ſo many Attempts had been made on both Sides, that neither Party thought themſelves obliged to keep the Treaty. The very laſt Year, the two Kings had writ one another affrontive Letters, full of Haughtineſs and Contempt. However, whether the *Scots* had only acted with deſign to revenge ſome particular Injury, or for ſome other Reaſon, the Truce was renewed from the 1ſt of *July* this Year to that day Twelve-Month, 1459, and afterwards prolonged to the 16th of *July* 1463. 1457. P. 383. *Truce renewed with* Scotland. 389, 407.

Matters being adjuſted with the foreign Enemies, domeſticks Feuds were juſt going to break out again, if ſome peaceful Tempers had not uſed their Endeavours to prevent the fatal Conſequences of theſe Diviſions. It was eaſy to ſee that the two Parties, in deciding their Quarrel by Arms, could not but ruin the Kingdom, and occaſion in the End ſome ſad Revolution. Neither Party had ſo much the odds as to be able to hope for certain Victory. Succeſs depended on the Iſſue of the War, too doubtful an Iſſue for either of the Parties to ground any reaſonable Proſpect upon. The Duke of *York* was very ſenſible that it was no eaſy Matter to diſpoſſeſs by Force a King that had ſat on the Throne Thirty-five Years. The Truth is, though *Henry* was little eſteemed by his Subjects by reaſon of his Incapacity, yet he gained their Affections by the Innocency of his Life, and the Uprightneſs of his Intentious, though ill-ſupported by his ſlender Abilities. On the other Hand, the Queen, the new Duke of *Somerſet*, who held the late Duke his Father's Poſt, the reſt of the *Miniſtry*, and the whole *Houſe of Lancaſter*, were in a very tottering Condition. The *French* and *Scots* took advantage from theſe Quarrels to invade the Kingdom, and all Miſcarriages were laid to their Door who governed in the King's Name. The Court ſaw plainly that the Duke of *York* made uſe of this Handle to ſtir up the People againſt them. Though hitherto he had not made ſo great Progreſs as he could have wiſhed, he ſaw himſelf however in Condition to make a much greater very quickly. Theſe Reaſons added to the King's Inſtances that Means might be ſought to make up the Quarrels, moved the Queen and the Duke of *Somerſet* at length to 1458. *The two Parties are outwardly reconciled.*

ſend

1458. ſend the Duke of *York* an Offer of a ſincere Reconciliation. This firſt Step being taken, the King deſired the Duke of *York* and his Friends to repair to *London*, a Place which by them could not be ſuſpected, in order to bring about an Accommodation. He writ them a Letter with his own Hand, wherein he promiſed them *upon his Salvation* that he would do them no Injury, and that his Intention was ſincere and undiſſembled.

Such an Invitation could not be rejected, without an open Declaration of his Deſigns, which the Duke of *York* was willing to avoid. Wherefore the Lords of his Party reſolved to accept it. They were jealous however of the Queen, who on her Part had as little Confidence in them. It may be, they were both equally in the Right. It is very likely, that each Party hoped to reap ſome Benefit from this Meeting, without intending however to alter their firſt Schemes. Mean while, to remove all Fears, it was agreed that both Parties might come attended with a certain Number of armed Followers. The King even gave the Earl of *Warwick* leave, who was to come from *Calais*, to bring along with him Fourſcore Foreigners beſides the *Engliſh* *.

Every thing being thus ſettled, the Lords of both Parties came to *London* in the Month of *January*: but the Earl of *Warwick* arrived not till *February*. They were lodged in two different Quarters, to avoid the Diſorders which their being together might occaſion. The *Mayor* of *London* * rode every Night round the City with his Train-Bands to the Number of Ten Thouſand. The King and Queen entered the City the 27th of *March*, and took up their Lodging in the Biſhop's Palace, at an equal Diſtance from both Parties.

Mediators being choſen with unanimous Conſent, ſuch was the Temper of both Sides, that on the 3d of *April* a Recon-

* He brought with him 600 Men in Red-coats, imbroidered with *Ragged-Staves* before and behind. The Earl of *Salisbury* brought 500; the Duke of *York* 400. The Dukes of *Somerſet* and *Exeter* 800. The Earl of *Northumberland*, the Lords *Egrement* and *Clifford* 1500.

*† Sir *Godfrey Bullen*, Anceſtor of two famous Queens, *Anne*, ſecond Wife of *Henry* VIII. and Queen *Elizabeth* their Daughter.

Reconciliation was made to the common Satisfaction of the King, the Queen, the Parties concerned, and the whole Kingdom. The Substance of the Agreement was that, all Animosity a-part, the Lords should live together in Peace and Concord, and in perfect Obedience to the King's Commands. But to cut off all occasion of Complaint, it was agreed that the Duke of *York*, the Earls of *Salisbury* and *Warwick*, with some others of that Party, should be admitted into the *Council*. Then the 5th of *April* was appointed for a Publick Thanksgiving Day on account of this Reconciliation, wherein a *solemn Procession* was made in St. *Paul's* Church. The King and Queen and all the Lords were present, and walked two and two, one of each Party, in token of present Union*. The Duke of *York* led the Queen by the Hand, who in going made show of favourable Countenance towards him. 1458.

The Duke of York *and his Friends re-admitted into the Council.*

Solemn Procession.

It appeared however soon after, that notwithstanding all this outward Show and Parade, Friendship was far from being really established between the two Parties. The Duke of *York* and his two principal Friends always fearing some Treachery from their reconciled Enemies, withdrew from Court on divers Pretences. The Duke and Earl of *Salisbury* went to *York*, and the Earl of *Warwick* to his Government of *Calais*. The *English* Historians say, that this Earl being Admiral of *the Channel*, equipped fourteen Ships to go and give Chace to some *Spanish* Corsairs who infested the *narrow Seas*, and having met them, sunk several, and brought in six to *Calais*. But is is probable they were mistaken, since *the Collection of the Publick Acts* give quite another Notion of this Affair. It is true, we find there that the Republicks of *Genoa* and *Lubeck* complained to the King on this Occasion against the Earl of *Warwick*, and that the King appointed Commissioners to enquire into the Matter. But in their Commission there is no mention of *Spanish* Ships. It even appears that this Engagement happened

The Duke of York *and his Friends retire from Court.*

The Earl of Warwick *seizes upon some foreign Ships.*

Act. Pub. XI. 415.

* Before the King went Hand in Hand the Duke of *Somerset* and Earl of *Salisbury*; the Duke of *Exeter* and Earl of *Warwick*: And behind the King came the Queen and Duke of *York*.

1451. pened purely by Means of an accidental Quarrel between the Ships of *Genoa* and *Lubeck*, and those which were carrying the Earl of *Warwick* with his Retinue to *Calais*. This does not show that they were Pyrates, or that the Earl of *Warwick* attacked them designedly. Be this as it will, upon their Complaint he was forced to return to *England* to answer for himself, where he staid six or seven Weeks.

He comes to England to justify what he had done.

Quarrel between his and the King's Servants.

Whilst the Earl was at *London* it happened one Day, that whilst he was present at the *Council Board*, one of his People picked a Quarrel with a Servant of the King's, and wounded him. Whereupon the rest of the King's Servants snatching up what lay next to Hand, one a Sword, another a Club, or some other kind of Arms, ran to revenge their Comrade. As they could not light on him that had been the Aggressor, they fell upon the rest of the Earl of *Warwick*'s Train. In fine, they even assaulted his Person as he was coming out of the *Council* to go to his Barge which waited for him on the *Thames*. They fell foul on him in such a manner, that he very hardly escaped, after having seen several of his Followers killed on the Spot. He made no question but this was a Contrivance of the Queen's to dispatch him, without appearing to have any Hand in the Matter. He was confirmed in his Opinion, when he heard the King had ordered him to be apprehended and sent to the *Tower*. He had notice of this timely enough to disappoint those who were sent to arrest him. It is a pretty hard Matter to decide, whether the Queen contrived this Quarrel on Purpose to get rid of him, or whether it happened by Accident. However that be, the Order given to apprehend him, though he himself had Reason to complain, made him sensible that he should never be safer from the Plots of his Enemies, than when he attacked them with open Force. With a Mind full of Resentment at the Affront he had received, he went to the Earl of *Salisbury* his Father, and without Delay, they both repaired together to the Duke of *York*, to consult what was to be done upon this Occasion. From what had lately happened they concluded that the Reconciliation made at *London* was only

He is attacked, and hardly escapes.

He is ordered to be seized.

He takes Measures with his Father and the Duke of York.

only a Snare to entrap them the more eaſily and deſtroy them one after another. Perhaps they were not ſorry for having this Handle to juſtify the Reſolution they took of acting openly, as not being able to rely any more on the Promiſes of the Court. Purſuant to this Project, the Earl of *Warwick* ſpeedily returned to *Calais* to make ſure of that Place, not queſtioning but they had a Deſign to take it from him. 1458. *He returns to* Calais.

Mean while the Duke of *York* and the Earl of *Salisbury* took Meaſures to bring about their Deſigns. They agreed, that whilſt the Duke ſhould levy an Army in *Wales*, the Earl ſhould advance towards *London* at the Head of five or ſix Thouſand Men, and openly demand Satisfaction for the Injury done to his Son. As this could not be executed without the Queen's knowing it, ſhe ordered the Lord *Audley* * to be commiſſioned to raiſe Troops and go againſt the Earl of *Salisbury*. *Audley* made ſuch diſpatch, that in a very ſhort Time he ſaw himſelf at the Head of ten Thouſand Men, and in Condition to march towards *Lancaſhire*, through which County the Earl of *Salisbury* was to paſs. But he found the Earl was already advanced as far as *Shropſhire*, where the two Armies met. The Earl of *Salisbury*, though but half as ſtrong as the Enemy, did not think proper to retreat, but reſolved to make uſe of a Stratagem to obtain a Victory, which otherwiſe he could have no great Proſpect of. *Audley* being encamped on *Bore-Heath*, cloſe by a little River, *Salisbury* went and poſted himſelf on the other Side, as if he meant to guard the Paſs and hinder his being attacked. Then on a ſudden, feigning fear, he retired in the Night, ordering his March ſo that at break of Day his Enemies could ſtill ſee the Rear of his Army. This Retreat, which ſeemed to be made in haſte, having inſpired the *Royaliſts* with Eagerneſs, they began to paſs the River in Diſorder, imagining they had no-

1459. *The Earl of* Salisbury *marches towards* London *with an Army.*

The Lord Audley *is ſent againſt him.*

The Battle of Bore-Heath. Audley *is ſlain.*

* *James Tuchet* Grandſon of *John Tuchet* by *Joan* Siſter and Heir of *Nicholas Aldithly* or *Audley* of *Heleigh*, who died without Iſſue-Male. Wherefore the Poſterity of the ſaid *John* and *Joan* had the Title of Lord *Audley*.

1459. thing to do but to pursue the flying Enemy. But whilst they were in this Confusion, some already over the River, others in the Water, and others ready to Pass, the Earl of *Salisbury* wheeled about and fell upon the Troops already come over, who had scarce Time to draw up. The Fight lasted however four or five Hours, because the King's Troops were backed by those that were passing the River continually. But as this could not be done without Confusion, the Royal Army was at length put to Rout with Loss of two Thousand four Hundred Men. *Audley* himself was slain, with all the principal Officers *.

Salisbury *joins* York.

The Court raises an Army.

The Earl of *Salisbury*, having thus opened his Way, went and joined the Duke of *York*, who was raising Troops in *Wales*. It would have been too hazardous for him to continue his March towards *London*, because the Court had already drawn together a great many Forces at *Coventry*. The Queen, who commanded always in the King's Name, used all possible Endeavours to have a strong Army. She saw plainly that there was nothing to be done at this Pinch without having vastly the Odds on her Side. On the other Hand, the Duke of *York* and Earl of *Salisbury* were no less intent upon procuring all the Assistance possible, in order to be able to withstand the Forces that were preparing against them. They sent Word to the Earl of *Warwick*, that it was very necessary he should come and join them, and try to bring some Troops along with him. Upon receiving this Advice, *Warwick* left *Calais* under the Government of *William Nevill* Lord *Falconbridge* his Uncle, and took with him Part of the Garrison, of which he gave the Command to Sir *Andrew Trollop*, who had signalized himself in the Wars of *France*.

The Duke of York *prepares also.*

The Earl of Warwick *joins the Duke of* York.

The King marches towards the Male-contents.

It was seven Months after the Battle of *Bore-Heath* before the two Parties had drawn all their *Forces* together. *October* was come and no Motion had been made on either Side. At length the King set out for *Coventry*, where he had

* The *Cheshire* Men were the greatest Sufferers, who wore that Day little *Silver* Swans, the Prince of *Wale*'s Badge, which the Queen had ordered to be distributed to all the Gentlemen of that County. This Battle was fought about a Mile from *Draiton* in *Shropshire*.

had assembled his Troops, and marched towards *Wales* in quest of the Male-contents who were encampted about *Ludlow*. When he came to *Glouceſter*, he made a Halt, and ſent an Offer of *Pardon* to the Rebels, on Condition they would lay down their Arms. They returned in Anſwer, that they could no longer rely on ſuch Promiſes which were intended only for Snares to entrap them, as was viſible from what had happened at *London* to the Earl of *Warwick*; that nevertheleſs they were ready to ſubmit to the King, if he could find ſome Expedient for their Safety. Upon this Anſwer the King ordered his Army to move forwards. At the ſame Time he gave the Duke of *Somerſet* a *Patent* to be Governour of *Calais* in the Room of the Earl of *Warwick*. But it was eaſier to give the Duke a Grant of this Government in Parchment than to put him in Poſſeſſion.

1459.

He offers them a Pardon.

They demand Security.

The King makes Somerſet Governour of Calais.

The King having advanced with Deſign to give Battle, the *Yorkiſts* ſent him a very ſubmiſſive Letter, praying him to conſider that they had taken up Arms purely in their own Defenſe againſt the Attempts of their Enemies; That it was plain they intended no more, by their keeping in a Corner of the Kingdom, without undertaking any Thing, being determined not to fight but upon Compulſion; That they deſired only the Redreſs of the Grievances introduced into the Government to the great Oppreſſion of the People, by the Fault of the Miniſtry. Laſtly, they beſought the King to look upon them as Loyal Subjects who had no Deſigns upon his Perſon, and to reſtore them to Favour.

Letter of the Male-contents to the King.

This Letter had a quite contrary Effect to what they expected. Their Enemies not queſtioning but Fear had made them talk in this humble manner, advanced within half a Mile of them, with a Reſolution to give them Battle next Day. At the ſame Time they found Means to diſperſe in the Enemy's Camp the King's *Proclamation*, offering Pardon to all the Adherents of the rebellious Lords, provided they would lay down their Arms. This *Proclamation* had a wonderful Effect. The Duke of *York*'s Troops imagining the King offered a *Pardon*, by Reaſon of the Superiority of his Forces, and that there was no

They are deſerted by their Troops.

1459. Time to spare to take the Benefit of it, immediately began to disperse themselves. Sir *Andrew Trollop*, who commanded the Detatchment of the Garrison of *Calais*, put the whole Army in Disorder by going over in the Night to the King's Camp, with the Troops under his Command. This Desertion, which encreased every Moment, threw the Leader into so terrible a Consternation, that fearing to be delivered up to the King as soon as Day should appear, they chose to save themselves by Flight. The Duke of *York* taking with him the Earl of *Rutland* his second Son, went and embarked for *Ireland*. The Earl of *Warwick* fled towards *Calais*, and the Earl of *Salisbury* speedily followed him thither with the Earl of *March* eldest Son of the Duke of *York*. This young Prince was then about nineteen Years old. The Generals having thus shifted for themselves, the rest of the Officers and Soldiers saw themselves left to the King's Mercy, who was pleased to pardon all but a few that were executed for an Example.

The Duke of York *flies into* Ireland.

Warwick and Salisbury *to* Calais.

The Duke of York *and his Adherents are attainted.*

The Parliament being assembled in *December*, declared the Duke of *York* and his Adherents guilty of High-Treason. Their Estates were confiscated, and both they and their Posterity, pronounced incapable of inheriting, till the fourth Generation. We behold in this a remarkable Instance of the variableness of the Parliament, according as the Scene of Affairs were shifted. I shall have frequent Occasion in the Sequel to take notice of the like Proceedings.

The Duke of Somerset *is repulsed at* Calais.

Upon the breaking up of the Parliament, the Duke of *Somerset* went and embarked with a Body of Troops, in order to take Possession of his Government of *Calais*; but the Garrison firing upon him, he was obliged to land elsewhere, and retire to *Guisnes*, from whence he made frequent Incursions about *Calais*. But those little Sallies were not capable of rendering him Master of so strong a Place.

1460. *The Queen sends him Supplies, which are carried off to* Calais.

The Queen finding the Earl of *Warwick* would not be deprived of his Government, fitted out a Fleet to transport Succours to the Duke of *Somerset*. The Fleet well provided with all Things lay at *Sandwich* expecting a fair Wind to put to Sea. The Earl of *Warwick* having notice of

of it, ordered a Body of Troops to ſet out privately from *Calais*, under the Command of Sir *John Dinham*, who coming to *Sandwich* about break of Day, ſurprized moſt of the Officers in their Beds *. As ſoon as he had them in his Power, he found Means to win the Soldiers and Mariners, and carried off the King's Ships to *Calais*. 1459.

1460. Warwick *conſults with* York.

The Earl of *Warwick* made uſe of theſe Ships to convoy him to *Ireland*, where he went to concert with the Duke of *York* the Meaſures they were to take for their common Defenſe. After he had been gone about a Month, he met in his Return the Duke of *Exeter* Admiral of *England*, who waited to take him in his Paſſage. But the Royal Fleet ſhowed ſo little Inclination to fight againſt him, that the Duke of *Exeter* fearing he ſhould meet with ſome Diſgrace, thought not proper to attack him.

The Duke of Exeter *durſt not attack him.*

The Court reſolves to get rid of the York-iſts.

The Queen and the *Miniſtry* doubted not but the Interview of the Duke of *York* and the Earl of *Warwick* would produce a freſh Rebellion. This was the Reaſon that at a *Council* held upon that Account, it was reſolved that ſtrict Search ſhould be made in all the *Shires* and Towns in *England* after the Adherents of the Duke of *York*, and that ſuch ſhould be diſpatched out of the Way, as were the greateſt Sticklers for him, and beſt able to do him Service. It was not queſtioned but this Method would put an effectual Stop to his ambitious Views. Purſuant to this Reſolution, *James Butler* Earl of *Wiltſhire*, and the Lord *Scales* were impowered to make ſtrict Inquiſition for thoſe that had bore Arms on the Side of the Male-contents in the late Rebellion, and to puniſh them according to Law. Theſe two Lords began to execute their Commiſſion in ſome of the Towns *i which had declared the moſt openly for the Duke of *York*, and condemned ſeveral Perſons to Death. Of all the Counties in the Kingdom, there was none that had more Reaſon to feel the Court's Reſentment than that of *Kent*. Upon all Occaſions that County had ſhown a very

A Commiſſion to that Purpoſe.

* *Richard Woodvil* Earl of *Rivers* the Admiral, and his Son *Anthony* were both taken Priſoners.

*i In *Newbury*, a Lordſhip belonging to the Duke of *York*. Dugdale.

1460. Kent *alarmed at it,* very ſtrong Attachment to the Duke of *York*, and the Buſineſs of *Cade* was not yet forgot. Wherefore the People of *Kent* perceiving by what was practiſed in other Places, that their Ruin was unavoidable, began betimes to think of the Means to prevent it. To that End they ſent Word to the Lords at *Calais*, that if they would make a Deſcent in the County of *Kent*, they ſhould be received with open Arms, and that the Inhabitants were ready to venture their Lives and Fortunes in their Cauſe.

and invites over the Lords at Calais.

They ſend Falconbridge *before;*

This Overture was very agreeable to the Lords. However, not to imbark inconſiderately in this Affair, they ſent the Lord *Falconbridge* before to ſound the People's Inclinations. *Falconbridge* meeting at Sea with Sir *Simon Monfort*, who was appointed to guard the Coaſts, attacked him, and taking him Priſoner with a great many other Officers, ſent them all to *Calais*. Upon their arrival, the Earl of *March* cauſed the Heads of a Dozen of them to be ſtruck off, by way of Retaliation for the Adherents of the Duke his Father, who had him put to Death in *England*. Theſe are Acts of Cruelty hardly to be avoided in *Civil* Wars.

Who ſends back Word how the People ſtood affected.

Falconbridge being come to *Sandwich*, found the Inhabitants of that Place and of the whole County of *Kent* ſo well-affected to the Lords, that he writ to *Calais* that there was no Time to be loſt; that the County of *Kent* was upon the Brink of Ruin, if not ſuddenly relieved; and that in the Fright People were under, there was no doubt but not only that County, but ſeveral others would take up Arms againſt the Court, if they could have any Proſpect of being backed. This Juncture appearing ſo favourable, the Lords at *Calais* reſolved to make the beſt of it, and took care to inform the Duke of *York*, who ſtill kept in *Ireland*, how Matters ſtood. Before they ſet Sail, they diſperſed in the County of *Kent* and the Conntry round a *Manifeſto*, wherein they declared, that the ſole Motive of their taking up Arms was to free the poor People from the Oppreſſion they groaned under, and to maintain their *Rights* and *Privileges*. Adding, that they did not queſtion in the leaſt but all honeſt *Engliſhmen* would aſſiſt them in the Execution of ſo good a Deſign. This *Manifeſto* had ſuch an Effect,

The Lords publiſh a Manifeſto.

that

that the Lords being arrived at *Sandwich* with fifteen Thouſand Men only, found there a Body of four Thouſand ſtrong conducted by the Lord *Cobham*. With this Reinforcement they began their March towards *London*, well knowing the Citizens were ready to receive them. And indeed, the Gates being opened to them, they entered the City at the Head of Forty Thouſand Men, their Army having increaſed to that Number in a March of ſo few Miles. The Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, the Biſhops of *London*, *Lincoln*, *Ely*, *Exeter*, declared for them. 1460. *They arrived at* Sandwich. *Their Army is increaſed to* 40000. *They are admitted into* London.

Mean while the Queen, who was at *Coventry*, was not idle. She had endeavoured to hinder the Admittance of the Male-Contents into *London*, by diſpatching thither the Lord *Scales* with a good Body of Troops. But the Mayor had ſhut the Gates againſt him, even before the Arrival of the Lords. The Lord *Scales* ſeeing himſelf thus repulſed, had thrown himſelf into the *Tower*, from whence he threatned to demoliſh the City with his Cannon, if the Rebels were admitted. But his Threats were not capable of frightning the Citizens. In the Interim, the King and Queen drew together their Forces at *Coventry*, with all poſſible Expedition. As ſoon as their Army was in a Readineſs to march, they conferred the Command on the Duke of *Somerſet*, lately returned from *Guiſnes*, and the Duke of *Buckingham*. But this was only for Form's ſake, the Queen herſelf being really General, ſince nothing was done but by her Orders, though the King was preſent in Perſon. The young Earl of *March* having notice that the Queen was marching towards *London*, went from thence with Five and Twenty Thouſand Men, to try to give her Battle before ſhe ſhould have drawn any more Forces together. He left at *London* the Earl of *Salisbury* with a good Part of his Troops, and took with him the Earl of *Warwick* and the Lord *Cobham*, who ſerved him as his Lieutenant-Generals. Upon his going from *London*, the Lord *Scales* ordered the *Tower* Cannon to play againſt the City, and did ſome damage. But by the Care which the Earl of *Salisbury* took to hinder any Proviſion from being brought him, he was himſelf reduced to very great Streights. *The Queen tries in vain to prevent them.* *She aſſembles her Forces at* Coventry, *and marches towards* London. *The Lords go to meet her.*

The

1460. *The Queen passes a River to fight them.* The Queen having advanced towards the Male-Contents, incamped on a Plain hard by *Northampton*, with a little River behind her. She had made haſte to paſs the Rivulet, leaſt the Enemy ſhould take the Advantage of it to avoid fighting. So eager was ſhe to decide the Quarrel by a Battle. But this Precaution was ſo far from being of any Service to her, that it turned greatly to her Prejudice, as we ſhall ſee preſently. The Earls of *March* and *Warwick* having likewiſe advanced, incamped on the 17th of *July* between *Torceſter* and *Northampton*. The ſame Day they ſent the Biſhop of *Salisbury* to the King, beſeeching him to ſuſpend his Indignation, and ſeek with them the Means of an Accommodation, which would ſave the Effuſion of *Engliſh* Blood. But the Court perceiving that this was only a general Propoſal, intended purely for an outſide Show, would by no means give Ear to it. Wherefore both Sides prepared for Battle.

The Court rejects the Submiſſion of the Lords.

The Battle of Northampton. On the 19th of *July* the Army of the *Yorkiſts* advanced towards the King's. The Earl of *Warwick* commanded the Right Wing, the Lord *Cobham* the Left, and the Earl of *March* was in the Center. The Dukes of *Somerſet* and *Buckingham* were at the Head of the Royaliſts, whilſt the Queen kept at ſome Diſtance, to obſerve what ſhould paſs, and to give Orders accordingly. The King ſtaid in the Camp in his Tent, watching the Iſſue of a Battle, which in all appearance was to ſecure him the Crown, or deprive him of it for ever. The Fight began not till two in the Afternoon, the Lords having firſt publiſhed through the Army, that great Care ſhould be taken not to hurt the King's Perſon, to ſpare the common Soldiers, and to put none but the Officers to the Sword. They fought two Hours, ſome ſay five, with great Ardour and Obſtinacy on both Sides, till at length the Lord *Grey*, [of *Ruthin*] who commanded a conſiderable Body of the King's Army, went over on a ſudden to the Male-contents. This unexpected Deſertion quite diſheartned the *Royaliſts*. In the Apprehenſion they were under that other Bodies would do the like, they began by degrees to give ground, and at laſt were put to rout with loſs of Ten Thouſand Men. The River,

The Royal Army is defeated, and the King taken.

River, which was in their Rear, made the Slaughter greater than it would have been, if the Vanquiſhed had been able to fly without any hindrance; beſides that abundance were drowned in endeavouring to repaſs the River. The Duke of *Buckingham*, the Earl of *Shrewsbury*, Son of the renowned *Talbot*, the Lord *Beaumont* *, and ſeveral other Lords and Officers of Diſtinction were ſlain on the Spot. The Queen, the young Prince of *Wales*, and the Duke of *Somerſet*, rid away full ſpeed, and ſcarce ever ſtopped till they came to *Durham*, ſo much were they afraid of being delivered to their Enemies. The unfortunate King, who continued in his Tent, fell once more into the Hands of the victorious Lords, who paid him however all the Reſpect which he could have expected from them, had he been in his greateſt Proſperity. This Deference was ſome Comfort to him in the Condition he was in, who would have been more worthy of Pity, if his natural Imbecility had not rendered him as it were inſenſible of good and bad Fortune. Immediately after the Battle he was honourably conducted to *Northampton*, where he reſided ſome Time. After that, on the 16th of *Auguſt* he came to *London*, ſurrounded with a Crowd of Lords, who a few Days before had fought againſt him. Mean while the Queen, not thinking her ſelf ſafe at *Durham*, privately withdrew, attended by eight Perſons only, into *Wales*, where it would never have come into her Enemies Heads to go in queſt of her. Shortly after ſhe left her Retreat to go with the Prince her Son and take Refuge in *Scotland*.

1460.

The Queen flies to Durham.

The King is treated with Reſpect,

and conducted to London.

The Queen retires into Wales.

Upon the King's Arrival at *London* he called a Parliament for the 2d of *October*. They who governed him wanted this Delay, in order to ſend for the Duke of *York* who was ſtill in *Ireland*. They took care to acquaint him with what had paſſed, and deſired him to repair to *London* with all poſſible ſpeed, that he might be there at the opening of the Parliament, or ſooner if the Wind would permit. In the Interim they acted in the King's Name, and got him to ſign all the *Orders* which ſuited with their Intereſts. We find in the *Collection of Publick Acts*, a *Patent* which con-

A Parliament is called.

* *John de Beaumont*, the firſt *Viſcount* in *England*, created 18 *Hen.* 6

1460. firmed to the Earl of *Warwick* the Government of *Calais*, and an *Order* to the Duke of *Somerset* to give him up that of *Guisnes*. And likewise a Declaration of the King's, acknowledging the Duke of *York* and his Adherents for good and faithful Subjects, as having given undoubted Marks of their Loyalty, not only in Word but in Deed.

The King's Declaration in favour of the Duke of York. Act. Pub. XI. 460.

Whilst *England* was thus in Combustion, *James* II King of *Scotland*, prepared to make an Irruption. It was the Duke of *York* that after his retiring into *Ireland* had engaged him to break with *Henry*, by some advantagious Offers, hoping to reap some Benefit himself from this Diversion. Though last Year *James* had concluded with *England* a Four Years Truce, he believed he ought not to let slip this Opportunity without improving it. Indeed he alledged several Reasons to give a Colour to the Invasion he was meditating, but the Circumstances *England* then was in, was the sole and real Motive of his Preparations. Be that as it will, a few Days after the Battle of *Northampton*, he entered *England* at the Head of an Army, and besieged *Roxborough*. But he had not Time to make any great Progress. One of his own *Cannon* happening to burst, he was killed with a Splinter on the 4th of *August*. *James* III his eldest Son, then but seven Years old, was his Successor. The Queen his Widow, who was in the Army, carried on the Siege till the Town was surrendered.

The King of Scotland *besieges* Roxborough.

He is killed by the splitting of a Cannon.

The Death of *James* II had been preceeded some Days by that of *Charles* VII King of *France*. It is affirmed that he suffered himself to be starved for fear of being poisoned by the *Dauphin* his Son, who mounted the Throne of *France* after him, by the Name of *Lewis* XI.

Charles VII *dies, and is succeeded by* Lewis XI.

The Duke of *York* could not get to *London* till two Days after the opening of the Parliament. He rode directly to *Westminster*, and lighting from his Horse, went to the *House of Lords*, where he stood some Time under the *Canopy of State*, with his Hand on the Throne, as it were expecting they should ask him to seat himself thereon. But the Silence of the *House* made him plainly enough perceive that his Intention was not universally approved of. At the same Time, to encrease the Confusion their Silence had put him

The Duke of York *arrives, and goes to the Parliament He expects in vain to be asked to seat himself on the Throne.*

him into, the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury* approaching him, asked him whether he would not go and pay his Reſpects to the King. With what Caution ſoever the Duke had carried it hitherto, he could not forbear bluſhing at this Propoſal, and telling the Archbiſhop he knew no Perſon to whom he owed that Honour. Upon theſe Words he immediately withdrew to his own Houſe. He was too ſharp-ſighted not to ſee that he expected in vain that they ſhould intreat him to accept of the Crown. And therefore without diſguiſing his Sentiments any longer, he ſent next Morning a Writing to the Parliament containing the Reaſons on which his Pretenſions were grounded. As they have been frequently mentioned, it will be needleſs to repeat them. It ſuffices to ſay in a Word, that he laid Claim to the Crown as Heir of the *Houſe of March*. This Affair was very briskly debated in Parliament, according to the Knowledge and Inclination of the *Members*. One cannot without being very tedious, ſtay to relate all the Arguments which were brought *Pro* and *Con*. But as this is a Matter of great Moment, it will not be improper to give the Subſtance of what was objected againſt the Duke of *York*'s Claim, and the Replies of his Friends thereto. I muſt not however forget to remark, that both Sides referred it to the Deciſion of the Parliament, which they equally acknowledged for the ſole Judge of this Affair.

1460.

He ſends the Parliament a Memorial *to juſtify his Claim.*

Arguments Pro *and* Con.

In the firſt Place it was ſaid, that when *Henry* IV, Grandfather of the preſent King, took Poſſeſſion of the Throne, no Body offered to oppoſe him.

The Duke of *York*'s Friends replied, that as *Edmund* Earl of *March*, who was then alive, could not diſpute it with him without manifeſt Danger, his Silence could not be interpreted for Conſent.

II. It was alledged on the King's behalf, that *Henry* IV his Grandfather had received the Crown by the Parliament's Authority. To this it was anſwered, that the Duke of *York* did not pretend to take Poſſeſſion of it without the ſame Authority, as it appeared by his *Memorial* directed to both *Houſes*. But that as the Parliament had then ſtrong

1460. Reasons to proceed contrary to Custom, in Favour of the *House of Lancaster*, so they had at present no less Motives to do the Duke of *York* the Justice due to him. They who talked in this manner, took care not to call the Parliament's Authority in Question, at a Time when they intended to make use of it to place the Duke of *York* on the Throne. But in all Appearance they did not speak upon this Subject all they thought.

III. The Resignation of *Richard* II was pleaded in behalf of the *House of Lancaster*.

Answer was made, by denying that *Richard*'s Resignation concerned that House in Particular, or even the Person of *Henry* IV. But supposing it had, it was not in the Power of a King actually a Prisoner, and upon the Point of being deposed, to settle the Succession.

IV. It was objected against the Duke of *York*, that the Earl of *Cambridge* his Father having been executed for High-Treason, his Posterity by that were rendered incapable of any Inheritance.

The Duke's Adherents answered, that he had been restored to his Honours, and all his Rights, and acknowledged for *Duke of York* and *Earl of March* by the King himself, and the whole Kingdom.

V. It was further urged, that the *House of Lancaster* had enjoyed the Crown above sixty Years.

To this it was replied, that *Prescription* was no *Plea* against the Right of succeeding to the Crown, which was a natural Right, and not to be destroyed by a positive Law.

VI. Lastly, It was represented on the King's Behalf, that having now reigned thirty-eight Years, and all along led an Innocent Life, without having given any Person Cause to complain of him, it would be a very great Piece of Cruelty to strip him of the Crown.

This Argument seemed to be of great Weight: But the Duke of *York*'s Friends replied, that *Henry* being uncapable of governing by himself, to leave him in Possession of the Crown, was not doing him a Kindness so much as the Queen and her *Ministers*, who abused his Name and Authority. Moreover, that it was not fit the whole Kingdom should

ſhould be ruined for his Sake, or a Wrong done from a Motive of Charity. 1460.

One may eaſily judge that theſe and ſeveral other Reaſons alledged by the two Parties, were diſplayed and ſet off to the beſt Advantage, eſpecially in the Parliament, where there are generally a great many ingenious Men. This was a very proper Subject to exerciſe the Wits, difficult in it ſelf, and ſtill more ſo by the preſent Poſture of Affairs. At length, after a Debate of ſeveral Days, it was reſolved, that *Henry* ſhould enjoy the Crown during his Life, and the Duke of *York* be declared his Succeſſor. This Reſolve was paſſed into an *Act of Parliament*, which ran, That notwithſtanding the Duke of *York*'s indiſputable Title to the Crown, he had freely conſented that *Henry* ſhould poſſeſs it for his Life, and was willing to ſwear Allegiance to him as to his lawful Sovereign. But if in Caſe the King ſhould come in any manner whatever to break this Agreement, then the Crown ſhould immediately be devolved to the Duke of *York* or his lawful Heirs. *It is decreed that the King ſhould enjoy the Crown during Life.*

It is very likely that the Duke of *York* had carried his Views farther than this came to. However he ſat contented, becauſe he ſaw plainly that it would be a very hard Matter to obtain better Terms without coming to open Force. It cannot be denied, that he behaved in this with a Moderation ſomewhat uncommon on the like Occaſions. In his preſent Circumſtanecs, and according to the Rule generally followed by Parliaments of declaring for the ſtrongeſt, nothing was more eaſy for the Duke than to get the Crown awarded to him immediately. He had at his Beck a victorious Army, which at that Time could not be withſtood. Beſides the Majority of the Members of Parliament were of his Side, and in all Appearance, after having gone ſo far as to acknowledge his Title was indiſputable, they would not have wanted much Sollicitation to take one Step farther and place him on the Throne. It is therefore evident, that if the Parliament did any Thing in Favour of *Henry*, it was becauſe they thought themſelves at Liberty to deal thus equitably by him, maugre the Duke's victorious Army *The Duke of* York *conſents to the Decree.* *Inſtances of this Moderation.*

1460. my which might have over-ruled them, if he had been minded to make use of his Advantage. It must likewise be observed, that the Duke of *York* was older than the King, and therefore naturally could not expect to out-live him. Notwithstanding all this, they who have writ the History of these Troubles, have never failed to give an ill Turn to whatever is related of this Prince. It is no difficult Matter to guess at the Reason. As the *House of York* did not sit on the Throne above Twenty-four Years, we have no Historian that wrote in that Interval, and all those that we have are of later Date, and writ since the Restoration of the *House of Lancaster* in the Person of *Henry* VII. This is what must be always remembred in reading the History of this *Civil* War.

Historians have been partial to him.

Procession at St. Paul's.

The Day after passing the *Act* I have just mentioned, a *Procession* was made at St. *Paul*'s, where the King was present with his Crown on his Head, and attended by the Duke of *York*.

The Duke is absolute Master of the Government.

Since Matters were thus settled, the King continued the same Man. Though it was easy for him to perceive the great Prejudice the Agreement he had lately made brought to his Family, and particularly to the Prince of *Wales* his Son, he lived quietly under the Servitude he was reduced to, without thinking of Means to set himself free. Satisfied with whatever the Duke of *York* was pleased to suggest to him, he gave himself up wholly to religious Exercises, and left the Publick Affairs to be managed as they thought fit who ruled in his Name. Thus the Duke finding himself absolute Master of the Government and Person of the King, caused him to sign an *Order* requiring the Queen to repair to him. The Duke was very sensible this *Order* would be to no Purpose. But his Aim was to render her Criminal, in refusing to obey the King her Spouse, and to justify thereby whatever he intended to do against her. He thought she had no Remedy left, and in that Belief imagined he had nothing more to do than to find some Pretence to lay an insuperable Obstacle in the way of her Return, in order to get rid of so dangerous an Enemy. But he relied too much on his own good Fortune and the Queen's

The King orders the Queen to repair to him.

Weakness

Weakneſs. Inſtead of being diſcouraged at the ill Poſture of the King's and his Family's Affairs, ſhe was already returned to *England* with the Prince of *Wales* her Son, and had drawn together in the *North* an Army of ten Thouſand Men. The better to gain the People of thoſe Parts to her Side, ſhe had cauſed a Report to be ſpread, that ſhe gave them leave to plunder the Country on the *South* of the *Trent*. In all Appearance, this was the chief Means that helped her to ſuch a Number of Troops. 1460. *She levies an Army in the* North.

The Duke of *York* had been well informed of the Queen's Attempts to levy an Army, but he did not know ſhe had made ſo great a Progreſs; nevertheleſs he thought he could not be too ſpeedy in oppoſing the Execution of her Deſigns. He ſat out therefore from *London* with four or five Thouſand Men only, leaving Orders with the Earl of *March* his Son, to lead the reſt of the Army into *Wales* to refreſh the Men, and then come and join him. As he advanced towards the *North*, he received the ſad News of the great Succeſs the Queen had had in the raiſing of Troops. At length being come near *Wakefield* in the County of *York*, he heard the Queen was advancing towards him at the Head of eighteen Thouſand Men. Whereupon he reſolved to retire to his Caſtle of *Sandale*, till the Arrival of the Earl of *March*. He knew very well the Queen, who had no *Artillery*, could not force him in that Caſtle which was pretty ſtrongly fortified, and he did not queſtion but the Earl his Son would ſpeedily come to his Relief. *The Duke of* York *goes againſt her with* 5000 *Men only.* *He retires into* Sandale-*Caſtle.*

The Queen was heartily vexed to ſee her Enemy thus ſheltered from all Attacks. As ſhe was then vaſtly ſuperiour in Number of Troops, if the Duke would have fought ſhe might have flattered herſelf with certain Succeſs. But ſhe was not ſure that after the Arrival of the Earl of *March*, ſhe ſhould be in the ſame Circumſtances. For this Reaſon ſhe did all ſhe could to provoke her Enemy, and induce him to come out of his Retreat. As ſhe did not deſpair of compaſſing her Ends, ſhe took the Precaution to lay a Body of Troops in Ambuſh behind a Hill *. Then ſhe appeared *The Queen provokes him to fight*

* She is ſaid to place an Ambuſh on each Side *Wakefield*-Green, under

1460. ed before the Walls of *Sandale*-Caſtle, and provoking the Duke all manner of ways, one while threatning him, another while ſending him Challenges, and upbraiding him that a Man who aſpired to the Crown ſhould ſuffer himſelf to be thus braved by a Woman.

The Duke reſolves to fight.

The Duke of *York* had till then acted with a great deal of Prudence and Conduct. During the Wars of *France*, where he had often commanded in Chief, he had ſhown no leſs Wiſdom than true Valour. But on this Occaſion he let his Courage get the better of him, contrary to the Opinion of his Friends, who adviſed him to deſpiſe thoſe vain Reproaches. Apparently, his Animoſity againſt the Queen, hurried him as it were in ſpite of his Teeth to commit a Blunder unpardonable in a General of ſo eſtabliſh'd a Reputation. In this Manner at leaſt Hiſtorians have repreſented the Matter. For my Part, if I may be allowed to ſpeak my Opinion, I muſt confeſs I ſee but little probability in this Account. I ſhould rather think that the want of Proviſions put him under a Neceſſity of fighting, in order to avoid the Danger which hung over his Head. Wherefore if he committed a Fault, it was in ſhutting himſelf up in a Caſtle, inſtead of returning back, or going to meet his Son, who could eaſily come and join him. Be this as it will, he marched out of *Sandale*, and drew up his Troops on *Wakefield*-Green, counting that his Courage and Experience would ſupply the Defects of his Army. He was no ſooner drawn up, but he ſaw himſelf attacked by the Queen's Troops, who being much more numerous than his, had a great Advantage of him. Whilſt he was hard preſſed in the Front by Enemies ſtronger than himſelf, thoſe that lay in Ambuſh iſſued out, and attacked him in the Rear. This unexpected Aſſault bred ſuch Confuſion among his Troops, that in leſs than half an Hour they were put to flight, and he himſelf loſt his Life, bravely fighting. The young Earl of *Rutland* his ſecond Son not above twelve Years old, flying with his Governour, was overtaken

The Battle of Wakefield, *where* York *is ſlain.* December.

The Earl of Rutland *killed by* Clifford.

der the Command of the Lord *Clifford* and Earl of *Wiltſhire*. Her main Army was led by the Dukes of *Somerſet* and *Exeter*.

vertaken by the Lord *Clifford*, who plunged his Dagger into his Breaſt, notwithſtanding the earneſt Intreaties of the Governour to ſpare the young Prince's Life *. Afterwards the ſame Lord *Clifford* lighting upon the Body of the Duke of *York*, cut off the Head, and crowning it with a Paper-Crown, fixed it on the end of his Lance, and went and preſented it to the Queen, who ordered it to be ſet up on the Walls of *York*. 1460.

Thus fell the Duke of *York*, aged about fifty Years *1. One may ſay that never was Prince ſo near a Throne and not ſeated in it, and that it lay wholly in his own Power to take Poſſeſſion, had he been willing to uſe the Force which he had in his Hands. I ſhall not take upon me to blame or juſtify him with regard to his Pretenſions. I leave the Reader to judge for himſelf, upon the Grounds which have been already explained in ſeveral Places. Unluckily for this Prince, thoſe that writ the Hiſtory of *England*, at the Time when the Reſtoration of the *Houſe of Lancaſter* was ſtill freſh, I mean in the Reigns of *Henry* VII and *Henry* VIII, have given an ill Turn to all his Actions. Thoſe that came after them, not content with taking the Facts as they found them related, have likewiſe copied the Reflections, and even the very Invectives. By ſo doing they have all unanimouſly given the Cauſe for the *Houſe of Lancaſter*, inſtead of leaving their Readers at Liberty to paſs an impar- *Remark on the Partiality of Hiſtorians to the* Houſe of Lancaſter.

* He is ſaid to have killed that Day ſo many with his own Hand, that he was thenceforward called the *Butcher*. His Father *Thomas* Lord *Clifford* having been ſlain in the Battle of St. *Albans* by the Duke of *York*, this Lord *Clifford* (as *Grafton* ſays,) ſwore *he would not leave one Branch of the* York *Line ſtanding*.

*1 His Corps were firſt interred at *Pontfract*, but afterwards in the Collegiate-Church of *Fotheringhay*. The Duke of *Somerſet* (his chief Opponent) ſaid of him, that *if he had not learned to play the King by his Regency in* France, *he had never forgot to obey as a Subject when he returned to* England. By *Cecily* Daughter of *Ralph Nevil* Earl of *Weſtmoreland*, he had as ſome ſay, 8 Sons, (*Henry*, who died young, *Edward* Earl of *March*, afterwards King *Edward* IV, *Edmund* Earl of *Rutland*, *John*, *William* and *Thomas*, who all dyed young, *George* Duke of *Clarence*, and *Richard* Duke of *Glouceſter*, afterwards King *Richard* III.) and four Daughters. *Dugdale*.

1460. tial Judgment upon ſo difficult a Point, the Deciſion whereof, ſhould the ſame Caſe happen again, would be no leſs intricate now then it was then. The Earl of *Salisbury* having had the Misfottune to be taken Priſoner in the Battle, was carried, notwithſtanding his Wounds, to *Pontfract*, where he loſt his Head on the Scaffold *. The Queen ordered it to be ſet up by the Duke of *York*'s.

The Earl of Salisbury *beheaded.*

The Earl of March *reſolves to maintain the Quarrel.*

Such was the Iſſue of this Battle, which was fought on the laſt Day of *December*, hard by *Wakefield* *1, from whence it took its Name. This Battle looked as if it would have firmly reſtored the Affairs of the King and Queen, and yet it ſerved only to haſten their Deſtruction, and give the *Houſe of York* a ſpeedier Aſcent to the Throne. The Earl of *March* having had notice of the Defeat and Death of the Duke his Father, was not at all diſmayed at the News. On the contrary, he reſolved to maintain the Quarrel, let the Conſequence be what it would, and loſe his Life or go through with the Deſigns of the deceaſed. After what had paſſed, there was no middle Way left, one of the two *Houſes* muſt neceſſarily be eſtabliſhed upon the Ruins of the other. The Earl of *March* was then in *Wales*, ready to march to the Aſſiſtance of the Duke his Father. His Army was three and twenty Thouſand ſtrong, beſides what he had left at *London* under the Command of the Earl of *Warwick*, for the Defenſe of the Metropolis. Thus finding

* His Body with that of *Alice* his Wife, ſole Daughter and Heir to *Thomas Montacute* Earl of *Salisbury*, and his Son *Thomas* (ſlain in the Battle) were in 2 *Ed.* 4. *Feb.* 15. buried at *Biſham* Abbey in *Berkſhire*. He had Iſſue four Sons (*Richard* Earl of *Warwick*, *John* Marquiſs of *Montague*, Sir *Thomas*: *George* Biſhop of *Exeter*, Chancellor of *England*, and then Archbiſhop of *York*,) and five Daughters. *Dugdale*.

*1 A Town in the *Weſt-Riding* of *Yorkſhire*, famous for its Cloath Trade, Largeneſs, neat Buildings, Markets; and for the Bridge upon which King *Edward* IV built a very neat Chapel in Memory of thoſe that were cut off in this Battle. The carved Work of Stone upon the Chapel was very beautiful, but is now much defaced. On the Right-Hand of the Road from *Wakefield* to *Sandal* there is a ſquare Plot of Ground hedged in from a Cloſe, whereon (before the *Civil* War between King *Charles* and the Parliament) ſtood a Croſs of Stone, where the Duke of *York* was ſlain. The Owners are obliged by *Tenure* to keep up this Hedge. *Camb.*

ing himſelf ſtrong enough to go in queſt of the Queen, he wiſhed for nothing ſo ardently as to have an Opportunity to revenge the Death of his Father. 1460.

Whilſt the Earl of *March* was taking this Reſolution, the Queen advanced towards *London*, with deſign to make ſure of that great City, which alone was able to influence the Fortune of either Party. But hearing upon the Road that the Earl of *March* began to move, ſhe detached *Jaſper Tudor* Earl of *Pembroke* to go againſt this new Enemy, whom ſhe did not imagine to be ſo ſtrong as he was. The Earl of *March* being informed that the Queen was marching towards *London*, had already altered his Courſe, and inſtead of going to meet her, taken likewiſe the Road to *London*, to try to be before-hand with her. But having Intelligence of the Detachment which was coming againſt him, he thought not fit to go between the two Armies of his Enemies, which he muſt have done if he had kept on his Rout. Wherefore coming to a ſudden Reſolution, he turned back to go and meet the Earl of *Pembroke*. He met him at *Mortimer*'s Croſs in *Herefordſhire*; and as he was much ſuperior in Numbers, defeated him with eaſe, and ſlew Two Thouſand Eight Hundred of his Men. The Earl of *Pembroke* had the good Fortune to eſcape. But *Owen Tudor* his Father according to ſome, or more probably his younger Brother *, being taken Priſoner, was beheaded with ſeveral others, in Revenge of the Earl of *Salisbury*.

The Queen marches towards London, *and ſends* Pembroke *againſt the Earl of* March.

Pembroke *is defeated.*

Owen Tudor *is beheaded.*

The News of this Defeat which reached the Queen on the Road, prevented her not from continuing her March towards *London*. She verily believed, that by appearing at the Gates of the City with an Army that had vanquiſhed the Duke of *York*, ſhe ſhould put the Inhabitants in ſuch a Fright, that they would of their own accord drive out the Earl of *Warwick*. The Truth is, the Earl himſelf ſeemed to be of the ſame mind, ſince he choſe rather to go out and fight the Queen than ſtay in *London*: The which doubtleſs he would not have done, had he been ſure of the City. The Queen being come to St. *Albans*, received certain Advice

The Queen keeps on her march to London.

The Earl of Warwick *goes out to fight her.*

* *Owen Tudor* the Son is ſaid by moſt of our Hiſtorians to take the Religious Habit at *Weſtminſter*.

1461. that the Earl of *Warwick* was marching towards her with his Army, reinforced with a Body of the *Train-Bands* of *London*, and bringing the King along with him. The Queen's Army was made up of *Northern* Troops*, who committed such prodigious Ravages, that it was one of the chief Reasons why the *Londoners* chose to join the Earl of *Warwick*. If these Troops had entered the City, their All would have been in danger from such Guests.

He is defeated at Bernard's Heath. Feb. 17.

The two Armies meeting near St. *Albans* on *Bernard's-Heath*, began a Fight, which at first was very fierce on both Sides. But *Lovelace*, who commanded one of the Wings of *Warwick's* Army, not having charged soon enough, either through Treachery or for some other Reason, Victory declared for the Queen, and the Vanquished lost Two Thousand Eight Hundred Men. She had at the same Time the Satisfaction to free the King her Spouse, whom the Earl of *Warwick* durst not venture to leave at *London*. She used her Victory with the Barbarity too common in *Civil* Wars, beheading several Persons of Distinction, particularly the Lord *Bonvile**' and Sir *Thomas Kiriel*, though the King had granted them their Lives. As her Troops had voluntarily engaged in her Service without her having wherewithal to pay them, she could not hinder them after the Victory from plundering the Town of St. *Albans*. These *Northern* Soldiers affirmed, that they had not taken up Arms but upon Promise given them that they should have the Plunder of the Country lying *South* of the *Trent*. This Pretension of theirs inspired the Inhabitants of *London* and the Country round, with a Terror which proved very prejudicial to the Queen. Provisions being grown exceeding scarce in her Army, by reason of the great Licentiousness of her Troops, she sent to the *Mayor* of *London* for a Supply, who not daring to deny her at such a Juncture, ordered several Carts to be loaded. But just as they were going out at the Gate the Mob stopped them, and

The Queen frees the King.

Her Troops p under St. Albans.

She demands Provisions of the Mayor of London.

The Mob oppose it.

* *Welsh*, *Scotch* and *Irish*, besides *English*.

*' He was one of those who had the Custody of the King after he was taken at St. *Albans*, and had stayed with him at his Request.

and told the *Mayor* that they would not ſuffer Proviſions to be ſent to an Army which was come on purpoſe to plunder the Country. The *Mayor* not being able to help this Diſorder, made his Excuſe to the Queen, and put her in hopes that he would let her into the City as ſoon as the People were ſomewhat appeaſed. 1461.

The Earl of March *approaches* London.

Whilſt the Queen was taken up at St. *Albans* with treating with the *Mayor* of *London*, the Earl of *March* was advancing with all the Speed poſſible, that he might inſpire the *Londoners* with the Reſolution to keep their Gates ſhut againſt the Queen, by the Conſideration of his approaching Aſſiſtance. And indeed the News of his March did not a little contribute to the ſpinning out the Negotiation between the Queen and the *Mayor*, the which proved the Ruin of her Affairs. As ſoon as ſhe heard that the Earl of *March* was approaching, and had ſtrengthned his Army with the Remains of the Earl of *Warwick's*, ſhe choſe to retire into the *North*. Beſides, that ſhe was no Match for her Enemy, ſhe juſtly dreaded ſhe ſhould be refuſed admittance into *London* in caſe ſhe advanced that way, and obliged to join Battle at the Gates of the City, too well inclined to countenance her Enemy.

The Queen retires towards the North.

The Earl enters London,

The Earl of *March* overjoyed that the Queen voluntarily yielded him the Metropolis, entered as it were in Triumph in the Beginning of *March*. He was received with the Acclamations of the Citizens, who, ſeveral Years ſince, had as good as declared againſt the Court. The Caution wherewith the late Duke of *York* had thought fit to proceed, had been ſo much to his Prejudice, that the Friends of the Earl his Son judged it abſolutely neceſſary to ſtrike a bold Stroke, and place him at once in the Throne. After ſundry Conſultations upon the Matter, they reſolved not to run the Hazard of the Delays of a Parliament; but to proceed to an extraordinary Election, firſt by the *People*, and then by the *Nobles*. They were of Opinion that this Method could be juſtified by the *Act* of Parliament, which ratified the Convention made between the King and Duke of *York*, and that it was unneceſſary to ſtay for a freſh Confirmation.

His Friends reſolve to place him on the Throne.

Purſuant

1461. *Extraordinary Election of the Earl of* March.

Pursuant to this Resolution, the Earl of *Warwick* drew up his Army in St. *John*'s Fields, and having caused the People who were come to the Sight to be cast into a Ring, he stood in the midst, and read aloud the Agreement between the King and Duke of *York*, with the *Act* of Parliament whereby it was ratified. Which done, he told the People that it was notorious that *Henry* had violated this Agreement, and by that had forfeited, according to the *Act* of Parliament, his Right to the Crown. But after all, I do not see upon what ground he could charge the King with what the Queen had done, since he was all the while as it were a Prisoner at *London*: Neither was he any more his own Master since he was with the Queen. Be that as it will, the Earl of *Warwick* raising his Voice, asked the People who stood round him whether they would have *Henry of Lancaster* for King? The whole Multitude crying, *No, No:* He demanded whether according to the Agreement just read to them, they would have *Edward*, Son of the late Duke of *York*, for Sovereign? To which all the People replied with Acclamations which showed their Consent.

Assembly of the chief Men who adjudged him the Crown.

This first Step being made, and the Peoples Mind being, as was pretended, sufficiently known, a great *Council* was called of all the Bishops, Lords, Gentlemen and Magistrates in and about *London*. *Edward* being present in this Assembly, set forth his Title to the Crown, as well by Birthright as by the Agreement above-mentioned, and demanded that it might be awarded him. A Man must have been very hardy to dispute his Pretension at such a Juncture. And therefore with one Consent the Assembly declared that *Henry of Lancaster* had forfeited his Right of enjoying the Crown during his Life, by the Breach of the solemn Agreement made with the Duke of *York*, and ratified by the Parliament; and that it was devolved to *Edward*, eldest Son of the Duke of *York*. Upon this Declaration, the Crown was offered the Duke, who accepted it, modestly confessing his Insufficiency, and adding, that although his Youth and small Experience made him fearful of taking upon him so weighty a Charge, he would however use his utmost Endeavour to render his People happy with God's help.

help. On the Morrow he went in *Proceſſion* to St. *Pauls*, where he ſat in the King's Seat, with the Scepter of St. *Edward* in his Hand *. The Archbiſhop of *Canterbury* having asked the People whether they would have *Edward* Earl of *March* for King; the People anſwered with loud Acclamations. Then the King took Homage of the Lords that were preſent. The Ceremony concluding with ſinging *Te Deum*. *Edward* was conducted with great Solemnity to the Biſhop of *Exeter's* Palace, where *Henry* was wont to lodge, when he was within the Walls of the City. Next Day being the 5th of *March*, he was proclaimed at *London* and the Country round, by the Name of *Edward* IV. 1461.

Thus ended the Reign of *Henry* VI. which had laſted Thirty-eight Years and a Half, without his ever concerning himſelf with the Adminiſtration of the Publick Affairs. It does not even appear that he troubled his Head much about Events, which however were, for the moſt Part, ſuch as would affect a Prince that had been of another Temper. He was fitter for a private Life than for a Crown. His great and only Defect was a kind of natural Imbecility, which rendered him incapable to govern by himſelf. Ever ruled by thoſe who managed the Affairs in his Name. His Capacity reached not ſo far as to ſee the Conſequences of the Counſels given him, which to him ſeemed always good. In this he widely differed from the King his Father, whoſe Genius was always ſuperior to that of his *Miniſters*. As to the reſt, he was chaſte, temperate, extremely religious, abhorring Cruelty and Injuſtice. It was theſe Virtues which have ſerved for Foundation to the Praiſes beſtowed on him by ſeveral Hiſtorians, and which have made ſome look upon him as a true *Saint*. The Truth is, theſe Virtues would have rendered him an accompliſhed Prince, had they been attended with the Qualifications of a Sovereign. But being alone, they ſerved only to make him an honeſt Man,

End of Henry's Reign.

His Character.

* He went firſt to St. *Pauls*, from whence he was conveyed in State to *Weſtminſter-Hall*, where he ſat in the King's Seat, and took Homage. Then he went in Proceſſion to the *Abby*, and was placed in the Choir as King, whilſt *Te Deum* was ſung. That done, he returned by Water to St. *Pauls*, and lodged in the Biſhop's Palace.

1461. Man, and at the same time a very indifferent King, not to say worse. The Weakness of his Understanding rendered him contemptible to his Subjects: But the Innocency of his Life hindered their Contempt from ever turning into Hatred.

Causes of the Decay of the English Affairs in Henry VIth's Reign.

During the first Year of his Reign his Affairs was in a prosperous State, because they were managed by the Dukes of *Bedford* and *Glouceſter* his Uncles, Princes of very able Heads, and who had his Interests at Heart. And if ever in their Life-time Affairs began to fall to decay, one may say it was not so much by their Fault, as by some unforeseen Accidents which all the Prudence in the World could not have prevented. After the Death of the Duke of *Bedford*, *Henry* suffered himself to be guided by the Cardinal of *Wincheſter* and the Duke of *Suffolk*, who, acting not from the same Motives, and minding only their own Affairs, compleated his Ruin. Afterwards Queen *Margaret* by her uncommon Abilities, might have put his Affairs again in a flourishing Condition. But the Honour of the King, and Welfare of the Nation, were what was least in her Thoughts. Her sole View was to engross all the Power, and make use of the King's Name to justify her Passions. The *Ministers* she employed were all of the same Character. It is not therefore at all strange that the King's Affairs should thus be hurried to Destruction. The Death of the Duke of *Glouceſter* will be an indelible Stain in *Margaret's* Reputation, and unhappily this Crime returned but too hasty upon the King's own Head, since he had not the Resolution to hinder it or punish its Authors. Accordingly it was manifest that *Heaven* took publick Vengeance of this Murder, by the *Civil* War which ensued, and which brought on the Ruin of the King, the Queen, the Prince their Son, and the whole *House of Lancaſter*.

Henry VI. was Thirty-nine Years and about a Quarter old when he was stript of a Crown which he had wore from almost his very Birth *. He still lived long enough to be the

* In the first Parliament of his Reign the Queen-Mother came and sat among the Lords with the young King in her Lap.

the Sport of Fortune, as we ſhall ſee in the following Reign. *Edward* his Son, Prince of *Wales*, was in his Nineteenth Year at the Time of this *Cataſtrophe* *. 1461.

* The moſt remarkable Things during this Reign were theſe: The Art of Printing being found out at *Mentz* in *Germany* by *John Guttenberghen*, was brought into *England* by *William Caxton* of *London* Mercer, who firſt practiſed the ſame in the Abby of *Weſtminſter* in 1471.

In the 23d Year of this Reign it was enacted in Parliament, That when *Wheat* was ſold for ſix Shillings and Eight-pence the *Quarter*, *Rye* for four Shillings, and *Barley* for three Shilling, it ſhould be lawful to export the ſaid Kinds of Corn into foreign Parts without Licence.

The King himſelf founded *King's College* in *Cambridge* (afterwards enlarged by *Henry* VII. for a *Provoſt*, 70 *Fellows* and *Scholars*, &c.) and likewiſe *Eaton-College* by *Windſor*, for a *Provoſt*, 8 *Fellows*, a *Choir*, and 60 *Scholars*. Queen *Margaret* began *Queen's-College* in *Cambridge*, which was finiſhed by *Edward* IV's Queen her Enemy. Archbiſhop *Kemp* built the *Divinity School* at *Oxford*, and St. *Paul's* Croſs as it now ſtands. *William Eaſtfield* Mayor of *London*, built at his own Charge the Water-Conduit in *Fleet-ſtreet*; and *John Wells* Mayor of *London*, the Conduit commonly called the *Standard* in *Cheap*.

Edward the Third is juſtly reckoned the Firſt of our Monarchs that coined Gold, and this in ſo beautiful a Manner, that his *Roſe-Noble* (forty five out of a Pound of Gold) has merited the Eſteem of a *Medal*. In *Henry* IV's Reign the *Roſe-Nobles* changed their Name and Value, being now called *Rials*, *Half-Rials*, and *Quarter-Rials*, and went at Ten Shillings, Five Shillings, and Two and Six-pence. On one Side he is crowned with an Arched Crown ſeated on a Throne, with a *Scepter* in his Right-Hand, and a *Globe* in his Left, inſcribed, *Henricus Dei Gra. Rex Angl. & Fran. Dus. Hib.* On the Reverſe, the *Arms* of *France* and *England* quartered, and *Jeſus autem tranſiens*, &c. The Silver Money were *Groats*, *Pence*, *Half-pence*, and *Mails* or *Farthings*. There were likewiſe *Gold Farthings*. It is agreed that his Money firſt carried the *Arched* or *Imperial* Crown.

The End of the Reign of HENRY VI.

A

DISSERTATION

ON THE

MAID of *Orleans.*

THE Actions of *JOAN* of *ARC*, commonly called the *Maid of Orleans*, made formerly a great Noiſe in the World. We find them related in the Hiſtories of *France* and *England*, with Circumſtances which ſavour all of the *Marvellous*. Moſt of the Writers upon this Subject have ſcarce left their Readers the Liberty of reaſoning and judging; but have formally decided the Matter; ſome by affirming that *Joan of Arc* was inſpired by God; others, that ſhe was an Inſtrument of the Devil. However they all agree in making it believed that what ſhe did could not be performed without a ſupernatural Aſſiſtance. In the mean Time impartial and unprejudiced Readers find great Objections againſt both theſe Opinions. As they do not ſee how Religion can be any way concerned in the Actions of the *Maid of Orleans*, they think it equally hard to believe that God ſhould be pleaſed either to raiſe her up in a ſupernatural manner in Defenſe of *Charles* VII, or give

give the Devil an extraordinary Power to make her his Inſtrument to ruin the Affairs of the *Engliſh* in *France*. Hence ſeveral have been induced to embrace a third Opinion, namely, that the pretended Inſpiration of *Joan of Arc*, was nothing but a Contrivance which the Inventors imagined would produce the Effect it did indeed produce. This Diverſity of Opinions, joined to the *Wonders* one beholds in the Actions of a poor Country Girl, naturally raiſes a Curioſity to know the Truth. Wherefore I am perſwaded that it will not be unacceptable fairly to examine this Matter, with the ſole view of coming as near the Truth as poſſible. As I deſign to be as brief as the Thing will allow, I ſhall ſet aſide the *Learning* which ſuch a Subject would admit of, and content my ſelf with relating the *Facts* and *Teſtimonies* which may ſerve to ſet this Buſineſs in a clear Light, and with making ſome Remarks upon the whole. They who are impatient to go on with the Hiſtory of *England*, may ſafely omit reading this *Diſſertation*, without fear of loſing any Thing abſolutely neceſſary to be known.

In the firſt Place it muſt be obſerved, that we have but one ſingle cotemporary Author, who has given an Account of the *Maid of Orleans*. All that writ after him have added ſomething to what he relates, in order to embelliſh their Hiſtory. *Monſtrelet* is the Author I mean. He was one of the Retinue of *Philip the Good*, Duke of *Burgundy*, and had himſelf ſeen this Girl. But he is exceedingly upon the Reſerve in what he ſays of her. He never gives his Opinion of her, and the Reaſon of his behaving thus is very evident. *Joan* having made her Appearance whilſt the Duke of *Burgundy* was in Alliance with *England*. *Monſtrelet* with all of that Party, did not believe her inſpired. But as he writ not his *Chronicle* till after the Duke was reconciled to King *Charles*, he thought not proper to combat in his Writings the general Opinion of the *French*, who were then his Maſter's Friends. On the other Hand, as in all Appearance in changing Sides, he had not changed his Opinion of *Joan*, he took care to ſay nothing which might make it thought he lay under the ſame Prejudice with the

reſt of the *Frenchmen*. It ſeems to me therefore that we may take *Monſtrelet* for a Guide, who of whatever Opinion he was, has ſaid nothing to render him ſuſpected. The Truth is, he never ſays either that *Joan* was, or was not inſpired.

He has inſerted in his *Chronicle* a Letter written in the Name of *Henry* VI to the Duke of *Burgundy*, to acquaint him with what had paſſed at the Tryal and Condemnation of the *Maid of Orleans*. This Letter might be juſtly ſuſpected of Partiality, if the Facts mentioned therein did not, for the moſt Part agree with the *Records* of the Tryal which I ſhall ſpeak of preſently. Wherefore this Letter is a farther Means to help us to diſcover the Truth.

We have moreover a third Means which is both the ampleſt and moſt conſiderable, namely, *Joan's Examination* and *Anſwers*, of which the famous *Stephen Paſquier* has given us the Particulars. *Paſquier* ſays, he had the original *Tryal* of the *Maid of Orleans* four whole Years in his Hands, and that what he has related was faithfully extracted thence. But we muſt carefully diſtinguiſh what *Paſquier* ſays as of himſelf from the *Records* of the *Tryal*. He was ſo ſtrongly prejudiced in favour of *Joan*, that he could not help being in a Rage with thoſe of his Countrymen who did not believe her inſpired. He ſays they ſhowed themſelves by that, worſe than the *Engliſh*, and were extremely injurious to the Honour of *France*. Wherefore not to conſider only his private Opinion, he may be ſaid to have juſtly rendered himſelf ſuſpected by one of the Parties. But the *Tryal* itſelf is an original Piece beyond all Suſpicion, ſince we find there Word for Word, the *Maid of Orleans*'s own Anſwers to the Articles ſhe was interrogated upon.

Monſtrelet's *Chronicle*, the King of *England*'s Letter to the Duke of *Burgundy*, and the *Tryal* of the *Maid of Orleans*, are the three Evidences which muſt be examined in order to be able to paſs a true Judgment in this Affair. As to Facts related in the Hiſtories of *France* and *England*, which are not drawn from theſe three Fountains, I do not think they ought to be much regarded. It is evident that the

the Hiſtorians have copied, without any previous Examination, thoſe that writ before them, and that ſeveral have made it their Buſineſs to embelliſh their Story, by relating more *Wonders* than there really were. If we may believe ſome of them, *Joan* worked *Miracles*, foretold *future Events*, knew *Secrets* which no Body but the King alone was conſcious of; her Heart was found whole and entire amongſt the Aſhes after ſhe was burnt; and out of the Flames which conſumed her Body, was ſeen to fly a white Dove, the Emblem of her Chaſtity. According to theſe Hiſtorians, *Joan* had the Command of the *Convoy* which entered *Orleans*, and led the Beſieged to the Aſſault of the *Engliſh* Redoubts. By her ſole Advice the Battle of *Patay* was fought, and to her Valour the *French* were indebted for their Victory. In a Word, they pretend that *Joan* did All, and left King *Charles*'s Generals only the Honour of following her, and fighting under her Banners. In all this they doubtleſs go beyond the Truth. The ſureſt Way is to keep to the three Authorities abovementioned, which it will be neceſſary to examine. I ſhall begin with *Monſtrelet*, and cite ſome Paſſages of his *Chronicle*, eſſential to the Point in Hand, for it would be too tedious to copy all he has ſaid conſidering the *Maid of Orleans*.

" Now in the Year aboveſaid, came to the King Monſtrelet
" at *Chinon* where he reſided, a young Damſel about 20
" Years old (*a*), called *Joan*, cloathed and dreſſed like a
" Man. She was born in the Parts between *Lorrain* and
" *Burgundy*, at a Place called *Droymi* (*b*), not far from
" *Vaucouleurs*. The which *Joan* was a good while a Ser-
" vant in an Inn, and had the Courage to ride the Horſes
" to Water, and likewiſe to perform other Feats which
" young Girls are not wont to do. And being turned a-
" way, ſhe was ſent to the King by a certain Knight called
" Sir *Robert de Baudricourt*, Captain under the King, of
" *Vaucouleurs*, who furniſhed her with Horſes, and four
" or

(*a*) She was then 27 Years of Age; for in her Examination in the Year 1431, ſhe declared ſhe was 29 Years old, conſequently when ſhe come to the King in 1429, ſhe was 27 Years of Age.

(*b*) It ſhould be read *Dompre*.

" or five Attendants. She ſtiled herſelf *Pucelle* [or *Vir-*
" *gin*,] inſpired with *Divine Grace*, and ſaid ſhe was ſent
" to the King to put him in Poſſeſſion of his Kingdom,
" of which he was wrongfully deprived. Her Condition
" was but mean. She was about two Months in the King's
" Palace, whom ſhe ſeveral Times admoniſhed to let her have
" Men and Aid, and ſhe would repulſe his Enemies, and
" exalt his Dominion. During which Time the King and
" his Council gave no great Credit to whatever ſhe could
" ſay, but took her for a Mad-woman, and one out of her
" Wits. For to ſo great Princes and other Noblemen, ſuch
" or the like Words are very doubtful and dangerous, as
" well on Account of the Wrath of our Lord chiefly, as
" of the *Blaſphemy* [or Slander] which one might incur
" from the Talk of the World. All her Words were in
" the Name of God; whereby the greateſt Part of thoſe
" that ſaw and heard her ſpeak were ſtrongly perſwaded
" that ſhe was inſpired by God, as ſhe herſelf affirmed.
" She was ſeveral Times examined by *notable Clerks* and o-
" ther learned Men of great Authority, that her Intention
" might be more fully known. But ſhe always kept to her
" Point, ſaying, if the King would be pleaſed to believe
" her, ſhe would reſtore him to his Dominions.—— When
" ſhe came before the King, there were preſent the Duke
" of *Alenſon* the King's Marſhal, and ſeveral Generals. For
" the King had held a Council about the Affair of the Siege
" of *Orleans*, and from thence went to *Poictiers*, and this
" ſame *Maid* with him. Shortly after it was ordered that
" the *Marſhal* ſhould carry Proviſions and other Neceſſaries
" to *Orleans* by Force. *Joan* had a Mind to go along with
" him, and requeſted that ſhe might have a Suit of Armour
" and Man's Cloaths, the which ſhe was furniſhed with.
" Preſently after ſhe ſet up her Standard and went to *Blois*,
" where the Rendezvous was, and from thence to *Orleans*
" with the reſt. She was always compleatly armed. In
" this Expedition many came and liſted under her. And
" when ſhe was come to *Orleans*, ſhe was made very wel-
" come, and abundance of People were overjoyed at her
" coming ".

This

This is all *Monſtrelet* ſays of *Joan of Arc* till her Entry into *Orleans*. Hence it may be obſerved, that it was not ſhe that commanded the *Convoy*, but only that ſhe attended the *Marſhal* with ſome who had liſted under her. As to the ſtorming of the Redoubts, it ſeems at firſt Sight from what he ſays of it, that *Joan* commanded in all the Sallies. But afterwards he ſays: "And notwithſtanding that in "theſe Three Aſſaults, the ſaid *Joan* is reported by com-"mon Fame to have had the chief Command, yet all or "the moſt Part of the noble Knights and Captains were "in them, who during the Siege, had been in the City of "*Orleans*, and behaved each for his Part valiantly, as War-"riors ought to do on ſuch Occaſions". He does not fail however to commend her Valour very highly in ſeveral Places. For Inſtance, ſpeaking of the March of the *French* Army after the raiſing of the Siege of *Orleans*, he ſays: "*Joan* was ever in the Front before her Standard. "And in all the Marches about, her Fame at once was "ſpread, as if there had been no other Warrior but her ſelf".

After he had deſcribed the Battle of *Patay*, he adds theſe Words; "And eſpecially *Joan* acquired on ſuch Occaſi-"ons ſo great Praiſe and Reputation, that all People ima-"gined the King's Enemies would be no longer able to "ſtand againſt her, and that ſhortly by her Means the King "would be reſtored and re-eſtabliſhed in his whole King-"dom".

In fine, not to cite too many Paſſages of this Author, it will ſuffice to obſerve in a Word, that whenever he mentions the Inſpiration of *the Maid of Orleans*, he never tells us what he himſelf thinks of the Matter, but always ſays, that ſhe called her ſelf inſpired. He is ſo very cautious in this Point, that in ſpeaking of what the Duke of *Burgundy* ſaid to her, when he went to ſee her after ſhe was taken, he pretends not to remember it, though he was himſelf an Ear-witneſs. His Words are theſe: "The Duke went to ſee "her at the Place where ſhe was lodged, and gave her "rough Language, which I have forgot, though I was "preſent". It is eaſy to ſee that the Duke's rough Words were Reproaches for having ſeduced the People, and Menaces

naces upon that Score. But *Monſtrelet* chuſes rather to be ſilent than ſay any thing *pro* or *con*.

He relates moreover, that a few Days before *Joan* threw herſelf into *Compiegne*, ſhe had fought *Franquet d'Arras*, and having taken him Priſoner, cut off his Head. But he does not ſay, whether juſtly or not, contenting himſelf with relating the Fact, without giving his Thoughts of it.

When he comes at laſt to her Condemnation, he expreſſes himſelf in ſuch a Manner, that he does not diſcover his own Sentiments of the Matter. He only tranſcribes the King of *England*'s Letter to the Duke of *Burgundy* about that Affair. As that Letter is an Original which may help to find out the Truth, it will be proper to inſert it at length.

Moſt Dear and Beloved UNCLE,

" THE fervent Affection which we are ſenſible you " have, as a true Catholick, for our Holy Mo- " ther the Church, and for the Exaltation of our Faith, " juſtly exhorts and admoniſhes us to notify to you in " writing, what, to the Honour of our ſaid Holy Mo- " ther the Church, to the Strengthning of our Faith, and " to the Extirpation of peſtiferous Errors, has been lately " in this our City of *Roan* ſolemnly tranſacted.

" It is well known almoſt every where by common Re- " port, how the Woman who called herſelf *Joan the Vir-* " *gin* went about two Years and upwards, contrary to the " divine Law, and the Condition of her Sex, dreſſed in " Man's Clothes, a Thing abominable in the Sight of God, " and in ſuch Garb was brought to our mortal Enemy and " yours, to whom and to thoſe of his Party, Churchmen, " Nobles and Commonalty, ſhe frequently gave to un- " derſtand that ſhe was ſent from God, preſumptuouſly " boaſting that ſhe had perſonally and viſibly converſed " with St. *Michael*, and great Numbers of Angels and " Saints of Paradiſe, as St. *Catharine* and St. *Margaret*: " By which Forgery, and the Hopes ſhe gave of future " Victories, turned the Hearts of many Men and Women " from the Truth, to Fables and Lies. She likewiſe put

" on

" on Arms appointed for Knights and 'Squires, and ſet up
" a Standard. Moreover, ſhe demanded with great Bold-
" neſs and Confidence to bear the moſt excellent *Arms* of
" *France*, which ſhe obtained in part, and bore in ſeveral
" Incurſions and Aſſaults, as did her Brothers alſo, accord-
" ing to Report: Namely, *Azure*, Two Flower-de-Lu-
" ces, *Or*, and a Sword with the Point upwards, and on it
" a Crown. In this Poſture ſhe took the Field, and led
" Men at Arms and Archers in Bands and great Compa-
" nies, to commit and exerciſe inhuman Cruelties, by
" ſhedding human Blood, by raiſing Seditions and Com-
" motions among the People, carrying them to Perjury,
" Rebellion, Superſtition, and falſe Opinions; by diſturb-
" ing all true Peace, and kindling mortal Wars; by ſuf-
" fering herſelf to be honoured and reverenced as a *Saint*;
" and by working other damnable Deeds, too tedious to
" relate, which however were well known in ſeveral Places,
" and at which almoſt all Chriſtendom was offended. But
" the Providence of God having taken Pity on his faith-
" ful People, and been pleaſed not to let them remain long
" in Danger, nor to continue in vain, pernicious, and no-
" vel Opinions, which they had raſhly embraced, has per-
" mitted through his great Goodneſs and Mercy that the
" ſaid Woman ſhould be taken in your Army at the Siege
" you carried on for us before *Compiegne*, and put by your
" good Means into our Power. And becauſe we were im-
" mediately required by the Biſhop of the *Dioceſe* wherein
" ſhe was taken, to deliver over to him as to her ordinary
" Eccleſiaſtical Judge, the ſaid *Joan* branded with the
" Crime of High-Treaſon againſt the Divine Majeſty:
" We, as well out of Reverence to our Holy Mother the
" Church, whoſe Orders we juſtly prefer to our own Will
" and Pleaſure, as alſo for the Honour and Exaltation of
" our Holy Faith, put into his Hands the ſaid *Joan* to be
" brought to her Tryal, without ſuffering our ſecular
" Judges to take Vengeance upon her, as we might lawful-
" ly have done, conſidering the great Damages and Miſ-
" chiefs, the horrible Murders, and deteſtable Cruelties,
" with innumerable other Crimes ſhe had committed againſt

" Us and our dutiful loyal People. The ſaid Biſhop " joined with him the Vicar of the Inquiſition of Errors " and Hereſies; and having called in the Aſſiſtance of a " great and notable Number of ſolemn *Maſters*, and Doc- " tors in Divinity and Civil Law, began with great So- " lemnity and due Gravity the Tryal of the ſaid *Joan*. " And after he and the ſaid Inquiſitor, Judges in the Cauſe, " had for ſeveral Days interrogated the ſaid *Joan*, they or- " dered her Confeſſions and Aſſertions to be maturely exa- " mined by the ſaid *Maſters* and *Doctors*, and in general by " all the *Faculties* of our moſt dear and beloved Daughter " the Univerſity of *Paris*, before whom the ſaid Confeſ- " ſions and Aſſertions were laid. By the Opinion and De- " termination of whom, the ſaid Judges found *Joan* " guilty of *Superſtition*, *Witchcraft*, *Blaſphemy againſt* " *God and his Saints*, *Schiſm*, *and of erring greatly in the* " *Faith of Jeſus Chriſt*. And in order to reſtore and " bring her back to the Union and Communion of our " ſaid Holy Mother the Church, to cleanſe her from her " horrible and pernicious Crimes and Wickedneſs, and to " keep and preſerve her Soul from eternal Damnation, ſhe " was frequently and for a long while together very chari- " tably and calmly admoniſhed, that ſhe would reject and " caſt away all her Errors; and would likewiſe humbly re- " turn to the Way and Paths of Truth, or that otherwiſe " ſhe would greatly endanger both her Soul and Body.

" But the moſt pernicious and divided Spirit of Pride " and outragious Preſumption, which is always endeavou- " ring to deſtroy the Union and Safety of Chriſtians, poſ- " ſeſſed and held ſo faſt bound the Mind of *Joan*, that " notwithſtanding all the holy Doctrine or Counſel, or " other mild Exhortation which was adminiſtred to her, her " hardened and obſtinate Heart would not be humbled or " mollified. She ſtill boaſted, that every thing ſhe had " done was performed by the Command of God, and the " ſaid holy Virgins who had viſibly appeared to her. And " what is worſe, ſhe would recognize no Judge on Earth, " except God alone and the Saints in Paradiſe, caſting off " and rejecting the Judgment of our holy Father the Pope,

" and

" and of a General Council, and the Universal Church Mi-
" litant. Whereupon her said Ecclesiastical Judges seeing
" her keep so long and so obstinately to her Resolution and
" Purpose, ordered her to be conducted to the Church, be-
" fore the Clergy and People there assembled in great Mul-
" titudes; in the Presence of whom her wicked Purposes
" were set forth, exposed and declared solemnly and publick-
" ly by a notable Doctor in Divinity, to the Exaltation of
" our Faith, the Extirpation of Errors, the Edification
" and Amendment of Christian People. After which,
" she was charitably admonished to return to the Union
" of Holy Church, and reform her Faults and Errors,
" wherein she was hardened. And therefore the said
" Judges proceeded to pronounce upon her the usual and
" customary Sentence in such Cases. But before the Sen-
" tence was fully pronounced, she began in appearance to
" cast off her Resolution, crying out, she would return
" to Holy Church. The which was readily and gladly
" heard by the said Judges and Clergy, who kindly re-
" ceived her, hoping by that Means her Soul and Body
" would be saved from Destruction and Torment. Then
" she submitted to the Ordinance of Holy Church, abju-
" red with her own Mouth her Errors and detestable
" Crimes, and make a publick Recantation, signing the
" Instrument with her own Hand. And thus our compas-
" sionate Mother Holy Church rejoicing over this repent-
" ing Sinner, glad to find and restore this strayed and lost
" Sheep to the rest of the Fold, condemned the said *Joan*
" to do Penance in Prison. But hardly was she there, be-
" fore the Fire of her Pride, which seemed to be extinguish-
" ed, burst out afresh into pestiferous Flames by the Sug-
" gestions of *the Enemy*. And presently the said unfortunate
" *Joan* relapsed into her former Errors and Follies, which
" she had abjured and recanted in the Manner aforesaid.

" For which Reason, according as it is decreed by the
" Church, she was again publickly declaimed against, to
" the End she might not hereafter infect the rest of the
" Members of Christ. And as she was relapsed into the
" wretched Crimes and Faults she had been accustomed to,

" ſhe was delivered over to the ſecular Arm, and condemn-
" ed to be burnt. Perceiving her End was at Hand, ſhe
" plainly owned and confeſſed that the Spirits which ſhe
" ſaid appeared to her ſeveral Times, were evil and lying
" Spirits, and that the Promiſes they had frequently made
" to free her, were falſe. So ſhe acknowledged ſhe had
" been deceived and mocked by the ſaid Spirits, and pur-
" ſuant to her Sentence, ſhe was carried bound to the old
" Market Place in *Roan*, and there publickly burnt in the
" Sight of all the People.

Before we come to her Tryal, it will not be amiſs to ſee a Letter which ſhe is ſaid to write to the King of *England* and his Generals, before the Siege of *Orleans* was raiſed. Here it is, juſt as *John de Serres* a *French* Hiſtorian has given it us.

" King of *England*, do Juſtice to the King of Heaven,
" in his Royal Blood. Reſtore to the *Virgin* the Keys of
" all the good Cities you have forced. She is come from
" God to claim the Blood Royal, and is ready to make
" Peace, if you are willing to do Juſtice, and return what
" you have taken away, O King of *England*; but in Caſe
" you will not, I am Chief of the War. In what Place
" ſoever I light on your People in *France*, I will make them
" depart whether they will or no. If they will ſubmit, I
" will take them to Mercy. The Virgin comes from the
" King of Heaven, to drive you out of *France*. If you
" will not obey, ſhe will raiſe ſuch a Combuſtion as the
" like has not been in *France* this Thouſand Years. And
" be aſſured that the King of Heaven will ſend to her and
" her good Men at Arms ſtronger Forces than you can have.
" Go in God's Name into your own Country. Perſiſt
" not obſtinately in your Opinion; for you ſhall not hold
" *France* of the King of Heaven, Son of the Holy *Mary*.
" But King *Charles* the Right Heir ſhall hold it, to whom
" God has given it, and who ſhall enter *Paris* with a noble
" Train. You, *William Poullet* Earl of *Suffolk*, *John* Lord
" *Talbot*, *Thomas* Lord *Scales*, Leiutenants of the Duke of
" *Bedford*, and you Duke of *Bedford*, ſtiling yourſelf Regent

" of

« of *France*, ſpare innocent Blood. Leave *Orleans* at Li-
« berty. If you do not Juſtice to thoſe you have inju-
« red, the *French* will perform the nobleſt Exploit that was
« ever done in Chriſtendom. Hear theſe Tidings from
« God and the Virgin. »

This Letter writ in a *Prophetick* Style, by a Girl who pretended to be ſent from God, and appears ſo certain of the Future, ought to contain nothing but what ſhould be found to be exactly true afterwards. And yet we ſee in it Predictions which never came to Paſs. For Inſtance, it is not true that ſhe made ſo much as one ſingle *Engliſhman* leave *France*. She affirms likewiſe, that ſhe will make ſo great a Combuſtion or Havock that the like had not been ſeen this Thouſand Years in *France*. Theſe Words can relate only to the raiſing the Siege of *Orleans*, and the Battle of *Patay*. But the firſt of theſe Actions has nothing in it extraordinary. That a Garriſon ſhould make a Sally and drive the Beſiegers from their Poſts, is a Thing too common to be reckoned a Miracle. As to the Battle of *Patay*, ſuppoſing *Joan* had commanded the *French* Army, which ſhe did not, can that be ſaid to be ſo mighty a Matter as to deſerve to be expreſſed in the Terms ſhe uſes? The *Engliſh* were in all but ſix Thouſand, and loſt two Thouſand five Hundred. That Defeat hardly bears any Proportion to thoſe of the *French* at *Crecy*, *Poictiers*, *Azincourt*, the firſt of which was but a Hundred Years before the Time of the *Maid of Orleans*, and the laſt but thirty or forty.

It is further remarkable, that in her Letter ſhe ſpeaks as if ſhe were actually at the Head of the Armies of *France*, ſince ſhe calls upon the King of *England* to return her the Keys of all the Towns in his Poſſeſſion. And yet the Letter muſt have been writ whilſt ſhe was only upon the March with the *Convoy* deſigned for *Orleans*. In which Convoy, according to *Monſtrelet*, ſhe got leave as a ſort of Favour to make one, ſo far was ſhe from being entruſted with the Command. I ſay nothing of her ſpeaking to the King of *England* as if he was then a Man, though he was but nine Years old, exhorting him not to perſiſt obſtinately in his Opinion,

Opinion, nor of her admoniſhing him to go out of *France*, though he was then in *England*, theſe Things may be paſſed over as being written in a *Prophetick* Stile, and taken as ſo many *Figures* of Speech. But ſhe ſhould at leaſt have known the Names of thoſe ſhe addreſſed herſelf to, and not have called the Earl of *Suffolk*, *Poullet*, when his Name was *de la Pole*. To miſtake the Name of Foreigners, may be eaſily excuſed in common Perſons. But I do not know whether ſuch a Fault is to be pardoned in one who pretended to ſpeak in the Name and by the Authority of God. Theſe and ſeveral other Reaſons, which it would be too long to inſiſt upon, induced me to believe that this Letter was written after the Event, by ſome Body that knew the *Maid of Orleans* had really writ to the King of *England*, or the Duke of *Bedford*, as we ſhall ſee preſently.

Let us proceed now to the Tryal of *Joan of Arc* as we find it in *Paſquier*. I ſay to the Tryal, and not to the Sentiment of that Author who lived too long after her for his Teſtimony to be of any great Weight. It ſuffices to ſay with regard to him, that he every where ſpeaks of her with great Commendations, and believed ſhe was really inſpired, and ſent by God to ſave *France*. Here follows her *Examination* and *Anſwers*, which I ſhall abridge as much as poſſible, without rendering the Senſe obſcure.

In the firſt Place, being charged to ſpeak the Truth, ſhe replied, ſhe would ſay what concerned her Father and Mother; but that ſhe would not diſcloſe the *Revelations* ſhe had told King *Charles*, but that in eight Days ſhe ſhould know whether ſhe might ſpeak of them or no.

To the ſecond Queſtion concerning her Name and Family, ſhe anſwered, that ſhe was of the Village of *Dompre*, that in her own Country they called her *Jaenette*, but in *France*, *Jeanne d' Arc*. That her Father's Name was *James of Arc*, and her Mother's *Iſabella*, &c.

That ſhe was then about Twenty-nine Years old.

That ſhe was by Trade a Seamtreſs and Spinſter, and not a Shepherdeſs.

That ſhe went every Year to *Confeſſion*.

That

That ſhe frequently heard a Voice from Heavn, and that in the Place were ſhe heard the Voice, ſhe ſaw alſo a Light which ſhe took for an Angel. That the Voice had often warned her to go into *France*, and to cauſe the Siege of *Orleans* to be raiſed. That ſhe ſhould go to *Robert de Baudricourt* Captain of *Vaucouleurs*, who would give her a Guard to conduct her; which ſhe did accordingly.

She added, that ſhe knew very well that God loved the Duke of *Orleans*, and that ſhe had had more *Revelations* about him than about any Perſon living except the King.

Item. She confeſſed ſhe was engaged in a Skirmiſh before *Paris* on a *Holyday*, and being asked whether that was Right, ſhe anſwered, *Go on.*

Being asked when ſhe heard the Voice laſt, ſhe replied, Yeſterday, three Times, in the Morning at the Time of *Veſpers*, and when the *Ava Maria* Bell rung in the Evening.

Being interrogated, whether ſhe had ever ſeen any *Fairies*, ſhe anſwered, *No*; but that one of her God-Mothers pretended to have ſeen ſome at the *Fairy-Tree* juſt by the Village of *Dompre*.

Being examined who they were that ſpoke to her, ſhe anſwered, St. *Catherine* and St. *Margaret*, and that ſhe had frequently ſeen and touched them ſince ſhe was in Priſon, and kiſſed the Ground on which they trod. Moreover, that ſhe conſulted them about her Anſwers.

She ſaid further, that ſhe had put on Man's Cloaths by the expreſs Command of God, and that ſhe was wounded in the Neck before *Orleans*.

Item. That before ſeven Years were over, the *Engliſh* ſhould leave a greater Pledge than what they had left before *Orleans*, and ſhould loſe all they held in *France*.

That they ſhould ſuſtain in *France* a much greater Loſs than what they had already done, by means of a great Victory which the *French* ſhould gain over them.

Being asked whether ſhe bore any *Coat of Arms*, ſhe anſwered, *No*, but only her Standard. That it was true the King had given her Brothers a *Coat of Arms*, namely,

In

In a Field Azure, two Flower-de-luces, *Or*, and a Crown in the Middle.

She added that her Father dreamt ſhe would go for a Soldier, and for that Reaſon kept her ſhort, and ſaid he had rather ſee her drowned.

Then they charged her with throwing herſelf headlong from the Tower in order to kill herſelf, whilſt ſhe was a Priſoner at *Beaurevoir*. She confeſſed the Fact, but ſaid, her Deſign was not to kill herſelf, but to make her Eſcape.

During her Tryal, ſhe deſired leave to hear *Maſs* and communicate at *Eaſter*. The which was granted her upon Condition ſhe would put on Woman's Cloaths; but ſhe choſe rather to go without it, than hear *Maſs* at that rate.

She was taxed with ſuffering herſelf to be worſhipped. But ſhe replied, that if ſome People had kiſſed her Hand or Cloaths, it was not with her Conſent.

After theſe Anſwers, there follow ſeveral others which give ground to believe that they were made to as many Interrogations, which *Paſquier* thought fit to paſs over in Silence. Here they are all together.

That ſhe had talked with St. *Catharine* and St. *Margaret* at the *Fairy-Tree*, and not with the *Fairies*, as ſhe had been accuſed of. That ſhe began at thirteen Years of Age to converſe with theſe *Saints*.

That at twenty Years old, ſhe hired herſelf at *Neufchatel* in *Lorrain*, to an Inn called *La Rouſſe*, and there led the Beaſts to Graſs, and watered the Horſes, and by that means learned to ride on Horſe-back.

That whilſt ſhe was there, ſhe had a Law-Suit about a Marriage, before the Official of *Thoul*, and carried her Cauſe.

That after ſerving five Years, ſhe returned to her Father's Houſe, and that in ſpite of him, ſhe went to *Baudricourt*, who made no Account of her for the two firſt Months, but in the third, he gave her a Guard of twenty Knights, a 'Squire, and four Servants, to conduct her to *Chinon* where the King was.

The

The Judges having earneſtly urged her to put on a Woman's Habit: She replied, ſhe deſired to have none of her Sex's Clothes, but a Shift after ſhe was dead.

Whereupon ſhe was told that ſhe ſhould not be received to Communion but in Woman's Clothes: but ſhe refuſed to comply with that Condition. However, ſhe conſented at laſt to take a Woman's Habit to hear *Maſs*, provided ſhe ſhould be allowed to put on Man's Clothes again. But as they refuſed to grant her that Favour upon that Condition, ſhe declared ſhe would rather die than wear the Habit of a Woman contrary to God's expreſs Command.

She ſaid likewiſe, that ſhe had promiſed the King to raiſe the Siege of *Orleans*, and cauſed him to be crowned.

She was taxed with being always againſt a Peace; the which ſhe owned, affirming there could be no Peace concluded, unleſs the *Engliſh* would leave *France*.

The Proctor having charged her with cauſing a Sword to be hid in St. *Catharine*'s Church at *Fierbois*, and ſending for the ſame Sword, after ſhe had talked with the King, ſhe denied that ſhe had ever uſed any Frauds. She owned however that ſhe had heard three *Maſſes* in that Church.

Upon her being accuſed of ſaying that ſhe was ſent from God to wage War, the which was directly contrary to the Will of God, ſhe anſwered, that in the Letter which ſhe had ſent to the King of *England* and the Princes of the Blood, ſhe had firſt offered them Peace. *Paſquier* ſays, the Letter is copied in the Tryal. But as he thought not proper to tranſcribe it himſelf, one cannot be ſure that it is the ſame *de Serres* has inſerted in his Hiſtory.

Upon being charged with putting to Death *Franquet d'Arras* her Priſoner, ſhe replied that he was a Robber, known for ſuch, and was condemned to die by the Bailiff of *Senlis*.

To the Charge of having ſeveral times *communicated* in Man's Clothes, and kneeled to the Voice which ſpoke to her: She confeſſed it all.

The Proctor accuſed her alſo of having ſeduced abundance of People to ſuch a Degree, that ſeveral reverenced her as a *Saint*, cauſed Prayers to be ſaid in the Church to

her Honour, maintained that next *the Holy Virgin* ſhe was the greateſt of Saints, and wore about them her Image in Lead or ſome other Metal. To this Charge ſhe replied, that God ſhould be the Judge.

Upon being accuſed of having uſurped the Dominion over Men by making herſelf Head of the War, ſhe anſwered, that ſhe had done ſo to beat the *Engliſh*. And added, her Standard was of Linnen or Fuſtian, bordered with Velvet, with a *Field* ſeeded with Flower-de-Luces, and in the Middle the Image of God holding the World, ſupported by two Angels in white, and underneath *Jeſus Maria*.

Whereupon her Judges upbraided her, that ſhe was in the wrong to aſcribe unto God ſuch Vanities, contrary to the Reverence due to him; and asked her whether ſhe put her Confidence in her Standard: to which ſhe replied, ſhe placed her Confidence only in him whoſe Image it bore.

After this, ſhe was asked why ſhe held alone her Standard at the Coronation of King *Charles*: She anſwered, that it was but juſt that he who had been in Trouble ſhould be likewiſe in Glory.

She was told further, that being wounded before *Paris*, ſhe had cauſed her Armour to be hung up in the Church of St. *Dennis*, out of Oſtentation: She replied, ſhe did it from a Motive of Piety, according to the Cuſtom of thoſe that are wounded in the Wars.

Laſtly, She was asked if ſhe would ſubmit to the Judgment of the *Church-Militant*. She made Anſwer, that ſhe would, provided the Church did not enjoin her what was impracticable. That ſhe could not in any wiſe revoke what ſhe had ſaid about her *Viſions* and *Revelations*; and that if the Church affirmed they were Illuſions or Fancies, in that caſe ſhe would not refer the Matter to the Judgment of Men, but to God alone.

The Examination being ended, the Judges drew up a Summary of her Confeſſions. Containing,

I. That being Thirteen Years old, ſhe ſaw St. *Michael*, St. *Catharine*, St. *Margaret*, and a great Company of Angels.

II. That

II. That these *Saints* advised her to go to King *Charles*, and to wear Man's Clothes.

III. That she chose rather to go without hearing *Mass* and communicating, than put on her Sex's Habit.

IV. That she refused to submit to the Judgment of the *Church-Militant*.

V. That she pretended to foretel future Contingencies.

VI. That she knew *Saints* by their Voices, whom she had never seen or heard before.

VII. That she was expressly commanded by God to wear Man's Clothes.

VIII. That she cast herself headlong from a Tower, chusing rather to die than to be in the Hands of her Enemies.

IX. That she not only saw and heard, but likewise touched bodily St. *Catharine*, and St. *Margaret*, and kissed the Ground on which they trod.

The *Proctor* having asked Advice upon these Articles, he was told by the Judges, that what *Joan of Arc* had done was all a Cheat, and the Invention of the Devil to deceive the poor People. That she was guilty of Disobedience to her Parents, and of Idolatry, to the Dishonour of the Church; particularly, for having chosen rather to deprive herself of the *Body* of our Lord, than lay aside Man's Clothes. At this Sentence were present the Bishops of *Coutance* and *Lisieux*, the *Chapter* of the Cathedral of *Roan*, Sixteen Doctors, Six *Licentiates*, or Batchellors of Divinity, and Eleven Advocates of *Roan*.

This Sentence being sent to the University of *Paris*, was confirmed there by the Body of *Divines*, and ratified by a *Decree*, and *Joan* pronounced *Heretick* and *Schismatick*. Which done, the University writ to the King and the Bishop of *Bayeux*, to desire she might be put to Death. It does not appear by what *Pasquier* says, what her Punishment was to be by this first Sentence. All that can be said of it is, that she was excommunicated at last. Be this as it will, *Joan* being carried into the Church, and placed on a Scaffold, was publickly *preached*, as they called it

it in thoſe Days. All theſe Preparations having ſtruck her with a great Terror, ſhe cried out aloud, that ſhe would ſubmit to the Judgment of God and the Pope. But finding what ſhe had ſaid was not ſufficient to cauſe her Sentence to be revoked, but that they were proceeding to publiſh it, ſhe declared, ſhe would ſtand to what the *Church* ſhould enjoin her: That ſince ſo many wiſe and learned Men affirmed that her *Viſions* came not from God, ſhe was willing to believe ſo too, which ſhe repeated ſeveral times. Then ſhe made a publick Abjuration, which was inſerted in the Tryal, but *Paſquier* thought not fit to give us the Contents.

Upon her abjuring her Errors, another *Sentence* intervened, abſolving her from the Bond of *Excommunication*, and condemning her to perpetual Impriſonment by way of *Penance*. After that, ſhe put on Woman's Apparel. But as ſhe had all along ſhown great Obſtinacy with regard to Man's Clothes which ſhe wore, ſhe ſaid, by God's expreſs Command they thought proper to try whether her Abjuration was ſincere, by leaving with her in Priſon a Man's Habit. This Expedient ſucceeded but too well to her Misfortune, ſince ſhe was no ſooner alone, but ſhe put it on. On the Morrow, being found in that Dreſs, ſhe was asked the reaſon of it: to which ſhe replied, That ſhe had put on her former Habit by the expreſs Order of St. *Catharine* and St. *Margaret*, and that ſhe had rather obey God than Man. Whereupon, an Information was entered againſt her in the *Eccleſiaſtical Court*, and ſhe was declared an *Heretick Relapſe*, and delivered over to the Secular Power. *Paſquier* ſays nothing of the Confeſſion ſhe made according to the King of *England*'s Letter, that ſhe had been ſeduced by lying Spirits, who had promiſed to ſet her free. Indeed this Confeſſion is directly contrary to the Inferences which *Paſquier* could draw from the Particulars of the Tryal, namely, that *Joan* was inſpired by God. He only ſays, ſhe was ſentenced to be burnt *May* the 31ſt, 1431. But as all the reſt of the Facts mentioned in the King's Letter exactly agree with the Circumſtances of the Proceſs, I do not ſee why *Paſquier*'s Silence ſhould cauſe this to be called in queſtion.

One

One might make numberleſs Reflections upon the Examination, Anſwers and Behaviour of *the Maid of Orleans*. But not to tire the Reader's Patience, I ſhall content my ſelf with making a few Remarks.

In the firſt Place, it is certain *Paſquier*'s View in what he has related of this Tryal, was to prove *Joan*'s Inſpiration. And therefore prejudiced as he was, he made no ſcruple to curtail in ſeveral Places the *Queſtions* and *Anſwers*. This manifeſtly appears, in that ſeveral of the Anſwers have no manner of Connexion with the Queſtions, nor with one another. For Inſtance, what ſhe ſays in her Anſwer to the ſecond Queſtion, touching the Duke of *Orleans*, neceſſarily ſuppoſes ſome other Queſtion, which *Paſquier* thought fit to omit.

2. It appears that he has paſſed over in Silence ſome of the Replies: For Example, it is ſaid in the Summary of *Joan's* Confeſſion, that ſhe had boaſted of ſeeing St. *Michael*, and yet there is no mention of any ſuch thing in the Examination.

3. *Paſquier* would tranſcribe neither *Joan*'s Letter to the King of *England* nor her Abjuration: Things of no leſs Importance however, than all he has produced upon that Subject. Much more unwilling was he to mention the Confeſſion ſhe made before ſhe died, that ſhe was ſeduced or deceived. Theſe Omiſſions give occaſion to preſume, that *Paſquier* ſought in *Joan*'s Tryal not ſo much what might be of Service to him in diſcovering the Truth, as what he believed would help to prove his Opinion. And indeed, he uſes abundance of Words to draw from *Joan*'s Anſwers, Conſequences favourable to his Notion, and to ſhow that ſhe foretold nothing but what came to paſs, and ſaid nothing but what was exactly true. He labours moſt of all to prove by very weak Arguments, that the Duke of *Orleans* was greatly beloved of God. Among other Reaſons he alledges this: That God had bleſſed that Prince with two Sons, who both were illuſtrious; the one Legitimate, who was afterwards King of *France*, by the Name of *Lewis* XII; the other Natural, namely, that great General, known at firſt by the Name of *the Baſtard of Orleans*,

ans, and afterwards by that of *Earl of Dunois* and *Longueville*. But all the World knows that this laſt was natural Brother and not Son of the Duke of *Orleans* mentioned by *Joan*. It is ſurpriſing that a Man ſo well verſed as *Paſquier* in the Hiſtory of *France*, ſhould be guilty of ſo groſs a Miſtake.

Having related ſuch Facts concerning the *Maid of Orleans* as cannot be denied, ſeeing they are backed by inconteſtable Teſtimonies, nothing more remains but to examine the three Opinions in this Matter, and to eſpouſe one of them.

Moſt of the *French* Writers maintain, that *Joan* was really inſpired and ſent by God, and ground their Opinion upon theſe four principal Reaſons. The Firſt is the poſſibility of the Thing, that God may if he pleaſes do ſuch Miracles. But this Point may be granted them, and yet they not be able to draw any Inference from the Poſſibility of the Thing for the Truth of the Fact.

The Second is, *Joan*'s own Evidence, grounded upon her Viſions of *Saints* and *Angels*. But this is the very Thing in Queſtion, and conſequently cannot be urged as a Proof.

The third Reaſon is taken from her knowing King *Charles* in diſguiſe among his Courtiers. This does not deſerve Notice. Suppoſing, as a great many do, that *Joan* was perſwaded to act this Part, it is eaſy to conceive that ſhe might be very well informed how to know the King, though ſhe had never ſeen him before.

The fourth is grounded upon her foretelling the raiſing of the Siege of *Orleans*, and the Coronation of the King, at a Time when there was not the leaſt Shadow of any likelihood of theſe Things, and upon her Prediction coming to paſs. This Reaſon added to the uncommon Valour which ſhe ſhowed on all Occaſions, is doubtleſs, the ſtrongeſt that can be alledged for this Opinion. Nevertheleſs the Objections which lye againſt this Argument are ſo weighty, that they very much weaken the Force of it, if not wholly deſtroy it.

First, It may be objected, that it is ſhe herſelf who ſaid in her *Examination*, and after the Event, that ſhe had foretold to the King the raiſing of the Siege of *Orleans*, and his Coronation. We have ſeen above that *Monſtrelet* does not make her ſpeak ſo very plainly. He contents himſelf with making her ſay to the King in general Terms, *That ſhe would exalt his Dominion, and drive his Enemies out of the Kingdom*; which however ſhe did not perform, ſeeing the *Engliſh* were not chaſed out of *France* till above Twenty Years after her Death.

Moreover *Joan* ſays in her Examination, that theſe two Things were revealed to her by St. *Catharine* and St. *Margaret*. I do not mean to enter here upon all the Objections which may be made to this Matter. I am willing to ſuppoſe that God reveals ſometimes to the glorified *Saints* what is to happen upon Earth; that he commands them to aſſume human Shape to inform certain Perſons of the Future; and that *Catharine* and *Margaret* were of the Number of theſe glorified *Saints*, though no Body can affirm it with Certainty. But however it cannot be denied at leaſt that God very rarely makes uſe of ſuch Means, and that when he does ſo, it is always with a View to his own Glory or the Good of his *Church*, or for the ſake of ſome Perſons very eminent for their Holineſs. Now in the War which was then waging in *France*, neither the Glory of God, nor the Honour of Religion, nor the Good of the *Church* were directly concerned; And *Charles* VII, for whoſe ſake, upon the preſent Suppoſition, God did ſo great Things, was famous for any Thing ſooner than a Holy Life. The Diſpute between the two Kings was purely about temporal Concerns. They both profeſſed the ſame Religion, and could not tax one another either with *Schiſm* or *Hereſy*. One cannot ſee therefore wherein it could be for the Glory of God, or the Advantage of Religion or the *Church*, that the Realm of *France* ſhould be governed by a Prince of the *Houſe of Valois*, rather than by a King of *England*, deſcended by the Female-Line from the Blood Royal of *France*. A Man may affirm as much as he pleaſes, that the Uſurpation of the *Engliſh* was ſo heinous and manifeſt, that God's Honour

was

was concerned in making them an Example of his Juſtice. This is ſuppoſing a Thing in Queſtion. One need only read what has been ſaid upon this Point in the Reign of *Edward* III, to be ſatisfied that the Suppoſition is not ſo manifeſt as is pretended, and that it is liable to ſtrong Objections. But though it were undeniable that the *Engliſh* were real Uſurpers, can it be affirmed that it concerns God's Honour to puniſh in an exemplary and ſupernatural Manner the heinous Acts of Injuſtice committed in the World? How many Uſurpations of Provinces and Kingdoms do we meet with in Hiſtory, without any Miracle interpoſing to puniſh the Uſurpers? In fine, we do not ſee that *Charles* VII or his Succeſſors did Religion ſo great Service as for the ſake of that God may be perſumed to do what was done by the Means of *Joan of Arc*. Beſides the *French* in thoſe Days were no better Chriſtians, nor honeſter Men than the *Engliſh*. As for the Perſon of King *Charles* VII, in whoſe behalf it is pretended that God miraculouſly raiſed up the *Maid of Orleans*, no Body is ignorant that he led a moſt irregular Life. To ſay nothing of the Murder of the Duke of *Burgundy*, committed by his Order and in his Preſence, contrary to the Faith of a Treaty ratified with an Oath, is it not certain that at the very Time *Joan* came to him at *Chinon*, he lived in open Adultery with *Agnes Sorel*, in the Eyes of his whole Court? Are they ſuch kind of Princes whom God uſually honours in a particular manner? If to all theſe Reaſons is added *Joan*'s Confeſſion before her Death, that ſhe was deceived, there will be ground to be ſatisfied that ſhe was not inſpired. But I inſiſt not on her Confeſſion, becauſe it is a diſputable Point, ſince it is grounded only upon the Teſtimony of her Adverſaries.

I come now to the Opinion of the *Engliſh*, who ſtiffly maintain, that *Joan of Arc* was a *Witch*, and acted only by the Inſtigation of the Devil. I ſhall only obſerve in a Word, that this Opinion is liable to the very ſame Objections as the foregoing one, ſince it is full as hard to conceive, why upon this Occaſion God ſhould have given ſuch Power to the Devil. So that all that has been ſaid concerning her

her *Inſpiration*, is applicable to her *Witchcraft*, and may be retorted upon the *Engliſh*.

But there is a Third Opinion which is not liable to ſo many Difficulties. If we ſuppoſe, that in the Extremity King *Charles* was in, he himſelf, his Queen, *Agnes Sorel*, or ſome one of his *Miniſters*, having invented this Contrivance, nothing will be more eaſy than to reconcile the Events with this Suppoſition. The Buſineſs was to revive the Courage of the *French*, diſheartened by ſo many Loſſes, and it may be of the King himſelf who was thinking of retreating into *Dauphiné*. Is it to be wondered at, that ſuch an Artifice ſhould be made uſe of to that Purpoſe? This is at leaſt as poſſible as the Apparitions of *Saints*, or as *Witchcraft*. They may have pitched upon a Country Girl of good Senſe, as ſome ſuch there are, of an undaunted Courage, and who knew how to ride on Horſeback. They may have choſen one out of the Kingdom that ſhe might be the leſs known, and that impertinent Neighbours might not obſtruct the Execution of this Project, by letting the World know what ſhe was. Suppoſing the Caſe to be thus, it will be very eaſy to account for moſt of the Things which appear uncommon in the *Maid of Orleans*. All that the King ſaid of her, and the Secrets which ſhe told him, will be only carrying on the Cheat. Thoſe that were in the Plot would not fail to extol her, and the reſt would ſuffer themſelves to be drawn in by their Authority.

It muſt not however be concealed that ſtrong Objections may be made againſt this third Opinion, which it will be proper to anſwer.

The Firſt is, that it is only Conjecture. I own it. But then it is a very natural Conjecture in a Matter wherein it is ſo hard to diſcover the Truth. The *French* ſay that ſhe was inſpired by God. It is made appear that this Notion is full of Difficulties, and that they who eſpouſe it have not Probability on their Side. The *Engliſh* affirm ſhe was a *Witch*, and an Inſtrument of the Devil. This is no leſs hard to conceive. It is however certain that ſhe performed great Actions. What remains therefore in order to unfold the Cauſe of the Revolution happened in *France*, but to have

recourſe to natural Means, ſince the ſupernatural ones are ſo doubtful, not to ſay worſe? In my Opinion, if ever Conjecture is to take Place, it ought to do ſo in the preſent Caſe.

The ſecond Objection is taken from *Joan*'s uncommon Valour, which they would fain have paſs for ſupernatural. To this it may be anſwered, that it is certain a great deal more is aſcribed to her than ſhe deſerved, as appears by the Teſtimony of *Monſtrelet* a cotemporary Writer. A Man muſt needs be very ignorant of the way of the World not to know to what immoderate Lengths one is apt to go on the like Occaſions, and how capable ſuch a Subject is of Imbelliſhment. It does not appear by what *Monſtrelet* ſays, that *Joan* ever commanded in Chief. If he ſeems to ſay it in one Place, he corrects himſelf in another, as may be ſeen in the Paſſages above cited. It is true, the Generals carried her along with them, and placed her at their Head, on purpoſe to confirm the Prepoſſeſſion of the Soldiers. So that ſhe needed only to ſhow Reſolution enough to keep always near them, and ſuch a Reſolution cannot be accounted miraculous. As for their aſcribing to her the Honour of all the Succeſſes, there is nothing very ſtrange in that. It was no more than what the Intereſt of the King and of thoſe that ſerved him required.

The third Objection is the ſtrongeſt, grounded upon the fulfilling of *Joan*'s Predictions. She told the King, ſhe would cauſe the Siege of *Orleans* to be raiſed, and himſelf to be crowned; which fell out accordingly. One muſt therefore, in ſuppoſing that it was only a Contrivance, ſuppoſe at the ſame Time that ſhe had the Gift of Prophecy.

To this Objection it may be replied in the firſt Place, that the Aſſurances wherewith the *French* Hiſtorians have aſſerted that her Predictions were before the Event, is what gives it the greateſt Weight. But it muſt be obſerved that of the two Articles, namely, the raiſing of the Siege of *Orleans*, and the Coronation of the King at *Rheims*, the Firſt only is atteſted by *Joan* herſelf in her Examination, without any mention of the King's Coronation. And further, this very Atteſtation comes after the Event; neither is there

any

any good Proof to be had that when ſhe came to the King, ſhe gave him Aſſurance that ſhe would cauſe the Siege of *Orleans* to be raiſed. As *Monſtrelet* relates the Caſe, it does not appear that *Charles* relied upon her Promiſes, when he undertook to ſend a *Convoy* to *Orleans*. *Monſtrelet* ſays, that he was reſolved to ſend a *Convoy* to that City, and that *Joan* deſir'd to be one of the Company, the which was granted her. Surely if that Deſign had been formed merely upon her Promiſes, ſhe would have had no need to deſire to be preſent at the executing it, ſince in that Caſe ſhe would have been the chief Manager.

But in the ſecond Place, ſuppoſing *Joan* had foretold what is attributed to her, I do not know whether that would be a convincing Proof. Upon Suppoſition that ſhe was perſwaded to act this Part, and that ſhe had her Leſſon given her beforehand, nothing was more natural than to make her tell the King ſhe was commiſſioned to raiſe the Siege of *Orleans*. This Siege was then the Cauſe of great Uneaſineſs to the King and the whole Court. They did not know what Courſe to take to ſave that important Place, and conſequently there was a Neceſſity of giving hopes of raiſing the Siege, in order to make it believed that *Joan* was ſent from God. In ſo doing nothing was hazarded but the Reputation of a poor Country Girl, of which no great Account would have been made, in caſe the Buſineſs had miſcarried. As to the King's Coronation, there was occaſion alſo to put him in hopes of it, ſince the raiſing of the Siege was but a Means to attain the chief End, which was to place the King on the Throne of his Anceſtors.

In the third Place, to *Joan*'s Predictions a very puzling Objection may be made. If ſhe was inſpired by God to foretel the Future, whence came it to paſs that ſhe was miſtaken? She ſaid that ſhe would drive the *Engliſh* out of the Kingdom, and yet they were not driven out till above Twenty Years after her Death. She foretold that they would be expelled by a great Victory which the *French* ſhould get over them. This gives the Notion of a very bloody Battle, and of an uncommon Victory. But where do we find any ſuch Thing after the Death of *Joan of Arc*?

There is none but the Battle of *Fourmigni*, which happened twenty Years after, and was of very little Conſequence, as has been obſerved. She foretold likewiſe in her Examination, that before ſeven Years were at an end, the *Engliſh* ſhould leave *a greater Pledge* than what they had left before *Orleans*. I do not know what that Expreſſion means, unleſs it ſignifies the Loſs of ſome Battle. But there was no Battle within that Space of Time. Let us however give theſe Words the moſt favourable Senſe they are capable of: Let us underſtand them, if you pleaſe, of the Loſs of *Paris*. But this Event happened five Years after the Prediction. Is it uſual for the *Holy Ghoſt* to mark out thus the Space of ſeven Years inſtead of five? Was it not full as eaſy for him to foreſee that this Event would come to paſs in five Years as in ſeven?

Wherefore, all things conſidered, let a Man compare the Difficulties of the Third Opinion with thoſe that ariſe from the *Apparitions* of *Saints* and *Witchcraft*, and I am perſuaded he will find the Third Opinion the moſt probable of the Three.

Beſides, the Inſpiration of *the Maid of Orleans* was not ſo generally owned by the *French* themſelves, but that ſeveral queſtioned it. The Conſtable *Richmond* being upon the March to join the King before *Baugenci*, the King prepoſſeſſed that he was coming with ſome ill Deſign, reſolved at firſt to go and fight him. But altering his mind, he ſent *Joan* to meet and receive him. As ſoon as ſhe ſaw him, ſhe alighted from her Horſe, and embraced his Knee: Whereupon the *Conſtable* ſaid theſe Words to her, which plainly ſhow what he thought of her: Joan, *I am told that you have a mind to fight me. I neither know who you are, nor by whom you are ſent here; whether by God or by the Devil: If you come from God, I have no reaſon to fear you, for he knows my Intention as well as yours; If you are from the Devil, I have leſs Reaſon to be afraid, and therefore do your beſt or your worſt.*

The Lord of *Langey* in his Treatiſe of *Military Inſtitution*, ſays, that *Joan*'s *Inſpiration* was of the ſame Nature with

with *Numa*'s pretended Converſations with the Nymph *Egeria*.

Others have affirmed, that ſhe was perſuaded to play this Part by the Lords of the Court. *Du Haillan* was of this Opinion, who even relates ſeveral Circumſtances in Confirmation of it. After which he adds, *Some have taken it ill that I ſay this, and put the* French *out of Conceit with ſo holy and miraculous a Thing, by endeavouring to make it all a Fable. But I was willing to do ſo, becauſe Time, which diſcovers all Things, has diſcovered this to be a Cheat.* Beſides, it is not a Matter of that Moment as that it ought to be believed as an *Article of Faith*.

Pope *Pius* II, under the Name of *Gobelin* his Secretary, having given us the Story of *Joan* and her Exploits, adds, *It is a very difficult Thing to affirm whether this was the Work of God, or the Invention of Man. Some think that the great Men at Court being at variance about the Command, ſome one more wiſe than the reſt found out this Contrivance, and prevailed with* Joan *to give out that ſhe was ſent from God, to the End no one might ſcruple to ſerve under her.*

In fine, there are *French* Writers who have defamed *Joan of Arc*, and ſaid, That ſhe was corrupted by *Baudricourt*, or according to others by the Baſtard of *Orleans*, or by *Xaintrailles*, and that theſe three Lords, together with the Duke of *Alenſon*, hatched the whole Plot. *Polydore Virgil* ſays, that when *Joan* found ſhe was condemned, ſhe pretended to be with Child, and for that Reaſon her Execution was put off for ſome Months. In a word, among all the Hiſtorians antient and modern, who have ſpoken of *the Maid of Orleans*, there are not Two who agree in the Facts relating to her.

As to the reſt, ſuppoſing *Joan*'s Inſpiration was a pure Invention, it is not eaſy to determine whether the King was in the Secret, or whether he was himſelf cheated. It may be *Joan* herſelf was deceived, by certain Ways and Means which have but too often been practiſed. For my Part, I think this Opinion very plauſible, conſidering the firm Reſolution and Courage with which ſhe anſwered her Judges, when ſhe could not but perceive the extreme Danger

ger ſhe was in. But after all, this is nothing but Conjecture.

I conclude from the Examination I have made, that a Man may reaſonably ſuppoſe that *Joan*'s pretended Inſpiration was all a Contrivance to revive the Courage of the diſmayed *Frenchmen*. It is true, the Project ſucceeded without doubt beyond the Expectation of the Contrivers. Nevertheleſs, it is not very ſtrange that the *French* Troops ſhould take Heart again, when they imagined they were fighting under the particular Direction of Heaven. This is not the firſt Time that the like Invention has produced the like Effect. We meet with Inſtances of it in the Hiſtories of Heathen Nations. The feigned *Apparitions* of the *Pagan* Gods and Goddeſſes, were not ſurely the immediate Works of the Power of God, and yet upon certain Occaſions they produced prodigious Effects.

Before I conclude this Subject, I cannot help reflecting on the barbarous Uſage *Joan* met with. It is not poſſible to colour it any way. As *Joan* was not a Native of *France*, *Henry* could not pretend ſhe was his Subject, and conſequently he could not uſe her but as a mere Priſoner of War. Upon this Suppoſition, he could much leſs puniſh her for a *Schiſmatick*, *Heretick* or *Witch*, even though ſhe had been convicted. If the Rule which the *Engliſh* would then have eſtabliſhed was once received, there would be no Priſoner of War but what would be in danger of being condemned by his Enemies for forged Crimes, and of falling a Sacrifice to their Malice. *Charles* VII. got the Sentence to be annulled by other Judges, and *Joan*'s Honour to be repaired. And upon this ſeveral go in order to prove her Innocence. But this is a weak Foundation, ſince, without ſtrong Prejudice, a Man cannot depend upon the laſt Sentence any more than upon the firſt. The former was paſſed by her Enemies, whoſe Intereſt it was to defame her; and the latter by her Friends, to whoſe Glory and Advantage it turned to make her appear Innocent.

The End of VOLUME V.

BRITISH MUSEUM

THE

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